

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION: A STUDY OF ITS IMPACT
ON THE LIVES OF FORMER PRISONERS

BY

Allan Wildman

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

JULY, 1987 ©

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-37303-2

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION: A STUDY OF ITS IMPACT
ON THE LIVES OF FORMER PRISONERS

BY

ALLAN WILDMAN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

© 1987

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II HISTORY OF PRISON EDUCATION	7
CHAPTER III REVIEW OF RESEARCH FINDINGS	26
CHAPTER IV METHODOLOGY	51
4.1 PHILOSOPHICAL ORIENTATION	51
4.2 RATIONALE	52
4.3 DATA GATHERING	57
4.3.1 INTERVIEW GUIDE AND RATIONALE	57
4.3.2 CRITERIA AND NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	60
4.3.3 INTERVIEW PROCESS	61
CHAPTER V THE INTERVIEW SUBJECTS	63
CHAPTER VI ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	87
6.1 REASON FOR INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION PROGRAM	87
6.2 MOTIVATION TO CONTINUE WITH EDUCATION	89
6.3 EXPANDED HORIZONS	92

6.4	MORAL DEVELOPMENT	97
6.5	UNIVERSITY AS A RELEASE PLAN	104
6.6	ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS	107
6.7	MEANS AND WILL	118
CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION		125
APPENDIX A - CONSENT FORMS		128
APPENDIX B - INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS		131
	PH.D. SUBJECT	131
	M.A. SUBJECT	142
	B.S.W STUDENT SUBJECT	170
	B.A. SUBJECT	197
	B.A. STUDENT SUBJECT	211
BIBLIOGRAPHY		248

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following individuals for their various contributions towards the completion of this thesis:

The interview subjects, who agreed to lengthy interviews and openly shared their life experiences.

Dennis Bracken, for his valuable advice, guidance and encouragement not only in the writing of this thesis but over the years as my faculty advisor at the School of Social Work.

Steve Brickey, for his participation and important feedback as a member of my thesis committee and the encouragement and perspective I acquired as a result of being one of his students in previous years.

Len Kaminski for his participation and important feedback as a member of my thesis committee.

Russell Smandych, for his important advice and guidance at the outset of this thesis.

Penny Borowski, for her technical assistance and time in helping me to complete this project.

And perhaps, most of all, my wife Antoinette whose understanding, encouragement and support contributed greatly to my successful completion of this thesis.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The idea of attempting to influence the lives of incarcerated persons through some form of education program has been part of the "correctional" approach in many prisons for over a century. However during this length of time, to paraphrase Mark Twain, a lot of people have talked about the need for prison education programs but few have done much about it. Solicitor General James Kelleher (1987), for example, observed recently that the Chaplain at Kingston Penitentiary had noted in 1850 that the literacy rate among prisoners was fifty percent, the same as it is today.

Frequently the value of education in prisons has been viewed as another "correctional" approach employed for the purpose of correcting the "criminal mind" or curing the "criminal microbe" similar to other approaches that have been based on various causation models (medical, psychiatric, sociological). However, the failure and

inadequacy of such etiological approaches either to explain or to reduce criminality has been generally recognized, although not necessarily admitted, by correctional policy makers.

The "educational approach" to the habilitation--development and growth--of incarcerated persons has increasingly been regarded as possibly the most promising of available correctional program approaches.

Research in this area of corrections has, with few notable exceptions, been infrequent and generally poorly done. The need to explore and develop the potential of the educational approach to corrections has become increasingly apparent.

Much of the evaluative research which has been conducted in the area of prison education has tended to isolate and focus on recidivism as the measure of the effectiveness or impact of the program on the participants. This may in part be explained by the need on the part of corrections generally to utilize programs which can be shown to influence the lives of their clients in such a way as to eliminate their return to prison. Another rationale for focussing on recidivism rates could be the need to market or justify specific programs to funders. However, more recently researchers in this area have called into question

both the internal and external validity of using recidivism as the sole or primary measure of the impact of prison education programs.

Education by its very nature is of a highly personal, interactive nature and consequently its "effects" may be manifested in a variety of different ways for different students that are difficult to isolate and measure. The impact of education on the lives of students may, in fact, be more a matter of degree as opposed to an either-or phenomenon. Nevertheless, research in this area appears to be clearly required for program development and to maximize the potential of the educational approach.

The purpose of this thesis is to attempt to gain an understanding of the impact of education--specifically at the university level--on the lives of former prisoner-students. Due to the personal interactive nature of education this search for understanding will focus on and explore the self-reports or the subjective understanding of the participants themselves as to the effects they have experienced in the context of their lives.

One of the issues that will be explored in this study will be the concept of moral education. This concept has emerged recently as one of the objectives of prison education programs. Rather than seeking to convert the

prisoner by preaching the practice of virtue as the earlier chaplain-educators did in prisons a century ago, this newer model--the Matsqui model--attempts to encourage him/her to discuss moral questions and problems related to the concept of justice. The technique used is courses in the humanities (mainly history, literature and philosophy). One of the intentions of this study is to explore the self-reports of the subjects involved as to the extent of their moral development as a result of their involvement with university education.

More generally this study will attempt to explore the subjective understanding of the subjects with regard to any attitudinal changes they feel they may have experienced as a result of their educational involvement. Another focal area for exploration will be the degree to which the subjects feel they have achieved stability in their lives and to what extent education played a role or influenced this course of events.

Following the introduction, Chapter 2 of this thesis will present a brief History of Prison Education in an attempt to contextualize the concept of prison education for the reader as it has been historically viewed and implemented by correctional policy-makers. This presentation will in the main focus on the development of

prison education in North America and focus latterly and specifically on the Canadian experience in recent times.

A Review of Research Findings is presented in Chapter 3 in an attempt to highlight the kind of research that has been done in the field of prison education, the strengths and weaknesses of that research and ultimately what the findings have been.

In Chapter 4, Methodology, the choice of a qualitative approach for this research project as opposed to a quantitative approach will be rationalized and discussed. The specifics of the methodology being utilized in this study will be further detailed in terms of data gathering: interview guide and rationale for its use and content; the criteria and number of participants; and the interview process itself in terms of the approach used, the location of the interviews and other pertinent information.

In Chapter 5, The Interview Subjects, the context of the interviews will be highlighted with the aim of providing the reader with an understanding and appreciation of the lives of the interviewees in this study and their life circumstances. The major portion of the interview transcripts is included in the appendices.

In Chapter 6, Analysis and Discussion of Findings, the content of the interviews is distilled and discussed in

terms of other research findings, emergent common issues, different responses to similar situations and possible explanations for those responses. The final chapter, Conclusion, offers deductive statements that can be supported by the findings of this current research project.

Chapter 2

History of Prison Education

Although prisons came into existence centuries ago some observers regard prison education as being only forty or fifty years old (Eckenrode, 1969). However, this perception is valid only if a limited definition of prison education is accepted. If prison education is defined as encompassing those programs designed to impact in a positive way on a prisoner's attitudes, skills and behaviour such that a return to prison will not occur, then prison education must be viewed as indeed having a long history.

Up until the late eighteenth century the control of anti-social behaviour was almost universally achieved through vengeance and retribution in the most extreme sense. The lot of the guilty was to be flogged, crucified, maimed, burned, tortured, hung, banished, enslaved, fined or otherwise brutalized. However, towards the end of the eighteenth century prisons began to be accepted as an alternative means for the punishment of unlawful conduct (Martin, 1976). The growth and development of prison education can be viewed as dating from or paralleling this time when prisons began to be accepted as an alternative means of punishment.

The period of the late eighteenth century is noted in the history of prisons as a time more for the adoption of imprisonment as an alternative punishment than it is for the minimal improvement that occurred in the conditions or purposes of those prisons. Although some improvements were made in the physical conditions of debtor prisons and houses of correction, the idea of any kind of prison reform occurring at this time in the main really represents more of an expanded use of common-jails and special prisons. The reasons for the development of this form of retribution is seen as being intertwined with the public's disenchantment with hangings and public floggings as a form of popular entertainment, and a growing resentment in the colonies toward the policy of transporting and banishing criminals (Martin, 1976).

The presence behind prison walls of an increasing number of prisoners tended to generate on the part of the public an increased focus and concern about what to do with these incarcerated individuals. In North America, ironically, this concern was in large part generated by notorious prison conditions particularly in the infamous Walnut Street Jail which was seen to spawn more criminal motives than it cured.

Since the public was increasingly confronted with the problem of prisoners returning to the community worsened by their prison experiences, there arose complementary movements that prison conditions should be improved and that

prisoners must be reformed primarily for the safeguard of the community.

In the United States in 1787, the early Quakers established the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. Their first project was to convert the Walnut Street Jail into an experimental institution. This they intended to do by encouraging penitence, education and labour. The environment they felt appropriate for this was solitude and a concerted effort was made to prevent communication between prisoners. This approach broke the spirit of many prisoners and earned the criticism of many (Bacon,1969).

Thus drawing on the Christian tradition of monasticism, this first identifiable "improvement" of solitary confinement at the Walnut Street Jail marks, significantly the birth of prison education in North America. Ironically, solitary confinement was not originally intended as a means of making imprisonment more repressive and painful--despite its actual results--but rather was genuinely believed to have a positive value (Elkin,1957).

The origin of prison education in North America can thus be traced to 1789, when clergyman William Rogers first offered instruction at Philadelphia's Walnut Street Jail. The warden at that time was reported to have been worried that a riot might result from this revolutionary innovation, so he required that two guards attend these

meetings with a loaded cannon aimed directly at the convict students. Everything was peaceful, of course. This incident, however, is indicative of the struggle that has characterized teaching within prison walls ever since (Gehring,1985).

Naturally enough, these early attempts at reform of prisoners through solitary confinement and haphazard visitation by chaplains were doomed to failure. Nonetheless, these early attempts did represent the first attempt at education in the form of isolated incidents which gradually began to establish a pattern. The assumption on the part of the prison chaplains that the Bible was the keynote of reform led to basic attempts at reading and writing in order that biblical truths could be effectively mastered and absorbed. In 1801, New York State provided elementary education for the "meritorious" inmates by the better educated prisoners and in 1822 authorized by law the furnishing of a Bible to each resident (Roberts,1972).

These early attempts at education, both religious and secular, obtained systematic and legal sanction with the establishment of the first school for public offenders in Maryland during the 1830s (Colvin,1971). This was followed by the hiring of a secular school teacher and the establishment of a library in the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania in 1844 (Roberts,1972). The first most significant legal recognition in North America of academic education being desirable in prisons occurred with the

passage in 1847 of a New York State law providing for the appointment of secular teachers, supervised by chaplains, in that State's prisons (Wines,1867).

During this period in Canada--which had yet to become a nation--similar attempts at education were being made at the provincial jail of Upper Canada which had opened its doors at Kingston in 1835. The educational attempts being made at this prison were also profoundly influenced by the wave of puritan ethics that were sweeping North America generally. This spartan philosophy with its emphasis on the nobility of toil and disdain for the pleasure principle was clearly evident in the daily prison program. A harsh and punitive code of discipline was imposed which called for corporal punishment and a restricted diet for the most trivial misdemeanor (Weir,1973).

Chaplains were the first non-custodial personnel to be regularly employed in Canadian prisons. They held services, conducted sabbath schools and revival meetings, distributed Bibles and lectured prisoners on the twin evils of idleness and drink. They tutored illiterate prisoners to enable them to read the scriptures. Most important, they tried to convince prisoners of the justice of their sentence and help them submit to "correction". Moral re-education combined with a harsh code of discipline was to be the new rehabilitative approach.

The educational component of this program was authorized in the "Gaol Regulations" of 1840 which suggested

(in Weir,1973) "that provision (shall) be made as far as practicable in all gaols for the religious instruction of prisoners of both sexes, and also for their instruction in reading and writing" (p.40).

Thus education was relegated to moral and ethical values and the chapel was the classroom for the forty-minute daily period of instruction. The chaplain was the instructor and the bible was the text with the object of the basic literary program being to enable the prisoner to comprehend the Bible. This upright moralistic philosophy was to pervade these early attempts at prison education for many years. Education at this time was believed to be rehabilitative insofar as it enabled the prisoner to become more spiritually enlightened.

It was not until the 1870's that education was given any recognition as possibly playing a significant role in the rehabilitative process. Zebulon Brockway, the first superintendent at the Elmira Reformatory, established mandatory education programs in order to (Brockway in Marsh, 1973) "discipline the mind and fit it to receive....the thoughts and principles that constitute their possessors good citizens" (p.140). Despite this pioneering work by Brockway, Elmira Reformatory was not a typical correctional institution and it would be many years before any kind of comprehensive prison education programs emerged.

In Canada, the 1879 justice minister's Report of Penitentiaries is indicative of the approach to prison

education at that time: the "rules and regulations for school" call for the enforcement of a strict discipline code and only those prisoners with a minimum of three months good conduct were allowed to participate in classes. The privilege to attend school was considered one of the highest rewards. Subjects taught were French, English, reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography and grammar. All these subjects with the exception of writing were taught with the prisoner standing (Weir,1973). The schoolmaster continued to be under the direct supervision of the chaplain.

Great Britain's correctional system, at this time was experiencing a more enlightened approach in that there was the tendency to separate education from ethics. Teachers were allowed to develop constructive interpersonal relations with prisoners and wear civilian dress. To foster their approach libraries were established and recognized as cornerstones in both the educational and correctional process. In Canada at this time, the schoolmaster was prohibited from speaking with prisoners outside his teaching tasks. It was well into the 20th century before prison education in Canada became divorced from ethics (Weir,1973).

The first indication of a new approach in Canadian prison education became evident in the Report to the Royal Commission on Penitentiaries in 1914:

"It was urged, as an excuse for not giving a reasonable period to the education of the illiterate during the daytime, that the school would interfere with the labour of the prisoners. If an hour or two every day were given up to the

school for some and exercise in the work yard for others, less stones would be broken, tis true. But some man, whose spirits are being crushed, and whose manhood is being debased, might be saved to future good citizenship if a civilizing help in the way of a school could be introduced."

There was, of course, a great gap between theory and practice in the Canadian correctional system. Fluctuations in the crime rate, financial constraints, shifting political priorities and administrative problems interfered with the implementation of desirable programs. Penal reformers and penal authorities often did not see eye to eye. The reformers' first concern was usually assisting the prisoner while the wardens' concern was the security and control of the institution

The Royal Commission Report in 1914, marked theoretically at least, a turning point towards reform. Penitentiaries should no longer be run like factories, processing human material into interchangeable units. By the late 1920's, there were the beginnings of prisoner classification schemes, special juvenile facilities, a comprehensive system of industrial farms, and provisions for earned remission and parole (Blanchfield, 1985).

Progress in educational programming was slow. In 1927, educational lectures were still not permitted; in 1933, while individual studies were permitted, no books were provided, and in the same year subscriptions to magazines and periodicals, while tolerated, were subject to rigorous censorship (Weir, 1973).

Blanchfield (1985) notes that "during the Depression there was a surge of economic crimes, especially among unemployed young men" (p.5). In 1929, there were 2,769 people in Canadian Penitentiaries. In 1933, there were 4,587, an increase of 66 per cent.

The authorities took a hard line on crime and criminals. Reform was once again subordinated to repression. Prisoners were driven to desperate measures. At Kingston Penitentiary between 1928-1938 there were 20 riots and other disturbances. All seven Canadian penitentiaries were beset by disorders, including strikes, fires and fatal shootings (Blanchfield,1985).

These violent disturbances aroused public and media attention and served as a catalyst for the Archambault Commission of 1938 whose report represents the watershed of modern correctional reform. This report contained 88 recommendations advocating specific and drastic changes in Canada's penal practice. Much of its philosophy is still influential today (Blanchfield,1985).

The commissioners were appalled by the almost complete lack of rehabilitative programs. They recommended improvements in prison education, recreation and work programs, a better deal for female prisoners, reforms to the parole and probation systems, better after-care services, administrative reorganization and improved classification.

With regard to prison education, the commissioners were distressed at the perfunctory manner in which the

limited elementary programs were being conducted in federal institutions and of the small minority of prisoners that were exposed to any opportunity for educational advancement. They called for a complete reorganization of the prison educational system. Specific recommendations were made that the revision and reorganization be of sufficient depth to insure the provision of a well-rounded program of adult education structured to meet the needs, interests, and abilities on an individual basis. The potential student body they found to be in the majority academically undereducated, vocationally unskilled and culturally deprived.

Unfortunately the Second World War diminished public interest in prison reform and implementation of the recommendations of Archambault Commission were temporarily shelved. It was not until 1946 that any concerted efforts were made to advance prison educational programs along the lines suggested in the 1938 Report. In 1947, the Gibson Report repeated the earlier recommendations and demands of the Archambault Report calling for additional educational opportunities for Canadian penitentiary prisoners.

Weir (1973) notes "that increasingly, consideration was given to assistance of the prisoner specifically; religious, academic, vocational, health, cultural and social training" (p.43). Correspondence courses were obtained from the Department of Veteran Affairs, from the various provincial departments of

education and the extension departments of some Canadian universities. Facilities and academic staff in the institutions were also augmented as a result of Major-General Gibson's Report.

The Fauteux Report in 1956 provided further impetus for the development of elementary and secondary school programs. This report reaffirmed the goal of rehabilitation and identified prison education as a major component of the treatment process. However, with good justification the authors of the Fauteux Report expressed dissatisfaction with the prison system administration's lack of progress in developing education programs as recommended by the Archambault Commission nearly two decades earlier. Prison education was no longer to be left to chance. Academic programs were no longer to be regarded as educational retreads--as compensation for the missed opportunities of childhood and youth. But rather they were to be regarded as one of the major disciplines used in the total correctional process (Eksted and Griffiths, 1984).

During the 1950's and 1960's, educational programs providing literacy training and elementary and secondary school courses were widely introduced in Canadian federal prisons. The introduction of post-secondary programs are a relatively recent development. As late as 1960, college level programs in the United States were available to prisoners in only nine states (Laird, 1971).

In Canada, post-secondary education programs were introduced in the early 1970's in several federal institutions in British Columbia, at Stony Mountain in Manitoba, at Laval, Quebec and at Collin's Bay, Ontario. One of these programs, administered by Simon Fraser University (previously by the University of Victoria) now (1987) operating in four federal British Columbia prisons, deserves special reference. This program described as the most successful program in North America has been used as a model for prison education programs in the United States and overseas (Griffin,1978).

The conceptual foundation of this university level program appears to be its distinguishing feature and perhaps the key to its success. Stephen Duguid (1979) summarizes the philosophy of this program which focuses on the moral development of the prisoner:

"The University of Victoria program emphasizes the role of cognitive growth in producing changes in moral reasoning which in turn facilitates changed behaviour. This....is based on two premises....First, the criminal has been more a decision-maker than a victim....despite environmental, family, and class factors, there remains a strong element of choice in the act of becoming a criminal....The second premise....is that the decisions of the criminal are made in the context of a certain stage of cognitive/moral development and that this stage can be altered in order to facilitate different decisions within the same or similar environment" (p.83).

With the expansion of prison education programs in the 1950's and the 1960's and attempts at other rehabilitative methods being made there was optimism that people in prison could be in fact "altered" or changed in a

positive way. The promise of the rehabilitative ideal-- that criminal offenders can be reformed or their behaviour changed in such a way that they can live socially productive lives in the larger community without engaging in more criminal activity than most of their fellow citizens-- was said to strongly influence decisions made by judges, penologists, and policy makers (Sechrest et al.,1979).

This belief in the "rehabilitative ideal" however, did not go without challenge to the extent that the 1970's to some was the "nothing works" decade. Martinson's (1974) study is perhaps the most commonly cited by those who declared the concept of rehabilitation defunct. Martinson, (1974), who studied data on the results of 231 programs conducted between 1945 and 1967, concluded "With few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism" (p.25).

Martinson's conclusions, while endorsed by some, were vigorously challenged and dismissed by other researchers (Palmer,1976; Adams,1976; Halleck and Witte, 1977; Serrill,1975). Nevertheless, the rehabilitative ideal has largely been dissolved resulting in a shift in orientation away from rehabilitative programs and toward policies emphasizing deterrence, punishment and incapacitation (Wilson,1975). In Canada, federal correctional policy adopted a somewhat passive "opportunities model" whereby programs would be made available but the initiative would be left to the prisoner.

However, curiously the last two decades have witnessed an expansion of programs and facilities relating to prison education. Reagen and Stoughton (1976), noteworthy researchers in the field of prison education, have in fact suggested the new emphasis on education is one of the most significant developments in contemporary penology: "Prisons emerged two hundred years ago as industrial centers, with the opportunity for penitence. They are gradually transforming themselves into educational institutions, by processes and under influences that are not fully understood" (p.92). These researchers further speculate optimistically that "this force may in the end be the most remarkable sleeper in the history of corrections" (p.127).

Despite the relatively recent expansion of education programs in Canadian federal institutions, numerous problems have plagued these programs. In 1977, the MacGuigan Subcommittee reported that federal prison education programs suffered from a lack of qualified teachers and deficient criteria. Griffin (1978:) stated that the physical facilities for education programs in most institutions are "inadequate, that educational staff are inadequately trained and no acceptable standards exist and further that there is a lack of uniformity in measuring the educational achievements of prisoners between the various institutions" (p.72). Griffin (1978) also noted a major difficulty with the contracting for the services of

teachers: "The continual entry and exit of contract teachers has made it impossible for the Penitentiary Service to develop and establish a committed cadre of professional educators" (p.41).

Griffin (1978) also points out basic problems with the standards and definition of prison education: "there appears to be a common tendency to label everything which occurs in a classroom in a penitentiary as education. Much of what occurs there does not qualify for such a grand title" (p.44). In his discussion of the differing goals of prison education, Griffin further observes that while many observers see it as a means of moral reformation others see it as a means to increase the employability of the prisoner upon release.

The types of problems associated with prison education in the Canadian federal system are summarized by Cosman (1980):

"Penitentiary education in Canada has been characterized by a general lack of interest in genuine educational achievement, by inadequate standards of teacher selection and training, by a lack of discrimination in matters of curriculum between the trivial and the important, a lack of discipline and structure, and by a complete lack of educational research" (p.46).

The frequently hostile and unnatural environment of the prison setting itself constitutes an obstacle for prison educators because of its incompatibility with the learning process. The University of Victoria recognized this obstacle and attempted to overcome it by establishing a

separate almost island-like Education Center in the prison. Stephen Duguid (1979), in describing the University of Victoria program notes:

"The university program takes place in almost complete isolation from the surrounding prison environment. The students arrive in the morning and return in the late afternoon. Thus part of their day is spent in an extremely authoritarian environment and the other in a much more democratic environment. This, of course, produces confusion and tension as one switches roles each day and frequently tries to apply the wrong practices to the wrong community" (p.88).

Thus it seems one of the difficulties to be addressed by prison educators has been the conflict between, on the one hand, the custody and control goals of the institutions and on the other hand, the attributes of initiative, democracy and the independence of thought characteristic of the learning process. This conflict between the seemingly different goals of the correctional institution are personified by the different institutional staff.

Reagen and Stoughton (1976) make the observation that:

"Correctional staff have a perception of penology and incarceration that differs from those who try to design and run prisoner educational programs. Prisoner education programs make guards' jobs more difficult--more risky from a security and control point of view--because they allow prisoners more movement and more free time. Many guards....are jealous of all educational programs because they don't believe inmates deserve to have the opportunity they themselves have not had. Guards believe inmates are in the prisons to do their

time (to be punished) because they could not cope with society and had to resort to crime. To educate prisoners is, in the guards' view, to pamper or coddle them" (p.116).

Campbell (1974) has also noted that prison education programs have been at risk to be caught in the tension between the rehabilitative goals of the institution and the concerns for security and control:

"Custody personnel will feel that problems of education and other treatment efforts interfere with their custodial function. Treatment personnel, equally, will contend that the opposite is true. The rationale through which the one is harmonized with the other has yet to be developed" (p.128).

Another influence which has continually affected prison education programs is the arbitrary shifting of priority and commitment on the part of correctional policy makers. In December 1982, for example, Solicitor General Bob Kaplan announced the termination of university programs in selected federal penitentiaries in order to reduce expenditures. However, in August 1983, he reversed his position and announced he was reinstating the programs but that the prisoner would be required to contribute \$40. per course or \$240. for a full-course load--making education the only prison program for which prisoners have to pay (McCarthy, 1985).

Another problem appears to be the reluctance or refusal to implement recommendations made by investigating bodies. As McCarthy (1985) notes:

"In 1938, the members of the Royal Commission on Prisons released the Archambault Report calling for a complete restructuring of the school system and the introduction of a curriculum based on academic education and cultural education. None of the report's educational recommendations, however, has been implemented. The Gibson report of 1947 includes the same observations of the negative aspects of penal education and reaches the same conclusion as that of the Archambault authors. Yet, the Gibson Report's suggestions for revising the system were overlooked. Thus, in 1956, the Fauteux Inquiry realized that, for the most part, nothing of significance had changed in the prison education system since 1914. Indeed, the process of ignoring recommendations was still in existence in the 1970's. The Parliamentary Sub-Committee, which toured institutions in 1976, made recommendations regarding education and training which resembled those made nearly four decades earlier in the Archambault Report" (p.443).

More recently Solicitor General James Kelleher (1987) noted:

"Illiteracy in our prisons has been a long standing problem. The chaplain at Kingston Penitentiary, the first recorded teacher of literacy in our prisons, noted in 1850 that the literacy rate among inmates was fifty percent, the same as today. The time has come for us to concentrate our efforts and tackle the problem of inmate illiteracy head-on" (p.2).

Thus Mr. Kelleher announced the resources for this recent literacy initiative "will be found through reallocation of existing resources within the Correctional Service, such as...cutbacks in research and consulting fees" (p.2). The eventual outcome of this recently announced policy initiative is a footnote in the history of prison education that has yet to be recorded.

The problems, conflicts and tensions, noted above, associated with prison educational programming are certainly

issues to be addressed as they have significant implications for the operation of prison education programs--as well as other treatment initiatives--and may well have had significant repercussions with regard to their ultimate success.

Chapter 3

Review of Research Findings

It has been said that research is the bookkeeping of corrections (Glaser, 1966). However, it appears most correctional systems continue to operate generally without the advantage of any kind of such valid bookkeeping system. One of the major difficulties in assessing the efficacy of prison education programs in reducing or eliminating criminal behaviour is a lack of evaluative research. While education is assumed to be an effective rehabilitative tool, with few exceptions, such assumptions have received only the most cursory tests. Most of the evaluation studies of prison education programs have suffered from methodological flaws which have made it difficult to interpret their results.

One of the earliest evaluations was done by Schnur (1948) in which he tested the null hypothesis that educational treatment of prisoners had no significant association with post-release recidivism. In this study he looked at the effects of attendance at the full-time day school of Wisconsin State Prison on recidivism rates. Schnur compared the recidivism rates of 680 prison students

with 1082 controls over a two-year period following release from prison. The experimental and control groups were unmatched but an effort was made to standardize the two groups on the basis of factors associated with both recidivism and participation in the school program. Following standardization, the two groups were compared and it was found that there were relatively small but statistically significant differences between them. One additional finding of relevance to policy-makers was that no effects were observed until the men had attended school for six months or more.

While the results of this early study appeared promising, it could be justifiably pointed out that there was a methodological weakness in the study because the statistical adjustment used could not control for factors such as the motivation of prisoners, which may have differentiated between the school attenders and non-attenders.

Saden (1962) carried out another early study at the Michigan State Prison. Saden critically examined the prison files of 1000 men paroled between 1945 and 1949 and found that former prison students were more successful on parole than non-students. Unfortunately no attempt was made, either by sampling or statistical manipulation, to ensure the comparability of the school or non-school groups.

Similarly, Cochran (1965) conducted an evaluation at the Marion (Ohio) Correctional Institution that indicated that parolees who had participated in academic or vocational training did significantly better on parole than did members of the non-school group. Again, the strength of the conclusions that can be drawn from this evaluation were weakened by the lack of pre-treatment comparability of the school and non-school groups.

One of the most extensive and well-designed early evaluations of the impact of prison programs was carried out by Glaser (1964). The findings of this study with respect to prison education were as follows:

1. For most prisoners, prison education is statistically associated with above average post-release success only when the education is extensive and occurs in the course of prolonged incarceration;
2. For most prisoners, especially those with extensive felony records, the usual duration and types of involvement in prison education are associated with higher than average post-release failure;
3. A small amount of education in prison frequently impairs post-release prospects of prisoners indirectly, by inspiring them with unrealistic aspirations, or by the education's being pursued instead of alternative prison programs which could provide more useful preparation for post-release life.

Glaser's findings indicated that prisoners attending school during longer periods of incarceration who

have advanced through several grade levels have higher rates of success upon release than those who attended for only shorter periods of time or not at all. Further, Glaser raised the possibility that education may prove dysfunctional for the prisoner, both in terms of there being more viable options for treatment within the institution and in terms of unrealistic expectations that it may raise in the prisoner. However, in a later review of these earlier findings, he (1973) cautions that the results may be due to the selection of inmates for school or the initial attributes of those inmates who advance in grade level as opposed to those who do not, rather than being due to the effects of the education program itself. Glaser also speculated that prisoners who enrolled in the education program may have done so only to impress the parole board and not because of any sincere desire to improve themselves. Glaser's findings indicate that post-release success was higher than average only for prisoners who had more extensive education in prison during a fairly long period of incarceration. This finding tends to support Schnur's (1948) earlier finding that no effects were observed, with regard to post-release success, unless there had been an exposure to the education program for a minimum of six months.

Lipton et al. (1975) summarized several studies of prison education and concluded from their detailed assessment of these studies that education programs are successful in their task of training and educating both adult and youthful offenders, but they are not successful in changing their attitudes or redirecting their lives. A review of the studies this conclusion is based on, reveals that the impact of such programs on institutional adjustment, post-release employment record and recidivism is mixed and at best must be considered inconclusive.

Three of the studies summarized by Lipton et al. (1975) concerned the effects of educational and vocational programs on institutional adjustment. Two of these studies, reported by Jacobson and McGee (1965) found that boys involved in an intensive educational program had a significantly larger number of institutional offences than boys who had been in the routine care of the institution and not in the education program. A third study by Zivan (1966) found that institutional adjustment for boys who had received 10 months of services from an integrated and phased vocational rehabilitation program was no different than it was for the control group who received routine institutional programming. Contradictory results were obvious in studies which looked at the impact of prison training on subsequent

occupational adjustment. Sullivan and Mandell (1967) report that prisoners who participated in a program which combined academic education with special training in the use of IBM equipment had better post-release employment success than did a group of controls who did not have this training. Contrary to these positive findings, Gearheart et al. (1967) reported that inmates who had vocational training had less success staying on a job after release from prison than those who did not have the training. Several of the studies discussed above, in the summary by Lipton et al. (1975), were also concerned with the impact of education on recidivism rates. Of these, the only clearly positive report with regard to these rates came from the Sullivan and Mandell (1967) report. This report indicates that after one year the recidivism rate for the experimentals was 48.0% as compared with 66.0% for the controls. Only one other program was found to have a positive impact on recidivism. This was the New Start Project in Denver, Colorado evaluated by Kovacs (1967). After one year a smaller proportion of the experimental boys, who underwent a "non-institutional multiple-impact educational program", including vocational training, role-playing, group counselling, theatre and art gallery trips, college class attendance, and some programmed instruction in academic education, were back in jail as compared with the control boys.

Zink (1970) carried out a study of the prison education program at the Newcastle Correctional Institution at Wilmington, Delaware. The method of evaluation was to examine institution and F.B.I. files on prisoners. An experimental group of 100 prisoners was selected from the files of prisoners who had attended school for at least two months while in prison between 1950 and 1958 and who had since been released. This group was matched with a group of equal size selected from the files who had not attended school during the trial period. The two groups were compared on variables relating to personal and criminal history and no statistically significant differences were found. A follow-up was carried out using the F.B.I. follow-up report. The post-release conduct of the experimental and control groups was compared during equated periods of three, four and five years after release. The findings of the follow-up indicate that attendance in the prison education program positively affected the prisoner's ability to succeed in society following release. This finding was statistically significant at the .01 level of confidence.

Another evaluation by Leiberg (1973) studied the effects of a program of vocational training for youthful offenders at the State Prison at Lorton, Virginia. This program included job-oriented basic remedial education in

addition to vocational training. Upon release the graduates were provided with job placement, counselling and follow-up services. While Leiberg does not present any data with regard to the length of time the graduates of this program had spent in the community 74.0% were considered to be "successes" in that they had not been re-institutionalized. In addition the lack of information with regard to the length of the follow-up study, this study also suffered from the lack of a control or comparison group. While these methodological/informational shortcomings limit the inferences that one can draw from this study, it is perhaps noteworthy in that it suggests that extensive post-release support in the months immediately following release may enhance a prisoner's post-release prospects of reintegrating and adjusting successfully.

Yahraes (1973) evaluated a program which was administered at the Draper Correctional Center at Montgomery, Alabama. This program consisted of a combination of vocational and academic subjects which were supplemented by a reading laboratory and a seminar program. Yahraes reports that a follow-up of the graduates from the program from one to three years after they had been released showed a recidivism rate of 32.0% compared to a recidivism rate for the entire state of Alabama which was estimated at between

50.0% and 70%. Yahraes also points out that of these 32.0%, almost half had been returned for technical violations of parole. The inference of this point perhaps being that the 32.0% recidivism rate could in large part be attributed to over zealous parole officials rather than new offences having been committed by the graduates of the Draper Correctional Center program. However, as in the Leiberg and other studies noted above, the absence of a control or comparison group severely reduces the conclusiveness of the statements which can be made about the impact of the educational program.

Chalfont (1972) carried out a post-release study of the prison college program at the Lorton Institution in Virginia. The project was not initially designed as a controlled experiment, however a matched control group was formed consisting of prison college applicants who did not enter the program because of early parole, change of plans or other reasons. Only prisoners who had completed high school and who had a maximum of two years remaining until either parole eligibility or sentence expiration were asked to volunteer for the program. A selection committee then reviewed each application and selected those who were thought to be most suitable. The experimental group consisted of 73 prisoners while the post hoc matched control group consisted of 32 prisoners.

The program consisted of instruction in Sociology, Mathematics and English at the first-year university level. Prisoners who completed the equivalent of first-year university were permitted to attend second-year classes at Federal College in Washington, D.C. Extensive support services were provided to help prisoners adjust to the academic and social pressures of college. In addition, post-release financial support and employment assistance were provided for some released prisoners. Chalfont evaluated the success of the program in terms of the absence of arrests. His findings indicate that 58.0% of the experimental group and 56.0% of the non-experimental group could be classified as "successes". However, when those prisoners who were arrested but had their cases dismissed in court were redesignated as successes, 70.0% of the experimentals were successful, as compared with 59.0% of the control subjects. The findings of this study would seem to suggest-similar to the Leiberg study cited above-that extensive post-release support may play a part in the success of prison education program graduates.

Murphy and Murphy (1971) made similar suggestions in their study of the San Diego State College program. This program seemed to involve a relatively comprehensive selection process including several tests to assess ability:

The American College Test (ACT), the College Aptitude Test (CAT) and the Writing Competency Test. The parolees who were selected were allowed admission to San Diego State College and given considerable post-release support in the form of financial assistance, a part-time job and access to two "administrative assistants" who were themselves parolee-students with several months of on-campus experience.

Murphy and Murphy report that after three and one half academic years, 41 people have participated in the San Diego State College Program. Two students were reported to have completed their period of parole and were free citizens continuing their education. No paroles were reported to have been completely violated after three and one half years, although two men were returned for brief (45-day periods) following temporary difficulty.

While this study involved a relatively comprehensive selection process for subjects and did not have a matched control group, the findings would seem to suggest and emphasize again the potential importance of a post-release support network for new parolee-students. Murphy and Murphy reported that of the 41 participants, 23 are pursuing studies at San Diego State College; of the other 18, all but two completed at least one full year of college, and all are "making it" as citizens in the

community. The researchers also caution that the possible "halo effect" related to the newness of the program cannot be overlooked when drawing conclusions about the enduring impact of the program.

Reker and Meissner (1977) evaluated the effects of a Life Skills Program on prisoners' self-concept, personal orientation, attitudes to life and life areas, and personality. Although this study was not concerned with the relationship of Life Skills training to recidivism, the findings have important implications for prison education programs. Specifically, it was found that prisoners trained in interpersonal communication skills, problem-solving abilities and personal management skills have a significantly greater positive feeling of selfworth, a more positive attitude towards life and undergo positive changes in their personalities than inmates who participated only in the regular prison program. Reker and Meissner suggest that their data support further examination of Life Skills training in the re-socialization of prisoners.

Jenkins et al. (1973) evaluated a program at the Draper Correctional Center in Alabama in which prisoners received basic education and training. The research design here involved a comparison of the post-release behaviour of men who had participated in the program with that of a group

of non-participants who were similar to the experimental group with regard to demographic and background variables. A series of follow-up interviews were carried out at intervals of 3, 6, 12, 18 and 24 months. Information concerning recidivism, social and interpersonal behaviour, employment status, income and financial management, housing and public acceptance was collected at each interview. As well, law enforcement records were checked at regular intervals for three years after the initiation of the project.

The findings of this study indicate that participation in the program did have a small impact on post-release behaviour in the area of employment. The experimental group spent more time working and made more money than did the control group during the first 18 months after release. Jenkins et al. note, however, that attrition was considerably high during the follow-up (30.0% for the experimentals and 27.0% for the controls) and variability was great, placing a cautious constraint on these positive findings. The data concerning recidivism show a slight trend for the experimentals to commit fewer crimes during the first 18 months, however, by the end of 26 months the two groups had virtually identical rates for both major and minor crimes.

Curry (1974) carried out a study of prisoners enrolled in community college programs in North Carolina's correctional institutions. The purpose of the study was to analyze selected academic factors associated with prisoner education and to determine the motivational characteristics of prisoners enrolled in these programs. Subjects who were attending 15 community college institutions were asked to volunteer to participate in the study. The data were collected by administering a questionnaire to all subjects.

The findings of this study again suggest that participation in an educational program prepares prisoners, to some degree, for their return to the community. Almost 100% of the respondents indicated that taking courses helped to prepare them for their eventual release from prison. Another major advantage in taking these courses was perceived to be the strengthening of the prisoner's self-concept. Curry states that prisoners were motivated to enroll in courses because of a high degree of intellectual curiosity, as well as a desire to gain insight into themselves as persons. Another significant finding was that 64.0% of the respondents had positive plans for the future. Obtaining a job (18.0%) and continuing their education (19.0%) upon release were the most commonly cited goals.

While the results of this evaluation are encouraging, it must again be recognized that there was no control or comparison group employed in this study. Because of this it is difficult to say that the findings were a result of the education program or whether they were a result of other extraneous variables or some combination of those variables. In addition, Curry's failure to investigate the post-release behaviour of the respondents greatly undermines his claim that "prisoner education provides the inmate with psychological preparation for his return to society, as well as providing him with marketable skills for his employment" (1974:87). Lacking data pertaining to post-release behaviour reduces Curry's conclusion unfortunately, to little more than speculation.

Cohen and Filipczak (1971) evaluated a prison education program at the National Training School for Boys. This project was designed as a 24 hour-a-day program in which students were assigned to an educational program involving both programmed and learning situations. The boys were positively reinforced for their efforts in the course work through a system of points. These points could be exchanged for a wide variety of goods and services within the institution. While again, no control or comparison group was employed, those involved in the program did seem

to have real and significant increases in educational achievement and measured I.Q. A follow-up was carried out comparing the recidivism of boys released from the program with a "similar group" of boys who had remained in the general population of the institution. These data indicate that while initially the project boys had lower recidivism rates, by the third year after release these rates had increased to reach the norm. Thus there does not appear to have been any enduring impact as a result of participation in this program when measured in terms of recidivism rates.

Lewis et al. (1973) conducted an evaluation of an experimental educational program based on the humanities at the State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill, Pennsylvania. Prisoners selected to participate in the humanities program had somewhat better academic skills than the average prisoner. Two matched control groups were employed for comparison purposes. One group was selected from the regular academic program (GED) and the other from the vocational training program. As well, a 33-month follow-up was conducted and information concerning new criminal offences, work experiences and major problems encountered was gathered.

The pre- to post-test analysis data indicate that there were more statistically significant changes found

among the humanities students, however not all these changes were in the "positive" direction. According to Lewis et al., the most important change was that the humanities students became more aware of themselves and the realities of their environment. The findings of the follow-up did not indicate any significant differences among the two groups with regard to recidivism rates, employment records or major problems encountered during post-release. It seems pertinent to remember when reviewing the results of this study that all three groups in the study participated in some form of educational program while in prison.

Lewis et al. conclude that the humanities program, like other rehabilitative techniques attempted within prison, was to some extent frustrated by the overall effect of the prison environment. Their findings indicate that while prison is a negative experience for virtually all prisoners, the recidivists found the prison experience especially negative. Perhaps, they suggest, educational programs can benefit prisoners by serving to enrich their lives to some extent while they are in prison.

Bloomstein (1974) evaluated a college-level program in a maximum security prison and similar to Lewis et al. concluded the education program had no significant effect on recidivism. However, Bloomstein's study concluded

that the college-level program "...improves institutional climate" and made the students "...more manageable residents..."(p.75). Thus similar to Lewis et al., Bloomstein makes the contention that there are other potential benefits to prison education programs particularly to prison administrators with regard to the smooth operation of the institution.

Project Newgate was one of the largest educational programs ever administered in prison settings, involving several American prisons simultaneously. Seashore and her collaborators (1976) in a major study evaluated programs in five American institutions: the Federal Youth Center in Ashland, Kentucky; the Minnesota State Reformatory in St. Cloud, Minnesota; the New Mexico State Prison in Santa Fe, New Mexico; the Oregon State Correctional Institution in Salem, Oregon; and the Rockview State Correctional Institution in Bellefont, Pennsylvania. These programs were compared with non-Newgate programs at the Federal Correctional Institution at Lompac, California; the Illinois State Penitentiary - Menard Branch; and the Texas Department of Corrections - Eastham Unit. Besides the program evaluation, a prisoner follow-up evaluation was carried out in each institution which offered the Newgate program. A random sample of program participants was compared with a

control group and a comparison group which were both drawn from prisoners released from the same institution. The control groups consisted of inmates who were academically qualified for the program but did not participate in it, while the comparison groups consisted of prisoners of the general population who were matched with Newgate participants on a number of dimensions including age, I.Q., prior education and time served.

To measure the effectiveness of the programs, Newgate researchers developed a composite measure consisting of recidivism, success in achieving a stable life-style, and the degree to which life goals were achieved. It was felt that such an index was a better indicator of program effectiveness than recidivism alone, the most commonly used indicator, because rehabilitation was viewed as involving a series of gradual steps away from criminal behaviour. Ignoring other important elements of post-release adjustment makes it difficult if not impossible for these gradual changes to be revealed.

Using this composite index, Seashore et al. concluded that participation in a program does not affect post-release behaviour. However, it seems that this index may be masking some of the effects of the programs because when each of the components of the index are looked at

individually, the results are a bit more positive. The first component, recidivism, is equally distributed among all the groups with the exception of the Pennsylvania group who had a higher success rate than any other group. This is an important finding, which reflects the findings of the Murphy and Murphy and the Chalfont studies cited above, because this program emphasized transitional and post-release services more than any of the other Newgate programs.

The second component of the effectiveness index was achieving a stable lifestyle. The principle factors which went into this component were employment and/or school attendance, drug and/or alcohol problems, and self-reported criminality. Employment status was one area in which the Newgate program was clearly successful, with an overall difference of about 20.0% between Newgate participants and control and comparison groups. In regard to drug and alcohol problems, the Newgate groups, particularly in Pennsylvania and Texas, were also more successful than comparison and control groups. Although there were no consistent differences with regard to self-reported criminal involvement, once again the Pennsylvania Newgate participants had far lower rates than any other group.

A breakdown of the third component, realization of life goals, also indicates masked effects. Although the differences were small, Newgate participants show somewhat higher job aspirations and a somewhat higher level of occupational achievement than comparison and control groups.

Unfortunately, the Newgate project evaluation, like most other prison education evaluation studies, suffered from the lack of randomly assigned control groups. This, of course, weakens the claims that can be made about a program since differences may be explained by other factors such as higher motivation levels on the parts of those who volunteered to take part in the program. This source of possible bias must be taken into consideration in any assessment of the implications of this major evaluation.

In a Canadian context, Perry (1982) reported on an evaluation of a university-level education program administered in Matsqui Penitentiary in British Columbia between April and August of 1972. The design of this study was a pre-test, post-test experimental design. Prisoner volunteers were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. The program involved full-time attendance in a program which offered remedial instruction followed by university courses in English and History. In addition,

prisoners were allowed to take additional self-instructional courses in Sociology and Psychology.

The program was evaluated in terms of the effects it had on prisonization, prisoners' social bonds and recidivism rates. The findings did not indicate the program affects prisoners' level of prisonization, however, the quality of the indicators used to test the hypothesis was admitted by the researcher to be questionable. Prisoners' social bonds to conventional society may have been increased as a result of their participation in the program, however, the findings were described as ambiguous and few of the indicators were found to be statistically significant. The findings of this study also indicate that prisoners who participated in this educational program had slightly lower recidivism rates than prisoners in the control groups.

Another study was carried out by Ayers et al. (1980) of the university education program at Matsqui and Kent Institutions in British Columbia. This program (initiated in 1972 at the British Columbia Penitentiary) offers university-level courses in the humanities and the social sciences. The experimental group consisted of prisoners who had completed at least two courses and two terms of course work. A matched control group was selected from a list of prisoners who had not participated in the

education program. Matching was in terms of the type of release and the closest possible day of release. Both groups originally consisted of 65 prisoners, however, only 40 of the 65 subjects in the experimental group could be located for follow-up interviewing. The 25 ex-prisoners who could not be located were compared with those who had been interviewed in order to control for a non-response bias. The two groups were quite similar in terms of basic demographic data.

Both the experimental and matched groups were compared in terms of basic demographic data, criminal activities, criminal history in the family, and "Basic Expectancy Score". There were no differences between the groups on age, length of sentence, prior criminal activities and on Base Expectancy Scores. The major differences were educational attainment prior to incarceration and drug use. While the experimental group had a significantly higher pre-incarceration grade level than the matched group, it also contained significantly more drug addicts. The researchers suggest that the advantage a higher educational attainment gives the experimental group is outweighed by the disadvantages of having more drug addicts.

The findings of this three-year follow-up study found a recidivism rate of 15% for participants of the

education program compared to 50% for the control group. This study also provided evidence that attitude change, cognitive development, improved employment opportunities and changed life goals all play a role in facilitating avoidance with the law. Ayers et al. conclude that the effects of the program on prisoner-students are significant and long term.

Duguid (1987) reports the B.C. prison education program continues to develop and is currently in its fifteenth year of operation. He reports that since the inception of the program over twenty men have completed B.A. degrees in B.C. prisons, and an equal number have completed B.A. degrees on campus after release. He estimates that hundreds more have used their university prison education experience in achieving other educational goals, in enhancing their employment opportunities, and in enriching their personal lives.

In summary, it would seem research in the area of prison education for the most part, has provided only tentative if not contradictory conclusions. Many of the evaluative studies carried out have suffered from methodological flaws which render their findings either questionable and difficult to interpret or at best inconclusive and open to speculation. Nevertheless, some of these findings--perhaps most notably the University of

Victoria study (Ayers et. al.,1980)--suggest that some prison education programs have produced encouraging results and as such support the contention there is a need for more rigorous research and development of prison education programs.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Philosophical Orientation

The approach to this research project has been guided by the principles of qualitative methodology. This approach, according to Bogdan and Taylor (1975), "directs itself at settings and the individuals in those settings holistically; that is, the subject of the study, be it an organization or an individual, is not reduced to an isolated variable or to an hypothesis, but it is viewed instead as part of a whole" (p.4). Thus this approach can be seen as seeking to gain an understanding of human behaviour more from the individual's own frame of reference and the meaning events have for him in his daily life.

This approach is as Natanson (1963) has stated "a way of looking at social phenomena which takes into primary account the intentional structure of human consciousness, and which accordingly places major emphasis on the meaning social acts have for the actors who perform them and who live in a reality built out of their subjective interpretation" (p.273). This approach has been variously termed an Interpretive or Verstehen approach, a Phenomenological approach and an Experiential Empiricism approach, to name a few. Such an approach, which is well established, comes out of a long tradition and includes such giants as Husserl, Weber, Schutz, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, and Mead. More recent followers of this tradition include Blumer, Berger, Garfinkel, Douglas, Cicourel, Goffman, Scheff, Szasz and Laing (Gaucher, 1973).

Natanson (1963) points out that the term "subjective" which has been utilized in connection with this approach, implies a kind of personal, private introspection which distorts and misleads. Thus he chooses, as a title, phenomenology, to include "all positions that stress the primacy of consciousness and subjective meaning in the interpretation process" (p.273). The concern is with describing the essence of phenomena and examining the interrelationships found therein.

The phenomenologist views human behaviour--what people say and do--as basically a product of how people interpret their world. The goal of the phenomenologist is to capture this process of interpretation (Bogdan and Taylor,1975). In order to understand the meanings of a person's behaviour the phenomenologist seeks to see things from that person's own point of view.

Researchers who seek to understand human behaviour from this perspective employ most frequently such methods as participant observation, in-depth open-ended interviews and personal documents. These procedures all seek to produce descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour (Bogdan and Taylor,1975).

4.2 Rationale

This writer does not wish to, nor see any necessity to, enter into the debate concerning the correctness or scientific superiority of qualitative

vs. quantitative research methodologies but rather to indicate merely the reasons why a qualitative approach was felt to be most appropriate for this specific research project.

In reviewing the research findings pertaining to the "success" of prison education programs and their impact upon the lives of the participants it became clear that recidivism, with a few notable exceptions, was the measure most commonly used to assess the effectiveness of these programs and the experiences of those involved. However, it was noted that more recently researchers have concluded that recidivism is (Gendreau and Leipeiger, 1978) "...one of the least understood and elusive measures employed in criminal justice research" (p.3). Indeed, reincarceration may not even be a good indicator of reinvolvement in crime or anything other than that the individual had been reincarcerated. Other researchers, most notably Maltz and McCleary (1977), and Seashore, Haberfield, Irwin and Baker (1976), have specifically called into question the internal and external validity of using recidivism as a measure of the impact of an educational experience on the recipients.

At the same time, it is not difficult to comprehend the rationale of those researchers in the field of "corrections" who have tended to focus on recidivism as a measure of the effectiveness of institutional programming. The business of "corrections" is among other things mandated to, in one way or another, influence the behaviour of their clients in such a way that they do not return to prison. As Parlett (in Ayers, 1980) stated "It

is...insufficient to show paper and pencil growth; freedom from crime and non-return to prison must also be shown" (p.50). Another rationale for focussing on recidivism rates could be a need to market or justify specific programs to funders.

In the context of the current study which seeks to understand what, if any, impact significant involvement with higher education has had on the lives of people who have experienced significant periods of incarceration--it is the position of this writer that any research method which focuses on any set of narrow variables is inadequate to gain such an understanding. As Rist (1977) contends:

Focussing on a narrow set of variables necessarily sets up a filtering screen between the researcher and the phenomenon he is attempting to comprehend. Such barriers, from the vantage point of those employing holistic analysis, inhibit and thwart the observer from an understanding of what is unique as well as what is generalizable from the data, and from perceiving the processes involved in contrast to simply the outcomes (p.47).

The need for a more contextual or qualitative model of research has been recognized in the field of education program evaluation. The appropriateness of a quantitative approach when dealing with educational experiences has been seriously questioned. Patton (1975) points out that:

Treatments in educational research are usually some type of new hardware, or specific curriculum innovation, variation in class size, or some specific type of teaching style. One of the main problems in experimental educational research is clear specification of what the treatment actually is, which infers controlling all other

possible causal variables and the corresponding problem of multiple treatment interference and interactive effects. It is the constraints posed by controlling the specific treatment under study that necessitates simplifying and breaking down the totality of reality into small component parts. A Great deal of scientific enterprise revolves around this process of simplifying the complexity of reality (p.29).

In the context of this study's research objective which is to gain the participant's subjective understanding, a fragmentation style of evaluation is not seen as being appropriate. Educational experience and its impact on one's life is viewed as being of a highly personal and interactive nature. Perry (1982), seemingly aware of these interactive dynamics, concluded her research of a prison education program with the statement:

"Further research should be concerned with measuring the "success" of programs in a variety of ways , taking into consideration that rehabilitation may be evident for different inmates in different ways, and that it is a matter of degree as opposed to an either-or phenomenon" (p.124).

It would seem there has been a tendency in the social sciences to view certain groups of people in distinct categories and consequently to devalue their perspectives. Prisoners for example, have been viewed as somehow different from all other people; their

behaviour has been explained by a variety of special theories. Many have been reluctant to become involved with those who are different or to listen to what they have to say. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) cite a poignant incident which illustrates this point:

"...while (two researchers) were collecting material for their photographic essay...which depicts the atrocious conditions in state mental institutions for the "mentally retarded" with pictures secretly taken by (the researchers). On one particular occasion, a resident at one of the institutions discovered (the researcher's) camera which was secured to his belt and hidden from view by his sports jacket. The resident immediately reported what he had seen to an administrator whose attention (the other researcher) had monopolized until that point. The administrator laughed and casually dismissed the report with the remark:"Boy, these retardates can really have an imagination" (p.8).

It is the position of this writer, in the context of this study, that it is crucial to elicit the views, experiences and subjective understanding of the participants involved. There are many elements and forces that are of greater importance in post-prison adjustment than, for example, recidivism when considering the impact of an educational program.

Educational experience is typically of a personal and interactive nature--particularly when it concerns one's perceptions of the world and one's role

in that world--thus a qualitative research method which is intensive and sensitive to important variables, processes and interactions from the view of the participant is crucial. The approach chosen, therefore is phenomenological, letting the subject's responses speak for themselves.

Although the phenomenological approach chosen for this study emphasizes the subjective understanding of the participants as the primary source of data, the researcher acknowledges his responsibility to examine and analyze the subject's responses. Analysis of the data is therefore acknowledged as an important means to gain the understanding which this research seeks.

4.3 Data Gathering

Consistent with the intent of this study to discover the subjective understanding of the influence or impact that higher education has had on the lives of the participants an open-ended interview format was developed to guide the indepth interviews.

4.3.1. Interview Guide and Rationale

Part I Basic Demographic/Sociological Data: to flesh out and complete the picture/profile of the subject.

- Q. a) Age?
b) Criminal Record (extent and nature)?
c) Any addictions?
d) Family History?
e) Ethnic Influences?

Part II Perceptions of Attitudinal Change in two basic areas: social and personal. This is an important area in terms of attempting to gain an understanding of how the subject has developed in terms of his/her stance or approach to the world around them. The social aspect of the world refers to the general issue of the person's relation to authority (law, politics, power). Persons who have been in conflict with the law (imprisoned) are likely to have significant perceptions vis-a-vis authority and power relations. Thus it was deemed important to explore and attempt to gain an understanding of the subject's perceptions/attitudes in this area.

- Q. Can you explain how your involvement with higher education has had an impact (if it has) on your perceptions of the following:
- a) Politics?
 - b) Power relationships in society?
 - c) Criminal justice system/criminal behaviour?
 - d) Human nature?

The area of perceptions of change/development in personal relationships is important because it is related to such things as self-esteem, communication skills, general tolerance and understanding of others--all things which higher education may tend to influence.

- e) Marital or relationship with the opposite sex?
- f) Household management/perception of roles?
- g) Family relationships?
- h) Friendship?
- g) Religion?

Part III Achieving stability and realizing life goals is an important focal area for these case studies because it is was deemed crucial to obtain an understanding of the subject's development vis-a-vis aspirations and a sense of actual progress/achievement in this regard. This area can be explored by questions regarding: employment (history/goals) and education (history/goals/achievement).

- Q. a) What jobs did you have prior to going to jail?
- b) What jobs have you had since?
- c) Are you satisfied with your job at this time? Aspirations/goals?
- d) What education level did you have prior to going to prison?
- e) What was your educational involvement in prison? Where?
- f) What has your involvement/achievement been since release?
- g) Any plans to go further? Why?

4.3.2 Criteria and Number of Participants

The basic criteria for selection of the participants in this study is that a) they all will have had significant experience as prisoners (a minimum of three prison sentences) b) they all will have participated in prison education programs c) they all will have attended university on the street d) they all must have completed at least ten university courses.

The total number of participants in this study is five. This number was deemed suitable in consideration of the objectives of this study to gain the indepth subjective understanding of the contextual aspects of the subject's lives and any impact university education might have had on their lives.

4.3.3 Interview Process

The interview phase of the research process was carried out over a four month period. The first interview was conducted in a hotel room in Edmonton where the subject was attending a conference. The next three interviews were conducted in my office at the John Howard Society in Winnipeg. The final interview

was conducted in Stony Mountain Penitentiary north of Winnipeg.

Prior to each interview the nature and purpose of the interview was explained to the participants. A consent form assuring confidentiality and anonymity was signed by all participants (Appendix A). For the interview which was conducted in Stony Mountain a different consent form was obtained from the subject pertaining to his incarcerated status (Appendix B). An additional consent form was obtained from the Penitentiary giving me permission to interview the incarcerated subject (Appendix C).

The average interview was three and a half hours in duration. All interviews were taped with the permission of the participants. The approach to the interviews was basically unstructured (occasionally guided by the interview guide) and open-ended with no time limit. An effort was made to make the subjects feel as comfortable as possible and they were encouraged to do the talking with a minimum of comment from the interviewer.

Chapter 5

The Interview Subjects

In this chapter the context of the interviews will be highlighted with the aim of providing the reader with an understanding and appreciation of the lives of the interviewees and their life circumstances. The major portion of the interview transcripts is included in the appendices.

Interview One: Ph.d. Subject

This subject is 41 years old, obtained his Ph.d. in sociology in 1981 and is currently a professor at a Canadian university. His criminal record includes three prison sentences: one year (theft); two years (theft) and ten years (armed robbery). He was paroled from Prince Albert Penitentiary in 1971 after serving 40 months of his ten-year sentence. He completed five university courses by correspondence in the penitentiary. Although he was convicted of assault (reduced from assault causing bodily harm) four years after being paroled he has not been reincarcerated.

I first met this subject in 1974 at a university where he had just completed his Masters degree. We have maintained contact since that time and he agreed to be interviewed in Edmonton, on March 21, 1987, where we were both attending the same conference. The interview took place in the hotel room where he was staying during the Edmonton Conference.

This subject has now spent approximately 16 years in university as both a student and as a professor. He admitted he found some of my questions difficult to answer due to the considerable length of time he has spent in the university environment and the fact that the last several years of his experience have been in the role of a teacher rather than a student.

He states that he came from a "typical French-Canadian working class family" in which education was always seen as a way out and there was always a lot of stock put in education. He has a brother that has also achieved a doctorate but doesn't really see that as a major factor in explaining his own reasons for pursuing education. In fact, he feels that his brother's achievements and his family's emphasis on education actually stopped him from initially pursuing education because he was expected to follow in his brother's footsteps.

This subject, however, did complete his high school education prior to entering prison and states that he was "always an honours student". He states that he didn't really have any particular goals or sense of purpose when he started to take university courses during his third prison sentence:

I started taking university courses in part for something to do...to keep me alive...not so much that but rather something to do. But also just that I always found books interesting that's it...and it was a bit of a challenge. I wondered if I could do it. And of course, I could.

Once he became involved in university education however, he states he "was really absorbed by the intellectual pursuit." He found several benefits in leaving the penitentiary on parole and going directly to a university campus as part of his release plan. The university environment for him was a supportive and "nurturing" environment that gave him "space" and afforded him a completely different life circumstance and the opportunity to come to terms with the world as a "square-john".

This subject stated that a "major ingredient" in explaining his post-release success and personal development was his own politicization and the rechannelling of his rebellion. Involvement with university education, particularly sociology and political science, allowed him to

gain a broader understanding of the rebellion he believes he was imprisoned for and place it in a broader context:

That's what I found gave me the context in which to place my own life so I understood...I found some good radical left criminologists who were able to take my own sense of critique of the world around me and give it form. Strange things that I'd experienced but just couldn't put together and through interaction with them I was able to put them together in a theoretical framework and organize them. They took those bits and pieces that were experientially mine and related them and showed me how they related to each other. So it was a real broadening of my consciousness.

This subject does not feel that his view of the world has really been changed in any fundamental way. What is different is that his "understanding is much broader." He scoffs at the concept of moral re-education and the suggestion that he was incarcerated for doing anything that was morally wrong:

I've never been ashamed of anything I've done time for. I never robbed any little old ladies. I don't feel morally wrong about robbing banks...I just robbed the rich...banks have been robbing us for years...they got wealthy by robbing us. So I still don't think I did anything morally wrong.

Similarly he rejects the notion of rehabilitation and the suggestion that he may be considered as someone who has been rehabilitated. He states:

I wasn't rehabilitated. I'm still not. I still think the way I always thought in many really basic ways...I thought it was shit then and I still think it's shit. You know, after 16 years university. But now I simply know I was

right...now I'm saying the same thing but now I have a level of legitimacy and a broader understanding. You know, I dislike this society and the more I studied it the more I understood why.

This subject agrees that his academic achievements and current life circumstances are somewhat atypical when compared to other persons who have been incarcerated and involved themselves with university courses. But he maintains that his "example proves the point" and that if the people who defined him as "incorrigible" when he was in prison knew how he still thinks they would say he remained incorrigible.

Interview Two: M.A. Subject

This subject is 36 years old, completed his B.A. degree in Stony Mountain Penitentiary in 1979 and an M.A. (Psychology) degree at the University of California at Berkley, in California, in 1984. His criminal record includes five prison sentences, all for drug-related offences: 18 months; two years; six and a half years; five years and eight years. He describes himself as a junkie and states he first used heroin when he was 12 years old and has continued to use various narcotics off and on since that time.

This subject was released from Stony Mountain Penitentiary in 1980 but was sentenced to eight years in December 1986 after being out for almost seven years. I first became aware of this subject and his educational background through the media coverage of his recent arrest and subsequent sentencing. I had initially discounted him as a potential subject for this study due to his incarcerated status. However, when the criteria for selection of potential subjects was refined and a de-emphasis placed on recidivism as an indicator he was included. He is currently incarcerated in Stony Mountain and when the intent of the proposed interview was explained to him he was quite open and agreeable to an interview. The interview took place in an office in the Case Management Department in Stony Mountain Penitentiary on June 19, 1987.

This subject related that he comes from a French-Canadian family including three brothers and one sister. He is the only family member that has been in conflict with the law and the only one that has attended university. He states he began taking university courses in Stony Mountain in 1972 during his second prison sentence. He states he enrolled for "something different to do" and to keep his "brain mentally going" and as an alternative to pushing a broom or making canvas bags.

This subject stated he had completed high school before coming to prison. He states he has always enjoyed reading and strives to keep mentally active during his periods of incarceration and has studied such things as yoga, TM and biofeedback. He left high school at age 17 and joined the navy shortly after. He has travelled around the world and lived in Australia, England and California at different times of his life. The reason for his several prison sentences appears to stem from his use of drugs:

All my offences were either theft to get money for drugs or fraud to get money for drugs or selling drugs to get more money for drugs.

He was released from Stony Mountain in 1980 and states he went down to California in 1981 basically to get away from the "heat...Every bank that got robbed they were coming to see me." He states he attended Berkley because it was suggested to him by friends and was a good way to maintain a low profile. He states he supported himself by selling "dope" on campus and continued to use narcotics during this period. Mixing with people on campus was not a problem:

...there were classes involved. I just had so many hours a week of courses. But I've never had a problem getting along with people. I guess that comes from being a junkie, manipulator and con-man since the time I was 12. I have no problem talking to people. I'm great at avoiding my past. I enjoy people. I enjoyed university. So that

was no problem. I don't see it as an intimidating factor

Shortly after returning to Canada in 1984 he was arrested for theft of a large amount of drugs from a medical centre. Prior to being sentenced for this charge and at the suggestion of his lawyer he went to X-Kalay--a drug rehabilitation center--and seriously addressed his drug problem for the first time in his life:

I had a pretty hard look at myself at X-Kalay...I wasn't ready to face up to a lot of what was happening in my life to that point. And people there weren't reticent at all about pointing it out to me. And I was in a position for the first time in my life that I had to listen. I had to listen...I had to bite my tongue. The group sessions there are brutal...there's no finesse, no polish. It's straight out of the Inquisition.

He received a favourable report from X-Kalay and was given a suspended sentence with the stipulation that he remain at X-Kalay for a year or until they gave him permission to leave. After seven months he was hired as a counsellor at X-Kalay and worked with young people for almost two years. This proved to be a good working environment and something he always wanted to do:

I had the opportunity of working with kids. The money was incidental. Here they were paying me to do something I wanted to do. It kept me very busy...which was a good thing for me at the time because it kept my mind off drugs and it kept me isolated from a lot of contacts. I didn't have any friends or any acquaintances, I should say that weren't either hypes, prostitutes or thieves or a combinations of all those.

However, he was forced to leave X-Kalay due to allegations regarding professional impropriety involving a female client. At this time the subject stated he simultaneously encountered several stressful situations in his life which culminated in him "reverting back to former behaviour" and his current incarceration. He feels the reasons for this sequence of events was the absence of a support system after leaving X-Kalay, difficulty in securing employment because of his criminal record, the terminal illness of his father (cancer) and son's leukemia and death in addition to the precarious situations of his brother and sister who had both been diagnosed as having tumors.

This subject appears to accept responsibility for not having a support system in place and his response to these very stressful life-events. He maintains that he does not have a chemical dependency problem and that such a collision of circumstances could never happen again:

People here tell me that I have a chemical dependency problem. I maintain that I don't because the set of circumstances that happened in that short period of time are not replicable. I'm never going to get into another situation where I'm going to lose a father, lose a son and all of these other things...it's just not going to happen ever again. If I was clean for two and a half years after being wired for twenty-two years what's to stop me from being clean again? If I was to leave here today and go work with kids I wouldn't be in any worse situation than I am now. But they don't see it that way. Which is unfortunate.

Interview Three: B.S.W. Student

This subject is a 43 year old woman of Native ancestry. She began taking up-grading courses in the Prison For Women in Kingston six years ago and has just successfully completed the third year of a B.S.W. degree in an affirmative action program at the University of Manitoba. This subject has served several short sentences for alcohol-related offences in addition to three longer sentences: 18 months (assault); 3 months (assault) and 30 months (manslaughter). She was released on mandatory supervision from the Prison For Women in 1983 and has had no further contact with the law.

This subject's name was suggested to me by several people who were aware of the nature of this current study. I first met this person at a Christmas party at the John Howard Society. When approached about an interview she was very agreeable and was not hesitant about talking openly about her life experiences. The interview took place in my office at the John Howard Society in Winnipeg on May 14, 1987.

This subject related that she grew up on a reserve in western Manitoba but was sent away at an early age to attend the Portage la Prairie Residential School. She states that she "had terrible experiences with the principal" there, ran away frequently and eventually quit in grade 8. A problem with alcohol developed in her early teens and she was always being picked up for being drunk. She states that as soon as she was old enough to go to jail she began getting short sentences for being drunk and not being able to pay the fine. She had a baby when she was 14 which was "taken away" and another when she was 19--this boy still lives with her today. Her problem with alcohol was frequently accompanied by violence:

I had a lot of trouble with alcohol and as time went on I became more violent...lashing out at people. Not only when I was drinking. I was a single parent and a lot of times I got drunk and it seems I was more violent and didn't care about the consequences. I got charged for assault when I was about 23 and got 18 months. It was considered a very serious assault.

This subject's problem with alcohol appears to have developed into a primary problem which contributed in an on-going way to the commission of her offences. She relates that she had been in treatment programs "four or five times", attended A.A. but could not maintain sobriety. During her last sentence, she states that she tried to determine what the source of her problem was:

I guess I was tired of the life I had been leading...that's what I said when I got to Kingston and I looked at the blue and green walls...the fans were running on the ceiling and I thought ya, I always wanted to avoid this place but I'm here now but it'll be the last time. It was such a cold feeling. I'm finished with this life. I have to do something and the problem is my drinking and a lot of other problems I had before like rape and incest...I'd never dealt with those...I had started to question myself how come I could never stay sober...how come I'm always going back? I thought back to when I was a kid and thought about the incest and wondered if anything came from there.

This subject relates that when she was released she voluntarily resided in a half-way house in Winnipeg and sought out the support and professional help she needed to deal with her problems. With the help of several people, she determined that the source of many of her problems stemmed from the sexual abuse she had experienced:

I continued to go to Klinik for help. I used to cry my head off. I relieved a lot of those things that happened to me when I was a kid. I used to remember the feelings...the touching...the words that were said which broke my trust completely with everything...and everybody from that point.

While she was attending Klinik for therapy, this subject relates that she was simultaneously working on other areas of her life by attending A.A. and continuing with her education. She had upgraded her academic standing in Kingston to grade 11 and followed through with more upgrading on the street prior to being accepted into an

affirmative action B.S.W. program at the University of Manitoba three years ago.

Early experiences at the Portage la Prairie Residential School led this subject to feel that she "could never ask for help..." because she "was considered stupid". However, when she went back to education in prison and later on the street she found she could handle the work and this boosted her confidence and broadened her outlook:

...it was such a difference now that I had been going to school . I watched the news on TV. It wasn't the same anymore. I could understand better what they were saying. Just that idea...imagine me I could learn these things. I think that's what kept me going...that I could do it...I was really proud of it.

This subject states that she feels she has "grown so much through education" and through dealing with her problems that she could never return to the kind of life she once led:

All these things that have happened. My life has changed so much that I feel like it's somebody else it happened to...like it's a totally different person that lived that life. I don't feel I could ever go back to that life I had. I'm almost positive it will never happen again...I couldn't go back to that kind of life or put myself in a situation like that.

Interview Four: B.A. Subject

This subject is 30 years old and completed his B.A. by correspondence in May, 1986 in Prince Albert Penitentiary. He was transferred to adult court and sentenced to five years when he was 17 years old for a rape he committed when he was 16. He has been in prison for most of his life since that time. This subject has been sentenced to three prison terms: five years (rape); six years (rape) and two years (assault causing bodily harm). He was released from Stony Mountain Penitentiary after expiry of his sentence in February 1987.

This subject was suggested to me by Ed Anderson at the University of Manitoba. Mr. Anderson had been in recent contact with this person and had known him previously as a result of his position in the Continuing Education Department and that department's involvement in the university program at Stony Mountain Penitentiary. Mr. Anderson first contacted this subject about an interview and with the consent of the subject passed his name and phone number on to me. The interview took place in my office at the John Howard Society in Winnipeg on June 2, 1987.

Prior to this subject's last release from Stony Mountain in February, 1987 he had been given a detention

hearing under the provisions of Bill C-67. At that time the decision was made to "gate" him or not allow him to serve the remaining one-third of his sentence on the street because of the nature of his previous offences and his likeliness to re-offend. This decision was of little consequence to the subject however, because he relates that he had already decided to refuse mandatory supervision:

I waved everything anyway...parole...passes. I was tired of the whole thing...reporting to this person reporting to that person. There was actually no reason to...they were of no importance to me. They never helped me find a job. They never helped me with my education. They never helped me find an apartment or setting up something for me to do in the evening. I had no idea of what to do in the evening...But I guess I was just tired of all this answering to people. I've done it for a lot of years.

This subject relates that prior to his first offence at age 16 he had never been in any kind of serious trouble before. He states that at the time of this first offence he had been "sniffing" contact cement on a regular basis and had been having hallucinations. He related that he used to "drink pretty heavy" during the other times he was out and that he had been drinking on the other two occasions that had resulted in prison sentences. He states that he still drinks now "but mostly on the weekend" because his job means too much to him. He is currently employed in a lumber yard as a fork-lift operator.

This subject states he entered prison with a grade nine standing but during his first sentence he worked in the machine shop and took related training courses such as drafting, blueprint reading and math. When he was released he worked in a machine shop "doing welding and stuff like that" until he was arrested after being out "six or eight months".

It was during his second sentence that he enrolled in the university program at Stony Mountain. He states he enrolled because his best friend at that time was enrolled in the university program and because he had been influenced by a former girlfriend who was been taking psychiatric nursing courses at the time. He continued with his education because he wanted "to see if it would accomplish anything...improve things."

He states that "pretty well my whole program was at Stony Mountain with the professors there" and that the only course he ever failed was during the one on-campus term he took in 1982 at the University of Manitoba. He feels his lack of academic success at that time was attributable to the fact that he "wasn't really out that long" and was experiencing difficulty adjusting.

This subject's employment history on the street is minimal due to his lengthy periods of incarceration.

However, he worked at various jobs in prison and takes pride in his level of responsibility on those jobs:

I guess most of my actual work history has been in jail. Pretty well..the three jails I've been in I've had top jobs. Some guys might have been in jail a year or two and every two or three months they are working at a different job. Myself I've never been like that. I've always looked for something I wanted to do and I've stayed with it...I went to work in the steer shed and a few months later I was the top guy there. I was taking care of everything...all the feeding and all the medications and everything...in the finance department what I was putting on the slips was what the girls were putting in the computer...we were paying bills for \$400,000. a month sometimes.

While this subject credits his involvement with education for his personal development in the way of writing and communication skills, increased confidence and a broader understanding of the world around him, he repeatedly expressed frustration throughout the interview at the lack of results it has produced in the the way of employment on the street:

All the courses I've taken for the C.M.A. (Certified Management Accountant) at P.A....a commercial law course and first-year accounting and clerical courses and all the courses for my B.A....it seems like what I've taken already hasn't produced anything...One of the big things is that people say the kinds of things you did in the institutuion weren't at the same level as on the street. I don't buy that at all. One place I applied and I told them...I was working with government employees...so you can imagine how much work I was doing. I applied to quite a few places. I had my resume all typed up. I mailed

quite a few out and I delivered quite a few. The biggest thing was people saying about the comparison of jobs I had inside compared to out here. I think that's a crock. I think the real thing is being an ex-inmate. Like Manpower saying you have to build up credibility. What about all the money I was paying out in P.A.? Here I was in charge of the steer shed too...not so much all that money worth of beef but the caring for of these animals...with all these jobs the handling of responsibility was important. All these courses I took...there's not piles of people that do these things in jail. It hasn't given me any recognition out here. It's all lead so far to nothing...I come out on the street and nothing...

This subject is expecting to be laid off from his lumber-yard job in the fall and to be collecting unemployment insurance. He states he plans to consider his options at that time. His brother is a long-distance truck driver and possibly he will consider something like that.

With regard to his past record and the fact he hasn't stayed on the street very long between offences and was "gated" prior to his last release, he hopes his last sentence was the end of it:

Well I hope it is. I can't necessarily say for sure but I just figure to keep on going the way I'm going and hope to start getting some breaks down the road somewhere. Unless you get that break...

Interview Five: B.A. Student

This subject is 40 years old and has completed ten university courses towards his B.A. degree. He is currently a student at the University of Winnipeg. With the exception of two courses completed recently on campus at the University of Winnipeg his university education was obtained in various federal correctional institutions. His adult criminal record includes convictions for auto theft, break and enter, robbery, armed robbery and several assault causing bodily harm offences. He has served 13 prison sentences, beginning in 1962 when he was 15 years old: 6 months; 8 months; 15 months; 8 months; 18 months; 6 months; 6 months; 6 months; 27 months; 3 years; two years; 45 months and four years. He was released on mandatory supervision from Stony Mountain Penitentiary in August, 1986.

I have personally known this subject for a number of months. His name was suggested to me by several people as a potential interviewee for this study. When approached about an interview he was quite agreeable and the interview took place in my office at the John Howard Society in Winnipeg on April 19, 1987.

This subject relates that his involvement with the courts began when he appeared in juvenile court for

vandalism and theft at age ten. He was sent to the Manitoba Home For Boys three years later for relatively minor offences. It is his belief that part of the rationale for sending him away at that time was to get him away from his father who "they felt was an alcoholic." While he was at the Home for a year and a half, he escaped five times and was released largely because the staff there felt they couldn't "handle" him any longer. He was told at that time if he got in further trouble they wouldn't accept him back and he would be transferred to adult court.

When he was at the Manitoba Home For Boys he states that he showed "a fair aptitude for learning" and was promoted from grade seven to grade nine in a matter of months. He was told by the superintendant that he had one of the highest I.Q.s of the boys there in recent times and was urged to continue with his education. He also indicated that he showed signs at that time of "being a hopeless alcoholic and drug addict":

...bombers, seconals, tuinals you could get them six for a buck in those days. We'd usually jump on a bus, go to Main Street and buy two bucks worth from one of about four pushers we knew. Six bombers apiece would be pretty heavy. We'd eat them, get back on the Sargent bus and by the time we got back to my friend's place we'd be bombed. A couple of times I o.d.'d...it was a cheap high...a high right? Already in those days I was concerned with being high.

This subject relates that shortly after leaving the Manitoba Home For Boys he began serving a number of sentences at Brandon and Headingly. At that time his offences were "a lot of B. and E.'s and some assault charges." He states:

I went through a period there were it seemed like I got charged for assault causing bodily harm on a weekly basis. I'd get drunk, I'd get in a fight with someone and I'd hurt someone and get thrown in the Vaughan Street Detention Home.

He related that fighting became an important element in his life during his early years and that he "started to become famous for it...at least on a local level" and the more he became aware of that the more he fought.

It was during his fifth provincial sentence that he returned to school to take an up-grading course and again "showed that same aptitude for learning. I was always at the top of the class." He also relates that he had developed an interest in literature:

I read constantly. Because of an old con I met...he introduced me to Bertrand Russell and some pretty deep reading. I became interested in things like plays. Things that I never ever discussed with anyone...but I became interested in literature. I just knew that it interested me so I read and read.

However, this subject states that he continued to be in and out of prison for many more years and considered

himself "a professional thief" even though he worked for several months at a time as a painter or whatever he "could get." For several years all his charges were for property offences but then his "drinking and drug use became really bad...it was way out of control." He got in several fights and lost an eye in a fight which he describes as a "fairly traumatic experience." He states that this only "speeded" him up and he took to "carrying knives and guns." He stabbed someone in a fight and was again sentenced to the penitentiary for 45 months.

It was during this sentence that he started taking university programs. He states:

...all through those years there'd always been university courses offered but I was of the mind however that I was more intelligent than anyone in university...so why bother? But this time I went in and was determined to work at it...and managed to get seven courses down at Stony. I went at it seriously. My old aptitude was there. I certainly debunked the myth that everybody in prison is illiterate and all that other stuff and I was able to prove it. All the professors from the U. of M. were quite taken with me...when it came time for a parole hearing I had professors sending in letters. The philosophy professor said I was the equivalent of a graduate student...I had one guy come right to the board...Ed Anderson...he was the continuing education officer for the U. of M. It was debateable whether they wanted to let me out because I was still fucking with drugs inside the joint. I'd been pinched a number of times with outfits (syringes). It was a divided board. Half of them didn't want me out because of my infractions of the rules inside the pen but at the same time the progress I'd shown in school

indicated it might be worthwhile for them to let me out and give me a chance. I made the parole.

Although he was released on day parole to attend university he states he "couldn't make it on the campus at the U. of M." He relates that the night before registration the thought of "22,000 students milling around...running, rushing looking for their lecture halls" terrified him and he got drunk and went back to the half-way house and "picked a fight with the whole joint." He was returned to the penitentiary:

I came back...went in...had the opportunity to do more courses. I was so angry at the way my life had gone. I was so angry at myself...I couldn't do it. I dropped out of a couple courses and I just gave up.

When he got out he "hit the street in a valium fog" and was picked up five weeks later and sentenced to four years for armed robbery. Although he had won two writing contests for his poetry and had been published "in a few poetry journals", he took his "first major university English course" by correspondence during this last sentence and feels it made an impact on his life:

That course gave me the knowledge that I have control of my life. I never knew that. That I'm the guy who determines how I'm going to feel today. I can see that now and I could even see that then. But I didn't feel that then. I knew it intellectually then...that all through these years I was the guy that determined if I was

going to go to jail...if I was going to feel bad...whatever. That course gave me the absolute understanding that I am in absolute control of my day...it really came about by studying this character Faust...I garnered more ideas from that course. Ideas that I will probably be using for the rest of my life I realize now. But more than anything it showed me that I have control over my own development and over my own personal life.

This subject states that he attempted to jump "right back into the criminal life" when he was released on mandatory supervision last August but relates that he felt something had changed:

...the difference was that I had developed a conscience...I could no longer step backwards and say I didn't have a conscience. I couldn't go backwards and I was very frustrated with my criminal life...I couldn't hurt people quite the way I had in the past. I just couldn't do it anymore. I knew I couldn't do it.

He relates that he tried to make a decision to "to get straight...to be straight" and started to attend A.A. meetings. He recently successfully completed two on-campus courses at the University of Winnipeg and plans to finish his degree during the next year. He states:

There's one thing about education I've noticed...there's no going back. You can't ever step back and say that you're not aware anymore...you can't hide behind some sort of street-corner anger. It doesn't work anymore. All of a sudden you are able to see issues you weren't able to look at before. You have been able to step outside yourself for a time.

Chapter 6

Analysis and Discussion of Findings

6.1 Reason For Involvement In Education Program

The subjects in this study gave a variety of reasons for initially enrolling in prison education courses: a) for the challenge; b) for something to do; c) for the stimulation; d) the education program was more appealing than other institutional alternatives and e) the subject was influenced by friends taking similar courses.

I started taking university courses in part for something to do...to keep me alive. But also just that I always found books interesting and it was a bit of a challenge. I wondered if I could do it.

(Ph.d. Subject)

The reason I jumped in was to keep my brain alive. Something different to think about. It was just something different to do. To keep my brain mentally going. Instead of working in my cell or working as a cleaner...pushing a broom or making canvas bags or whatever...It gets you away from jail too...that was my primary motivation. I'd get my nose in a book and I'm not doing time.

(M.A. Subject)

The girl I had been going out with was taking nurse training courses and one of the guys I was hanging around with in Stony was one of the first guys to ever get a degree inside. I think those

were the two basic reasons I started taking courses.
(B.A. Subject)

They had a school there and I went in there and looked around and I saw these computers and these girls were working on them. I just thought I can do that too. I talked to the principal and he said "Why do you want to go to school?" I said "That's a stupid question to ask...I really don't know myself. I just want to be doing something."
(B.S.W. student)

These findings tend to concur with other research findings which suggest that prisoners enroll in educational programs for various reasons other than mental development. However, what seems clear is that once they became involved something happened that made them want to continue with their education.

This developmental sequence of motivation to continue appears not to be unique to the subjects in this study but rather has been noted in the literature. Griffin (1979) states:

One indication that came across very strongly from staff in the university program was that the motivation for education appeared to change during the course of the program. At the beginning, more superficial motivations predominated, but later in the program a serious interest in the subject being studied developed (p.102).

Further, the Review of the University Education Program Correctional Service of Canada (1982) concluded:

Despite the initial motivation which prompted the inmate to join the program, it has been suggested that, at some point in the process, one becomes caught up by the quest for knowledge (p.23).

6.2 Motivation to Continue With Education

The idea of getting caught up in "the quest for knowledge" as a motivation for continuing with education in prison is partially substantiated by the responses of the subjects in this study.

Education for me was just for the sake of learning...learning different kinds of things...what's a B.A. really? ...I think a B.A. now qualifies you to manage a gas station rather than pump gas...when I finished the thing the dean asked me if I'd like to go downtown for the graduation. So I'm thinking now they're going to take me out with two security guards...ball and chain and I'm going to wear my cap and gown. So I said "No just superimpose my diploma on a dartboard of Farrah Fawcett." He didn't like that. They just put it in the mail to me.
(M.A.Subject)

Like I was really absorbed by the intellectual pursuit which I think is very different than most.
(Ph.d.Subject)

Another explanation for continuing with education is the unanimous endorsement by the subjects in this study that their academic efforts rewarded them in an on-going way with feelings of increased confidence, self-esteem, self-

worth, the satisfaction of accomplishment and the vague belief that what they were doing was externally validated outside the prison and might somehow provide a path to a new life on the street.

... I said ya, this is something I worked hard for...seven years...I got myself a B.A. and I did it all in jail. It was something to be proud of. So that was a bit of a confidence booster for me...It's a good feeling I have to give myself a stroke.
(M.A.Subject)

...this was a senior level English course and I ended up with 67% which isn't a great mark but having never had the benefit or the experience of such a course before I was extremely proud of myself.
(B.A. student)

I was sure once I started that I wanted to complete my degree...I wanted to see if it would accomplish anything...if it would get me anywhere...improve anything. I registered for five courses that time. I guess I was motivated. I wanted to push on with something that would lead to something better. (B.A.Subject)

I got a lot of feelings like...I could do it. I got some confidence. When I looked at what I'd typed after...I thought ya, I did it...look at that. That made me feel really good. I had such a good feeling that I could accomplish something. I noticed I was speaking up for myself too...I'd never done that before. (B.S.W. Student)

Ayers (1980) noted similar findings regarding the difference between initial reasons for enrolling in an education program and subsequent reasons for continuing:

Most of the men have reported...that they did not enroll initially to get an education but somehow became hooked on education as they learned more and gained confidence or self-esteem (p.60).

It seems likely many students on regular campuses are rewarded with similar feelings of accomplishment and satisfaction but such pay-offs in the context of the lives of prisoner-students appear to be of almost unique significance:

I think it's true for everyone that gets locked into the system and processed by it. You are trashed. You have a completely discredited social identity. So you lose confidence, you lose faith in yourself as a person that can deal with that society. But one is only a failure in terms of the system not necessarily in terms of yourself. But of course it rubs off, it influences you. So I think taking university courses in prison can be really beneficial. I think it's a real social identity a real morale...confidence booster...if people get the sense that they can succeed...in a conformist kind of way in this society. (Ph.d. Subject)

The suggestion that people who successfully engage a university program in prison are frequently rewarded and motivated to continue by increased feelings of self-esteem and self-worth is supported by other research. Duguid (1987) for example states:

...when they do succeed they tend to out-perform more traditional students. When they do experience success at university work the sense of self-esteem or self-worth which accrues to them is quite significant (p.6).

6.3 Expanded Horizons

The subjects in this study consistently talked about how they felt their involvement with university education had expanded their horizons and enabled them to view the world around them through a wider lense. This enrichment tended to give additional dimensions to their own experiences and their perception of the world around them. They reported the ability to be more circumspect and view issues from several points of view.

You start learning to look at things from a different direction...not just educational things but other things too. Like say a task at work or something. Like there could be four other ways that are easier to do it. One thing I think education does is it helps you try and look at those things. I think before I just thought of one way and it was more or less straight ahead.
(B.A. Subject)

I see things now...not only how I interpret them but also how society has created problems and people don't know how to cope with them. That's how I see problems now...they're not isolated problems. I used to think I was the only one.
(B.S.W. student)

This expansion of one's horizon tended to be manifested in a more tolerant give and take attitude towards other people and their opinions:

After studying religions I had a better understanding. Before studying this I was intolerant especially if it was Catholic. I was more tolerant after studying it. It gave me a

better understanding of what their motivations were and why they do the things they do. Education had a large part in giving me a larger picture again of the overall systems of religions. The more education you have, the more tolerance you have as a human being... (M.A. Subject)

For one thing I could no longer...and I can't...in my better moments by the way, in my more objective moments which are my better moments, I can no longer look at people and say he or she is doing this because they're no good. Nothing's black or white. I began to understand the hostility of the native people in prison. I began to understand my own hostility. (B.A. student)

There's one thing about education that I've noticed...there's no going back. You can't hide behind some sort of street-corner anger. It doesn't work anymore. All of a sudden you are able to see issues you weren't able to look at before. You have been able to step outside of yourself for a time. (B.A. student)

It seemed to be a recurring perception of the subjects in this study that their engagement with university education allowed them to view people and situations in a larger context which in turn allowed them to better understand their own lives and experiences against a broader frame of reference.

It allowed me to gain a broader understanding of why I was rebelling and so I became quite heavily involved in a political understanding of the world. Which allowed me to take a lot of the frustrations and anger that I had directed at individual situations and myself. It allowed me to place it in a broader context so it made more sense and that led me away from the kind of rebellion that I was involved in before to what was--and I guess you'd have to say--is a more acceptable legitimate form of rebellion. (Ph.d. Subject)

This broader view of the world and the resultant ability to understand and define one's relationship to that world does not mean there was necessarily a kind of harmonious accomodation between the two.

Sociology, political science...that's what I found gave me the context in which to place my own life so I understood. Mind you, I was lucky too. I found some good radical left criminologists who were able to take my whole sense of critique of the world around me and give it form. Strange things that I'd experienced but I just couldn't put together and through interaction with them I was able to put together in a theoretical framework and found that through theory I could organize it. I took those bits and pieces that were experientially mine and related them. They showed me how they related to each other. So it was a real broadening of consciousness. For me that was really important because I wasn't about to stop being a critic. I thought it was shit then and I still think it's shit. You know, after 16 years university. But now I simply know I was right. I dislike this society and the more I studied it the more I understood why.

(Ph.d. Subject)

The experiences of this subject regarding his beneficial involvement with "good radical left criminologists" and the disciplines of sociology and political science in particular, do not accord with the formula for suitable teaching personnel and curriculum of university prison education suggested by Ayers (1973):

There are a number of problems associated with teaching a sociology course when the purpose of the overall program is to bring out society's traditional values. In particular, sociology is essentially amoral as it leads one to the tradition that is utter relativistic; there are

no absolutes...Some philosophy courses would be appropriate but in this case it is most important that the instructor should not be a social radical. In this connection it is most important that instructors with a radical orientation not be used for either university or other programs whether the subject involved is English, Mathematics, Political Science, Human Relations, Drawing or Music. In general inmates have led relatively unstructured lives and have not been exposed to society's traditional values. It is most important then that instructors be in sympathy with the overall goals of the educational program, which should be to provide structured and integrated courses with a view to developing the inmate's value system so that he will more easily integrate with society when he returns to the street. It may be appropriate to use the literature of dissent or study tactics for changing society's institutions if one has been brought up with middle class values, but such an orientation is completely inappropriate for the rehabilitation of inmates (p.55).

The perceptions of the subjects in this study pertaining to the horizon-broadening effects of serious involvement with university education tend to be generally validated by other pertinent research. The follow-up evaluation of the University of Victoria Program (Ayers et al., 1980) found similar significant changes in their students:

There were two types of cognitive changes frequently reported by Program students. The first had to do with the style of perceiving problems. Students reported that they could now consider issues from several points of view rather than the single, ego-centric point of view of the prisoner. The second type of cognitive change reported was a greater awareness of the purposes and functions of society, its

institutions and the individual's roles in society (p.i).

Although the perceptions reported by the former students of the University of Victoria Program and the perceptions reported by the subjects in this study appear similar, a question arises concerning the reason for those changes. The B.C. program researchers (Ayers et al., 1980) suggest that these changes were brought about by their program's unique features which has a "structural developmental thrust to promote cognitive and moral development" and is based on the assumption "that prisoners are lacking in cognitive development, social skills and moral reasoning ability and that these factors are related to facts of their behaviour" (p.i).

But with this theoretical framework and approach to education in mind, the question arises about why the subjects in this current study report similar changes in perception as a result of involvement with educational programs in four different prisons or university campuses thousands of miles away from where the University of Victoria Program applies its unique approach to prison education? One explanation might be that a broadening of horizons can potentially occur wherever people seriously engage university education. It may in fact not be related at all to the positivistic notion of cognitive change or

moral education. The University of Victoria researchers (Ayers et al., 1980) seemingly recognize this possibility with the statement: "but it remains difficult to determine the exact source of this growth or development" (p.35).

6.4 Moral Development

The concept of moral education has emerged recently as one of the objectives of prison education programs (Duguid 1981 and Morin 1981). The theory of the Matsqui model--the model foremost in this new thrust--is inspired by the research of Piaget on cognitive development and that of Kohlberg on moral development. Rather than seeking to convert the prisoner by preaching the practice of virtue as the earlier chaplain-educators did in prisons a century ago, this model attempts to encourage him/her to discuss moral questions and problems related to the concept of justice. The technique used involved courses in the humanities (mainly history, literature and philosophy) in which the student is led to compare his own moral values with those that have stood out and prevailed in human history.

While the insights and comments deduced from the subjects in this study suggest their lives have been

influenced in a positive mind-expanding way by their involvement with university education there were few comments to suggest this involvement led to anything resembling a major transformation of their moral values.

The one instance where something of this nature may have occurred is described by a subject who was released from Stony Mountain Penitentiary last year:

I jumped right back into the criminal life but the difference was I had developed a conscience which was just like education, I could no longer step backwards and say I didn't have a conscience. I couldn't go backwards and I was very frustrated with my criminal life. But here's the difference. I didn't drink to excess anymore even though I have an alcoholic problem. I still drank the way I used drugs in Sharps Farm...in the max...I did it with control because at no point did I ever want it to get out of control because I still had that prison wariness about me. I didn't want to do anything that would leave me helpless at any point. I still lived like a warrior. But a true warrior...I'm understanding never gets in a fight...never. He probably goes through life without getting into combat because a warrior really learns the essence of being a man and learning how to yield and balance things out way before a situation arises. I was living like that even in the criminal life downtown. I wasn't getting into fights and playing my role the way I used to. I've got a reputation amongst the underworld in Winnipeg and I wasn't capitalizing on that to any great degree which is what I'd done in the past. I used to really play it up...Instead now I felt a bit ashamed about that...a bit of apprehension about that. I felt like the aging gunfighter...fuck I didn't want to be me. I had developed a conscience. I couldn't hurt people quite the way I had in the past. I just couldn't do it anymore. I knew I couldn't do it.

(B.A. student)

The reference this subject made to education in the passage above refers to a comment he made earlier in the interview:

There's one thing about education I've noticed...there's no going back. You can't ever step back and say you're not aware anymore...you can't hide behind some sort of street-corner anger. It doesn't work anymore. All of a sudden you are able to see issues you weren't able to look at before. You have been able to maybe step outside of yourself for a time.

The explanation given by this subject for his apparent change in perspective is not definitive but rather multi-causal. He stated "It was a combination of things. Certainly psychologically I was older." In regard to the possible influence of his recent educational involvement prior to his release he made repeated reference to an English Literature course he took (by correspondence):

...Particularly that English Lit course. I studied Faust. That course gave me the knowledge that I have control of my life. I never knew that. That I'm the guy who determines how I'm going to feel today. I can see now and I could even see that then. But I didn't feel that then. I knew it intellectually then...that through these years I was the guy that determined if I was going to go to jail...if I was going to feel bad...if I was going to get in a fight...that course gave me the absolute understanding that I am in absolute control of my day. It really came about by studying this character Faust. I garnered more ideas out of that course. Ideas that I will probably be using for the rest of my life I realize now. But more than anything it

showed me that I have control over my own development and over my own personal life...I corresponded with a tutor. I shared some of my feelings and views that way. It was meaningful. I've kept it all. I've still got all my essays from that course. It will still have meaning for me 50 years from now...if I'm still alive. Christopher Marlowe would have been Shakespeare had he not been killed in a bar room brawl when he was 29. What happened was he cut his life off by getting in a simple beef. I guess he had problems with anger and stuff like that.

This subject's perception of the personal understanding he acquired as a result of his involvement with this particular university course suggests it was instrumental in his arrival at conclusions regarding his personal accountability for the direction of his life. He suggests this understanding has influenced his day-to-day activities on the street.

I also began to see just over the last three months, I guess, if I do the right things and take responsibility for my life and go and meet appointments and follow through with little things every day. Continue to do that. I see the immediate returns.

The comments made by the other subjects in this study pertaining to insights or realignment of their values/morals did not suggest any major changes took place.

...every person has their own set of ethics and I made mine up when I was about 12 years old. It was very simple, at least when you say it, it's simple. I don't fuck with people. If they fuck with me they're wrong they deserve whatever they

get. I won't go out of my way. Individuals I'll never rip...corporations, companies, banks...they're different they're insured. My mother right now is having a lot of trouble because of my dad's death with insurance companies. He bought a policy...a couple years prior to when he was diagnosed as having cancer and they're saying that's not true. They want letters upon letters from the Mayo Clinic and all this. They're really giving her a hard time. I've always hated insurance companies. They're my prime target. Moral development? Did my university education make me a better moral person? I don't know. I don't think so. I never considered myself to be the average boo boo bear. I've lived my life for good or for bad...I've pretty well done what I've wanted to do. I don't go out of my way to hurt people...I never did. So I guess in that sense I've always been a moral person. Morality is a very subjective thing...every body's different...everybody's unique...education gives you more tools to learn but I don't know if it had any effect on making me any more moral.

(M.A.Subject)

I don't think I was rehabilitated in the sense that...I was ashamed of anything I've done time for. I never robbed any little old ladies. I don't feel morally wrong about robbing banks. Banks have been robbing us for years. Like it was just fair game as far as I'm concerned. It wasn't that. But it was that I thought there was more to life than rotting in one of their prison cells...that's why I reject the concept of rehabilitation. I wasn't rehabilitated. I'm still not. I still think the way I always thought in many really basic ways. Except that my understanding is much broader. (Ph.d.Subject)

The comments by the subjects in this study seem to suggest that university education broadened their experiential horizons and provided them with new dimensions of understanding. It was however, difficult to discern

perceptual indications of any real subjective transformations with regard to morals or ethics.

Possibly this can be explained in terms of the inappropriateness of the initial assumptions and expectations which prompted a cognitive/moral developmental approach to prison education in the first place. It seems that a model, such as the Matsqui model, might to some degree be merely a more sophisticated version of the etiological approaches to criminology that have been recognized as ineffective (Morin,1983).

A cognitive/moral developmental approach to education is patterned on a therapeutic ("medical") approach i.e. the individual has deficiencies that education remedies by courses prescribed in advance and given in an isolated setting until the appearance of signs of improvement. Medical, psychiatric, sociological and other causation models were developed to remedy the biological, psychological, social and other deficiencies considered to be causes of crime and to correct "criminal mentality", cure the criminal "microbe" and redirect criminal behaviour. Specialists today are practically unanimous in their belief that causal (etiological) approaches are incapable of explaining criminality, and that the corresponding treatment methods are ineffective in controlling, preventing or

correcting criminal behaviour and have virtually no effect on recidivism (Morin,1983).

A further point with regard to the appropriateness of adopting a moral approach to prison education is that prisoners tend to see values as essentially middle class norms, the norms of their oppressors (Nelson and Hockema, 1981) and question--perhaps with some justification--the morality of those norms.

They want to teach humanities in prisons and they talk about moral re-education. Well just a minute! Like just whose fucking moral values are you going to moralize me into? Whose values are you going to impose on me. I don't think this is a society with moral values. This is dog eat dog, every man for himself, whatever the market will bare. That's what capitalism's about. So don't tell me you taught me your morals. Afraid not Jack! I didn't buy it then and I don't buy it now. I think I was more honest as a thief than most people are in society are as square-johns. I never hurt people. I've never been into sweat labour. I just robbed a bank. I just robbed the rich. They got wealthy by robbing us. So I still don't think I did anything morally wrong. It was dumb...especially getting caught.

Moral re-education? Well, maybe that's how they sell these education programs in prison. But it comes down to values. Whose values? Why is it a higher value to be a business man who exploits people that work for them and virtually plays games. Like my local IGA store they're thieves, they play disgusting dishonest games. They take cans of tomatoes that are \$1.40...whatever...on the shelf and they put them out front for \$1.40 and mark up all the rest on the shelf and this is a sale. That's dishonest. They're playing with my head. Whose values are behind that kind of approach to the world? Why should I want to emulate them? (Ph.d.Subject)

6.5 University as a Release Plan

The subjects in this study all attended on-campus university programs following their release and their experiences range from, on the one hand continuing on to achieve a doctorate and becoming a professor to, on the other hand taking a number of preparatory courses during the summer then getting drunk the day before registration, taking off and failing to register for the fall term. The experience of these subjects tend to illustrate the potential benefits that can accrue from "university as a release plan" while at the same time emphasizing some of the reasons for their failure to realize these benefits.

One point that seemed to be emphatically made, in different ways, by all subjects was the difficulties they experienced in making the transition from prison to the street:

One thing that I think is really crucial is adjusting to living on the street and I've never thought and still don't think that people understand or take into account just how difficult that adjustment is...I don't think you just go from prisoner to square-john, that's nonsense. After the brutalization that goes on. The way you are trashed by society, you don't just automatically...if you're a person with a bit of will and spunk you don't just say "Yes sir...no sir, I'll be like you sir!" So, I think there maybe has to be some kind of secondary stages,

transitional stages and university can serve that purpose.
(Ph.d. Subject)

The adjustment when I came out was very difficult. It was very very hard because I wanted to do something and I didn't know who I could get to help me to make more changes in my life...I was scared. I was terrified because this was the first time I was going to school on the street.
(B.S.W. student)

The courses I took on campus were in 1982 when I was on parole...I didn't fair really well on campus because...I wasn't out that long...it was a big adjustment...being on your own.
(B.A. Subject)

When I got out on parole I couldn't make it on the campus at the U. of M. and I was terrified of all the people there. There were 22,000 students there. It was like being in a little city. And I had never been exposed to that many people in my entire life...going to Eaton's was a chore to me never mind this huge campus. The night before the day when everything returns to normal and there'd be 22,000 students milling around...you know running, rushing looking for their lecture halls...I guess just the thought of it drove me into a bar. I sat down and drank up \$80. worth of whiskey and went back (to the half-way house) and picked a fight with the whole joint. Ended up fighting with one of the guards out on the lawn. Ended up going on the run again. I had a Canada-wide warrant again.
(B.A. student)

The difficulty of making the adjustment from prison back into the community can be extremely great and attempting to convey this experience to someone who's never experienced it could be, as one person put it, "like trying to tell a blind man what it's like to see." However,

assuming the persona or social identity of "student" can be very beneficial for prisoners on their way to adopting an "other than criminal" identity after release. Duguid (1987) states:

All but the most incorrigible prisoners consider while in prison the possibility of a new identity after release, though few manage to pull it off. Part of the problem may be that they aim too high, aspiring to move from prisoner/criminal to citizen/businessman in one step. The interim step of student might be a more modest practical alternative (p.5).

The possibility of university providing an interim place of adjustment is aptly described by one subject:

University provided for me a completely different life circumstance, it allowed me to develop a life style which wasn't one that I had to rigidly conform to. It allowed me a freedom of development of myself. It allowed me to come to terms with the world I lived in and what I wanted to do in that world...And so it also served as a transition stage in that way...it allowed me a status. A social identity...that was really helpful. I really think that was important. That I was able to construct a social identity for myself and for the world around me that was neither a rank conformist or a thief...University gave me space to come to terms with myself...to try to develop an approach, an understanding, a means of dealing with the world as a square-john. Which I'd never really done. (Ph.d. Subject)

6.6 Adjustment Problems

Despite university's positive potential as a post-release transitional environment many people fail to realize

these advantages. The experiences of the subjects in this study suggest many reasons for this:

In terms of explaining why some people succeed isn't anything to do with all that positivistic stupidity which attempts to locate the problem in the individual and say either this individual is strong they were able to make the integration or this individual is weak-- whatever form that takes--was unable to. What's not addressed is the context of being a prisoner and trying not to be a prisoner. The real difficulty is posed by what's done to you...not necessarily you. That's what's really crucial. That's what makes people fail or not fail. It's that support that they have. And often it's good luck, chance...Generally there isn't a lot of support around, family and that kind of thing.

(Ph.d. Subject)

I think I always felt a lot of inferiority...low self-esteem so therefore I was always fighting...within myself. That's why a lot of inmates feel like that...retaliating a lot of times. If you're always being told ah, you'll never make anything out of your life...you begin to believe it after awhile. Until you deal with that anger...why you're angry...because I've always done what people wanted me to do. I think that's what happened to me. You know where I realized that? With the parole situation. I started to see and understand that it was a game. I saw the parole application and I saw what it was really saying to me and I said Ok I'll go along with it, I'll play their game. I realized it was a game...something I never quite understood before. Like reform...rehabilitation? How can people expect you to reform when they send you to a place like that? You know, you begin to see that in a parole application. How can they say you reformed? I mean what is there here? Instead you say...if I had a chance to do this or do that I'd probably do it but you're isolated...you're not given the tools.

(B.S.W. student)

The crucial necessity of appropriate post-release support following a lengthy period of incarceration was repeatedly emphasized by the experiences of the subjects in this study. For the Ph.d. Subject quoted above the university environment proved to be "an easy place to fit into...a nurturing environment". He also credits his success with the fact he had a parole officer who left him alone:

Well recidivism...it's so much situational... circumstantial. You know, if I'd got a real asshole for a parole officer I think I could have been sent back two or three times. I actually got a guy that left me alone...since at the time I went into university there was virtually no one...or very few people doing it they saw me as an exception. I think I got breaks that other people weren't given because I was quite successful in this program...they left me alone. And I think that was a very important ingredient in it all. You know, because I screwed up in their terms a number of times when I was going to university.

Another factor possibly contributing to this subject's successful adaptation to the university environment was his already successful academic background:

But school for me was always easy. And relative to most people in prison I was well educated. You know, I had my high school and I was always an honours student. So I don't think in any way it's surprising I was successful in university. I was always successful in school.

Although he credits his parole officer's tendency to leave him alone as being beneficial to his successful

adjustment, another subject in this study felt he would have benefited from more attention from his parole officer particularly in the way of support:

When it was getting close to the time when I had to sign up for the courses and arrange everything they told me oh ya, they are going to help me make these arrangements. I went to the University of Manitoba to see about getting a student loan and they told me I couldn't have it because I was on parole...mandatory. But what I did was go back and tell my parole officer and he said don't worry about it we'll take care of it and everything. At the same time I was talking to Ed Anderson at the U. of M. and he talked to somebody at Student Aid there on campus and the same day the guy called me in and talked to me...he phoned the main office and they gave me an application and everything. I never mentioned it to the Parole Service that I had it arranged. I was already on campus taking courses for three weeks and the only time it was even mentioned was when I was leaving after reporting and my parole officer said ya, we're still working on your student stuff. I said you don't have to work on it anymore because I'm already on campus. The only way it really got processed was because Ed Anderson called somebody and got things going. It was only people on day parole that weren't eligible for student loans. The Parole Service never helped me once when I was out.

(B.A. Subject)

This subject further reports that he "didn't really fair that well" on campus during that term and it was at this time he failed the only university course he's ever failed. He stated he "hadn't been out very long and it was a big adjustment...being on your own." He reoffended within a matter of months and finished his degree in prison.

On the other hand, one subject reported there were supportive people around but that they failed to meet his needs:

...I had a lot of people. But from an officious point of view...was the part I resented. They were there...they would see me in their offices but they wouldn't see me in any other sense. I realized I was just an object of fascination to them. I had one guidance counsellor out there who enjoyed talking to me in his office. You know, I was something different...here I was this ex-con with all these visions. That's the attitude I got from the academics and I didn't like it. It was clinical...I was completely terrified of the whole thing and consequently I messed up and I got returned to the prison. I completely lost faith in ever going after it again.

(B.A. Student)

An ideal support-system appears to be in place at Simon Fraser University where there are actually Prison Education Program staff on campus who help to find part-time work for men getting out on parole to attend university, assist them with registration and student loan procedures, provide lay counselling when necessary and offer friendship when needed. The presence of Prison Education Staff on campus is intended to provide support and continuity between the on-campus university program and the university prison programs operating in four federal B.C. prisons. Another feature of this support system is that a number of the "graduates" from the prison program who have been out for awhile are available to assist new arrivals on campus to

adjust to campus life and the pressures of going to school while on parole (Duguid,1987). A support system with this kind of component may have proven helpful to the subject quoted above who felt estranged from the "official" people who were available on campus to help him adjust to the university.

This subject was released in August 1986 on Mandatory Supervision from Stony Mountain and is currently enrolled in his second term at the University of Winnipeg. This current on-campus university experience is proving to be more successful. In terms of explaining his reasons for returning to university he states:

I certainly wanted to return to school because I know myself enough at this point...I don't want to labour throughout the remainder of my life.
(B.A.student)

Another factor which seems to be different in this subject's life at this time is his "...decision to get straight...to be straight" in terms of dealing with his admitted long-standing difficulty with alcohol/drug use. He states that:

I knew I'd have to do it through A.A. or Narcotics Anonymous or both and I thought I'll take whatever steps are necessary. I started attending meetings.

The commitment to address this area of his life has apparently also led to a source of support for him--a support that was previously not available to him. He states that he has had the occasional "slip" since attending university this time but that it hasn't led to the same consequences as before, for example, he states:

This last time I had that slip with a drug...I went through a real hectic next day. I had an invitation to jump into something that would cost me \$250...which I had...to make the investment. The guarantee was that I would get my \$250. back, I would be able to get high and still get my money back. There'd be no loss. I really had to think about it. But I didn't do it. I damn near did. In fact what I did was...I went to the phone booth and I thought what should I do? Should I phone this guy or phone John (A.A.sponsor). I ended up phoning John...and it passed.

Another support which appears to be present in this subject's life at this time is his immediate family. They seem to appreciate what he's attempting to do and are supportive. He states his father is:

..still an alcoholic but he no longer encourages me to drink. He doesn't offer me a beer. He encourages me to do what I'm doing. He's the father again. Whereas ten years ago when I went over there it was here have a drink...now when I go over there he doesn't even want his friends around drinking when I'm there.

He states that his mother has also been an important source of support and encouragement:

That one night awhile ago...when I was at a party and I didn't come home...my mother was so worried she phoned that place I was at the next day just to find out what I was up to. I mean here I am 40 years old and my mother is phoning there so I would get out of that environment. She was so concerned about me...I said mom I'm leaving right now please don't worry about me. She said are you going to keep that appointment with Student Aid. I said mom I'm, on my way. That was an encouragement that day because I could have returned and continued what I started the night prior...and I didn't.

The importance of a post-release support system, although emphasized by all subjects in this study, is perhaps most vividly illustrated by the M.A. subject who was recently sentenced to eight years after being on the street for almost seven years. This subject states he had dealt with his drug addiction and had achieved a considerable amount of stability in his life:

I found that I was happiest when I wasn't wired...which was a shock to me. That was enough to satisfy me. I don't have to shoot heroin. I don't have to go back to jail. I got a job. I can do whatever I want. I was as free as I'm ever going to be...in this world. It was great...You know, I'd bought myself a house when I was working at X-Kalay. I bought a brand new car which I could afford.

However, this subject relates that a series of stressful events occurred in his life within a very short span of time and he couldn't maintain his stability:

I was so depressed at the time about what was happening there were so many stress factors...stressors in such a short amount of time. I had no support system set up...which was bad on my part. I closed myself off totally and I reverted back to former behaviour which is where I felt comfortable...I guess. This is how I see it now and that was to do drugs. When you are high on heroin it's a very good psychological pain killer...Finally I was getting so depressed and fucked up. I just said "I don't want to do this anymore." I bought a gun. I said, "Well, I'll just kill myself." First time in my life I ever thought that. I turned off the lights and played Russian Roulette for seven hours in the dark and won or lost...depending on whatever your point of view is. And I said "What the fuck are we doing here?" So what do we do next? Well, let's rob a bank. If they catch you they kill you...that's what they do. That seemed like a good idea. So I went out and did a few banks and I just kept getting more wired. I don't think I even counted the money. I just went straight to the man and said "Here...how much dope does this get me?" When I used that up I went out and did another bank. I would wait five or ten minutes and they wouldn't come and I'd leave. Finally they did come...and they didn't kill me.

The experiences of the B.S.W. subject in this study suggest that sometimes there are post-release problems that require specialized treatment. Traditional programs such as A.A. or N.A. combined with other supports may prove instrumental for some but don't go far enough for others. The B.S.W. subject, for example, relates that she had been in treatment for alcoholism "four or five times", had been a member of A.A. over the years but could not maintain sobriety or stay out of jail. She states that while she was in prison:

I had started to question myself how come I could never stay sober...how come I'm always going back? I thought back to when I was a kid and thought about the incest...rape...and all those things and wondered if anything came from there. I didn't deal with this problem until I came out.

She relates that while she was in the Prison For Women in Kingston she had gained some confidence from her involvement in the education program there and wanted to make education part of her release plan. She contacted a lady at the John Howard Society in Winnipeg who offered to be her parole supervisor and assist her with her plans. Arrangements were made for her to reside at the Kia Zan half-way house in Winnipeg. This subject relates that she realized the importance of building supports into her release plan from past experience:

I think the adjustment was more positive this time because other times when I came out I'd have to go back into my role of playing mother or wife or whatever and having to think about looking for a job. This time I chose to go into a half-way house...it wasn't mandatory but I chose to go because I wanted to adjust properly...when I looked back I realized I'd never made proper adjustment before...right away I had to fit into those roles...you have to when you get out. It was hard because I had a whole bunch of problems and I couldn't do it...so what happened was right away I'd get discouraged and say to hell with it I'm going back to jail anyway and that's the only consequence...big deal...there's nothing else.

This subject relates that with the support and counselling provided by her parole officer at the John

Howard Society, specific staff at the half-way house and various other people she was referred to, she was able to work through specific problems that had been influencing her life since childhood and make a successful adjustment:

I continued to go to Klinik for help. I used to cry my head off. I relieved a lot of those things that happened to me when I was a kid. I used to remember little things that I probably tried to push out all those years. I could remember the feelings, the touching...the words that were said which broke my trust completely with everything..and everybody from that point. I could see that. They did their counselling from a feminist approach and I really liked that because to myself I was always calling myself an Indian woman...we're used to being squaws and all that. I had a chance to deal with that part too... I'd always talked to people before that had said oh...you'll get over it or pray about it it'll go away. It doesn't go away. You have to work through it...especially something like that.

While dealing with the sexual abuse she had experienced in her life was an important aspect of this subject's adjustment to life on the street there were other needs that were, of necessity, dealt with simultaneously. She relates that her residency at Kia Zan half-way house was important because of the supportive environment it provided until she moved out on her own. This subject's alcoholism was another crucial aspect of her day to day life that required ongoing attention by attending A.A. and working their program. Ongoing involvement with an education program was also seen as a "strength" which helped her to make other decisions in her life:

Another thing I learned from education is that you can pretty well do whatever you choose to do...I mean freedom to choose. I have a choice. My education had a lot to do with me leaving that guy I was living with too. I honestly think so. Making that decision. I know it's over now.

This subject relates that she became involved in another physically abusive relationship after her release but made the decision to get out of it and has found the strength to abide by this decision. She feels she has acquired the ability to be more objective about problems that she encounters and is able to make better decisions:

My life has changed so much that I feel like it's somebody else that it happened to. That's what I see like it's a totally different person that lived that life. I don't feel I could ever go back to that life I had. I'm almost positive it will never happen again. You know why? I compare the situation I was in before...the guy I got charged with (manslaughter) and the situation I just got out of. They were pretty well the same kind of relationship but then I couldn't deal with it and I did the best I could and that was to get rid of him. Whereas in this situation where I got out of it I see that I'm not the problem...it's his problem...I see that very clearly. I've grown so much through education...through dealing with my problems that I couldn't go back to that kind of a life or put myself in a situation like that.

The post-release experiences of this subject suggests that she had several crucial problems to deal with simultaneously upon her release and that likely concentration on anyone of those problems in isolation from the others would not have been sufficient to insure a

successful adjustment to the street. In this subject's life education appears to have played a catalyst role in that it helped her to grow, gain confidence and strengthen her will to address other problematic areas of her life.

This subject also appears to have made a similar assessment of the importance of working simultaneously on various problematic areas:

I think it just changes you as far as your attitude but...it also depends on if you've worked on these other problems too. For example, I had gone to Kirkness with another guy...we were enrolled at the same time...but he made it not even a year because of the drinking...he's still drinking...he's still out. Like me, for example suppose I went in and wasn't involved in anything or worked on problems I probably wouldn't have been there even a year. When I worked those things out...education just gives me that...to me it's just like a strength. With me it's changed my perception of life...things that have happened to me in the past.

6.7 Means and Will

Two crucial components for attempting to change or develop oneself seem to be, on the one hand, the means to do that and on the other the will or motivation to utilize those means. If the means (skills, ability, access to programs) are made available or acquired but the will to utilize those means is not present then minimal outcome is likely to occur. If the will is inspired but the means are

absent then disillusionment and frustration are likely to result. The importance of these two components for change and development was referred to in various ways by the subjects in this study.

The B.S.W. subject, for example made several references to the fact that she made a decision to change her life and was "ready":

I think I wanted to change this time. I was just tired...just tired of no life...nothing happening...Another thing I learned from education is that you can pretty well do whatever you choose to do...I mean freedom to choose. I have a choice. I chose to go to a half-way house. It wasn't mandatory but I chose to go there because I wanted to adjust properly. That was my choice...I started to meet the people that were going to play a part in my life. I think it had to do with being ready too. I don't think I cared who it was at that time as long as they were ready to listen to me and I knew I was being listened to when I went to these people. I could tell the difference. It made a difference...because I was ready.

This subject also seemed to credit her involvement with education for giving her not only the knowledge that she had a choice but the confidence and will to exercise that choice:

It was such a difference now that I was going to school. I watched the news on T.V. It wasn't the same anymore...I could understand better what they were saying. Just that idea...imagine me I could learn these things. I think that's what kept me going...that I could do it. I told people my plan was to continue my education on the street and...this is what I've done. I had my upgrading right to grade 11. I was really proud of it and

I didn't care if anybody said...oh, ya she's said it before...I thought it's their problem if they think that way because I had such a good feeling that I knew I could accomplish something.

Fortunately for this subject she was able to successfully link up with the appropriate after-care services and gain access to the means to realize her ambitions. The importance of availability and access to appropriate after-care services is also noted in the literature, for example Reagen and Stoughton (1976) conclude their exhaustive study of U.S. prison education programs with the statement:

Traditionally education (prison) has not been intensively involved in the bridging process between school and community. The student has been given his diploma and allowed to depart in search of a place in the community. Correctional education must apparently go beyond this laissez-faire role or see much of the effect of training go for naught. There must be bridging, supporting or reinforcing activity, and this reintegrative role may need to be filled for a considerable period of time (p.135).

It seems clear the availability and access to appropriate after-care services are of vital importance but of equal importance is the will, motivation or willingness to utilize those services. The B.A. student also talked about his first attempt to utilize university as part of his release plan and summed up his failure by stating "at any rate I wasn't ready for it." However, following his last

release and prior to successfully completing two on-campus courses at the University of Winnipeg, he talked about an apparent change in his motivation or will and a resultant decision to make some changes in his life:

All I wanted...all I knew was I wanted some fucking peace in my life...on a particular morning I woke up and said I'm going to achieve this peace. I don't know how I'm going to do it. I knew I'd have to do it through A.A. or Narcotics Anonymous or both and I thought I'll take whatever steps are necessary. I started attending meetings.

It is very difficult--maybe impossible--to identify with absolute certainty what specific factor or factors influence a human being to the point where they acquire the will or "readiness" to make specific decisions. Human motivation may on the one hand be influenced by painful experiences or conversely by pleasurable experiences or further, by a combination of the two. Another factor which could play a part in explaining motivation is the process of aging and maturing. The B.A. student quoted above stated "...age had something to do with it there's no doubt about it...it was a combination of things. Certainly psychologically I was older." He also made reference to an English Literature Course that he had taken prior to his last release which he seemed to feel was instrumental in his realization he could make decisions regarding the course of his life:

That course gave me the knowledge that I have control over my life. I never knew that. That I'm the guy who determines how I'm going to feel today. I can see that now and I could see that then. But I didn't feel that then. I knew it intellectually then...that all through these years I was the guy that determined if I was going to go to jail...if I was going to feel bad...if I was going to get in a fight or win or loose or whatever. That course gave me the absolute understanding that I am in absolute control of my day...That's one thing about education I've noticed...there's no going back. You can't step back and say you're not aware anymore...you can't hide behind some sort of street-corner anger. It doesn't work anymore. All of a sudden you are able to see issues you weren't able to look at before. You have been able to maybe step outside of yourself for a time.

The M.A. subject in this study relates that his decision to seriously face his drug addiction was not made until he was at X-Kalay with outstanding charges hanging over his head:

I wasn't ready to face up to a lot of what was happening in my life to that point. And other people there weren't reticent at all about pointing that out to me. And I was in a position for the first time in my life that I had to listen. I had to listen...I had to bite my tongue. The group sessions there are brutal...there's no finesse, no polish. It's straight out of the Inquisition...I've been shooting junk since I was 12 years old and I quit when I was 34 for two and a half years. I didn't do that because of the disease model. I did that because I said "Fuck, that's enough!" I've done enough time. I've wasted enough fucking years.

Unfortunately this subject, as mentioned above, was forced to leave X-Kalay after living there and working

as a staff member for approximately two years. Several stressful events occurred simultaneously in his life and he "had no support system set up" and started using drugs again and ended up back in prison. A point brought out by this subject and one other subject in this study was the difficulty of obtaining suitable employment with a criminal record.

It might be that unrealistic expectations are generated in some students who have completed their university education but also have criminal records. The M.A. subject relates that after completing his B.A. he had certain expectations in regards to employment which weren't realized and led to frustration:

It was pretty frustrating actually. When I got out I wanted to work with kids so I applied at the Youth Center and various places. But they said "Oh, no...no way. With your record we can't hire you. You know, working with kids is such a dicey proposition. You're still on mandatory supervision. Come back in a few years and we'll keep your application." At the end I had a few expectations. I figured I've got a B.A. I can work with people. I had a pretty good understanding of people.

A similar problem was also related by the B.A. subject in this study. He relates that after he completed his B.A. he had expectations with regard to employment that haven't been realized:

Well, I felt good that I had finished it but the thing is that I was sort of gearing up when I got out of jail...here I had finished a B.A. and was working in finance...and then I come out on the street and nothing...right? I've got to build up credibility...that's what Manpower told me...I think you've got that thing that society just doesn't want to give you a chance. You could have a lot of things that are really good but all you need is a couple of bad things and that's what people look at a lot of the time. I just figure to keep on going the way I'm going and hope to start getting some breaks down the road somewhere. Unless you get that break...

These two experiences appear to reflect the need identified by Reagen and Stoughton, in the passage referred to previously, for more continuity and bridging between the prison classroom and community resources if disillusionment and frustration is to be avoided by graduates of prison education programs.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Just as there is little evidence to indicate that vocational training programs in prison lead to better employment records there is little strong evidence to indicate that teaching basic education enhances post-release success. However, the perceptions of the subjects in this study suggest that their educational involvement, both in and out of prison, has in various ways exercised a significant positive influence upon their personal lives.

The perceptions of the subjects in this study suggest that their educational involvement increased their self-confidence and self-esteem --two key elements for personal development. These subjects also reported that their ability to communicate was enhanced and as a result of "expanding" their horizons through education they were able to see issues from more than one perspective. It was suggested the ability to be more circumspect and view the world through a wider lense in turn led to more rewarding decision-making/problem-solving and a more tolerant view and

attitude towards others. Taking courses in prison also provided these subjects with a constructive institutional activity which they felt had some external validity outside the prison with the potential of leading to something beneficial on the street.

A release plan which included university attendance and the concomitant social identity of "student" was seen as being helpful to post-release adjustment. The perceptions of the subjects in this study suggest that for some, assuming the persona of "student" was a crucially positive factor in making the successful transition from the highly regimented, authoritarian prison environment to life on the street. It bought them time and "space" and afforded them the opportunity to develop and incorporate into their lives an approach to the world that was less likely to result in further conflict with the law and reincarceration.

The reasons suggested for the failure of some subjects to fully realize the positive potential of the on-campus environment were varied but essentially involved insufficient or inappropriate after-care resources or the lack of sufficient will/motivation on the part of the subject to successfully address other primary problems such as alcohol and/or drug use.

Thus the findings of this study suggest that prison education programs cannot be the elixir for the problems of the prisoner-student--just as participation in any one program is ever likely to be. However, prison education programs (correspondence courses or on-sight lectures) can act as catalysts and result in positive benefits including: increased confidence; self-esteem; increased motivation to address other possible primary problems; a broader world view; the ability to view issues from several perspectives; a more tolerant attitude towards others; more rewarding decision-making and problem-solving abilities. Given the restrictive nature of the prison environment, it is unlikely any other kind of institutional programming can hope to accomplish as much for the prisoner and ultimately for the taxpayer and the community to which he/she will be returning.

The catalytic effect of prison education programs can be enhanced and maximized if the prisoner-student adopts a release plan which includes a continuation of education on the street. The findings of this study suggest that policy makers should focus more attention on developing the as yet, undeveloped potential of educational programming in prison as well as allocate more resources for after-care services if the catalytic effect of these programs and the initial investment in such programs are to be fully maximized.

PARTICIPATION CONSENT

This is to indicate that I, _____
understand the nature of my involvement in this project. I
realize that the results of the research will be included in
the researcher's M.S.W. thesis.

I have been assured that my participation will be kept
confidential by the researcher and that no names will be used
in the presentation of results.

By signing this form below I give my consent to be interviewed
and have this material included in the research project.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

PARTICIPATION CONSENT

This is to indicate that I, _____ understand the nature of my involvement in this project. I realize that the results of the research will be included in the researcher's M.S.W. thesis.

I have been assured that my participation will be kept confidential by the researcher and that no names will be used in the presentation of results. Also that no details of what I reveal will be shared with the institution.

By signing this form below I give my consent to be interviewed and have this material included in the research project. I also recognize that my participation in this project will not in any way influence or expedite my release.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

INSTITUTIONAL CONSENT

Stony Mountain Institution gives Allan Wildman permission to interview _____ for purposes of his M.S.W. thesis research. This permission is contingent upon the subject's approval and willingness to participate.

For Stony Mountain Institution: _____
Title: _____
Date: _____

Interview Transcripts

What follows are the major portions of the interview transcripts. The interviewer's questions are only included where necessary to maintain continuity and clarity for the reader.

Interview One: Ph.d. Subject

What is the extent of your criminal record?

I've done one provincial sentence of a year and two pen bits, a two and a ten. I was defined by the prison administration when I was doing the deuce (two years) as an incorrigible. I fought to get a job in the yard--the guys that worked there were defined as the "living dead". I was relegated to the world of the living dead as far as they were concerned...so I was certainly hard core. There's certainly no question about my past record...that that's how it was. That's certainly how I understood it...in fact I'm proud of it.

What did you work at before you went to prison?

Work? What do you mean work? I never worked. I was a thief. I think I worked one time for about three weeks on a construction job...that was about all I could take. So I really had like...no employment history.

What about your family history was it relevant...?

Relevant in what way? I don't know...I don't believe this positivistic nonsense that people come from broken homes or their father was an alcoholic or all that...they could be factors but I don't think it was in my case. I think a lot of that's used to explain things away. If you look at prison populations...the majority 95 percent

come from poor families, it's class affiliations and poverty that are the contextual features not...this other silly nonsense...all they're trying to do is blame the victim as far as I'm concerned. What they want to argue is that you're maladjusted. My point of view then and now is that the society around me is maladjusted not me. It's a really crummy world right? I'm supposed to cope with what? Don't blame me that I can't cope with...what's at it's heart is bullshit right? Why should I be able to? How is that positive? I would say that the numbskulls that conform...that blind conformity...is the problem not...those who attempt to go past it.

But about your family, don't you have a brother that's also achieved a doctorate?

Ya but...my family's a typical French Canadian family...a working class family where education is seen as a way out and so my family always put a lot of stock in education. But school for me was always easy. And relative to most people in prison I was very well educated. You know, I had my high school and I was always an honours student. So I don't think in any way it's surprising I was successful in university. I was always successful in school. It was the will to do it that was important. You can talk about family background as a direction but in some ways my family background stopped me from pursuing school for quite awhile because I was expected to follow in my brother's footsteps. I had to establish my own ground. I wasn't just parroting him. So I don't see the relevance of that kind of stuff...except to say that I'd always been exposed to education and that in many ways I always found the experience an interesting one.

Why did you start taking university courses in prison?

I started taking university courses in part for something to do...to keep me alive...not so much that but rather something to do. But also just that I always found books interesting that's it...and it was a bit of a challenge. I wondered if I could do it. And of course, I could.

Do you see any connection between your release plan to attend university and the fact you successfully completed your parole?

Well recidivism...it's so much situational...circumstantial. You know, if I'd got a real asshole for a parole officer I think I could have been sent back to the penitentiary two or three times. Ya, I actually had a guy that left me alone...since at the time I went into university there was virtually no one...or very, very, very few people doing it they saw me as an exception. I think I got breaks that other people weren't given because I was quite successful in this program...they left me alone. And I think that was a very important ingredient in it all. You know, because I screwed up in their terms a number of times when I was going to university.

Were you charged with anything after you were paroled?

Oh yeah, I was charged with assault causing bodily harm, they reduced it to common assault and I plead guilty and I got a fine. It was all a deal worked out in the back rooms...typical plea bargain stuff. Mind you I just finished a Masters. I was a...rare breed. So I walked from it too. But if I'd been working at a construction job or not working at all, I doubt very much I would have. Another thing too, a really important ingredient that nobody seems to talk about is that university as...an integrative tool--the language is all wrong--is that university provides...or it certainly did for me...it provided a completely different life circumstance, it allowed me to develop a life style which wasn't one that I had to rigidly conform to. It allowed me a freedom of development of myself. It allowed me to come to terms with the world I lived in and what I wanted to do in that world. I don't know that I could have gone to a nine-to-five...if it would have been some crummy nine-to-five where I'm making no money I doubt very much whether I would have gone along with it. I mean all this nonsense about rehabilitation...is just that...nonsense. There's no such thing. Never was. And the ones that are successful are no more rehabilitated than the ones that aren't.

I really honestly do believe that a lot of it is just luck. The luck of the draw and circumstances. You know, whether the the magistrate or whoever is involved...whether the prick had sex the night before or not...you know that kind of thing. Whether his wife rejected him...I don't know. The point I'm trying to make is that a lot of it is chance and circumstance. I always seemed to have serendipity, of sorts. Maybe that's not what people want to hear...but I think it's true.

You see I don't think I changed all that much. But what I think I did do is...I wisened up in the sense that I avoided certain kinds of situations. I realized that it wasn't me or other individuals but it was often the situations I found myself in that pushed me this way or that way. So I learned to avoid certain kinds of situations.

How do you feel you learned that?

Well, I think I was maturing a bit just as a human being. I did seriously want to stay on the street. I didn't see any point in trashing my life...spending it in one of their fowl prisons. I saw friends of mine...that were quite a bit older than me that looked to be on the road to spending most of their lives in prison...and they have, by the way. So that had given me a will to try and avoid that. I don't think I was rehabilitated in the sense that...ah, I was ashamed of what I'd done. I've never been ashamed of anything I've done time for. I never robbed any little old ladies. I don't feel morally wrong about robbing banks. Banks have been robbing us for years. Like it's just fair game as far as I'm concerned. It wasn't that. But it was that I thought there was more to life than rotting in one of their prison cells.

So I think being in university really allowed me to take control over the situations I found myself in. To try and avoid situations for me that had been traditionally problems. The university atmosphere and community is really a relaxed one. It's one with structure... and it's a general structure it's not a specific structure in the sense that you know...nine-to-five. If you don't want to go to class you don't have to go to class.

And another thing that I think is really crucial is adjusting to living on the street and I've never thought and I still don't think that people understand or take into account just how difficult that adjustment is. University helped me in that regard...the kind of relaxed atmosphere there. And I was young by the way, I was in my own age group...a little older maybe. I was twenty-five. And the relaxed atmosphere and all the possibilities for meeting people and doing different kinds of things...being exposed to different kinds of experiences were really important in terms of that adjustment period. And the thing about going to university then is that it put pressure on me during that adjustment time. I think in all my time of going to university that my first year on the street, which was my second year of university is when I got the lowest marks in my life. It was that adjustment period. I mean my marks

were never low like that and after that. I don't mean they were really low but relative to the other years they were. University gave me space...to come to terms with myself...to try to develop an approach, an understanding, a means of dealing with the world as a square-john. Which I'd really never done.

Another thing in terms of explaining why some people succeed isn't anything to do with all that positivistic stupidity which attempts to locate the problem in the individual and say either this individual is strong they were able to make the integration or this individual is weak whatever the form of description that takes, was unable to. What's not addressed is the context of being a prisoner and trying not to be a prisoner. The real difficulty is posed by what's done to you...not necessarily you. That's what's really crucial. That's what makes people fail or not fail. It's that support that they have. And often it's good luck, chance. And university, I think, really serves that supportive purpose.

Generally there isn't a lot of support around. If you don't have a lot of family around and that kind of thing. University's an institution too. It has in some ways a kind of overall structure--as we think of a penitentiary as an institution. See, I think it's an easy place to fit into. It certainly was for me.

I don't think you just go from prisoner to square-john, that's nonsense. After the brutalization that goes on. The way you are trashed by society, you don't just automatically...if you're a person with a bit of will and spunk you don't just say "Yes sir...no sir, I'll be like you sir!". So, I think there maybe has to be some kind of secondary stages, transitional stages. And for me I was fortunate to go to university when the politicization of the 1960's was occurring. For me, one of the transition stages was...I was no longer into being a thief...I was a hippie, I got into radical politics...that kind of stuff. It allowed me to not be what I was, but at the same time not be the kind of rank conformist that I rejected too and couldn't be. And so it also served for me as a transition stage in that way...that it allowed me a status, right? A social identity that was neither of those things. That was really helpful. I've always thought that. I really think that was important. That I was able to construct a social identity for myself and for the world around me that was neither a rank conformist or a thief.

What about this idea of cognitive change?

Cognitive change? That's a silly positivistic term. They talk about cognitive dissonance...all that is is pure political ideology. What they're saying is that your definition of reality is fucked up because you...there's something internal in you that's physiological that doesn't allow you to read reality. That's nonsense! I think the people in prison for the most part have a much clearer view of reality than square-johns on the street. Gwyn Nettler--for all the problems with him as a criminologist--wrote an article that I used one time for my Master's thesis about the perception of juveniles relative to people on the street and how people on the street tended to see the world through rose-tinted glasses where the juvenile who's been processed tended to have a more accurate percetion of how the world really was. I think that's really true, that prisoners tend to be...in many ways absorbed by the ideology too...but at least they're cynical in ways that square-johns aren't. This cognitive dissonance is just a lot of political bullshit...political ideology. To displace that, they say your version of reality is wrong. When the con says "Well, I'm just doing what everybody else is doing and I just got caught"--that's cognitive dissonance. Because the people doing the study refuse the ideology they say "No, no we're not thieves! We're normal." It's a lot of horse shit. So this thing about cognitive change comes out of that and similarly, I think it's horse shit. That's not to say that people don't expand their horizons. But it's the wrong way to understand it. There is something there that they're trying to get at--a real substance--but to me it's a change that comes from a broadening of horizons.

Any kind of study...I don't care if you become a craftsman your appreciation or sense of the world is transformed or at leased changed, if not transformed. Similarly, I think university broadens your horizons if you really take it seriously and really get involved with it. It will change the way you compose the world. It will change what you will see in the world. That's not cognitive dissonance or cognitive change. It's a broadening of horizons. It's a different frame of reference, which I think is important.

How many courses or how much involvement do you think brings about this broadening of one's horizon?

It's different for different people. But a recent study that used two courses inside as a criteria for measuring the impact of university education is screwed up--all they were trying to do is justify a prison program.

We're not talking about that at all. We're talking about the role of higher education and how it changes the way people think. Aren't we? See, I think it's the context of university and all the rest. It's a social growth. It's not just taking courses. It's sitting next to all those lovely young women in a classroom. It's about gaining confidence in yourself to deal with people at a social level with a new group of people. Those kinds of things. It's the university experience itself. Which is just the same case for any kid that comes out of highschool, goes and lives on his own or her own and goes to university and develops life skills as a mature person. It's a nurturing environment...university...or at least it's supposed to be. It's those surrounding things...not so much course content. I recommend to choose the prof, doesn't matter the course, if your're doing social sciences it's all the same shit...it's the same discussion basically. I tell them, choose a prof...someone you can learn from that you can relate to, that you find interesting that spurs your imagination, that's who you learn from.

I don't think you can generalize or make definitive causal links between X number of courses and X amount of growth, transformation, change or whatever. You have to talk to the specificities of the situation. I think that's one of the problems with this whole criminological enterprise is this tendency to generalize. Most people in prison are different...they are a very disparate group. What gives them similarity is the structure of the prison and the process they've been through not them as people. You look at murderers and people doing sentences for homicide they are as different as any group you could put together in a room. It's all specific circumstance.

In your own case. What other factor or factors do you think contributed to your success on the street?

I think for me a major ingredient was my own politicization. I don't think that's happened to hardly anyone I know that's got out and gone to university. But in me and my form of rebellion and I think that's what I was in prison for...rebellion. And I think justified rebellion, by the way. My form of rebellion found a more legitimate, if you like, a more understood...not just acceptable, it wasn't that acceptable. But it allowed me to gain a broader understanding of why I was rebelling and so I became quite heavily involved in a political understanding of the world. Which allowed me to take a lot of the frustrations and anger

that I had directed at individual situations and myself. It allowed me to place it in a broader context so it made more sense and that led me away from the kind of rebellion that I was involved in before to what was and--I guess you'd have to say--is a more acceptable legitimate form of rebellion.

That wouldn't result in conflict with the law?

Yes...although it could have. That's why I reject the concept of rehabilitation. I wasn't rehabilitated. I'm still not. I still think the way I always thought in many really basic ways. Except that my understanding is much broader. I can locate my frustration, my anxieties...the things that bother me. I can locate them in the structure around me in a way that I couldn't before. I think that's really important. I think education can do that. I don't think for the system that's an argument for higher education. In fact, I think if you present that argument they would trash it. They don't want politically conscious people. This society goes out of its way to make sure that doesn't happen. You look at the self-educated radicals of the prison movement of the seventies and the sixties. You got George Jackson, Malcolm X. But George Jackson I think is the really good example. He was probably more successful than any but they killed him. They killed him because of his political consciousness. His political education took his form of rebellion from being a criminal one to a political one. Jackson, for example, says that for blacks in the States crime is the first form of rebellion.

As for me, there was a transformation of that rebellion...it rechannelled it. Mind you, I have a hard time...or one of the difficulties I experience talking about this is that I spent 16 years in university. Like I was really absorbed by the intellectual pursuit which I think is very different than most. But I think it's true for everyone that gets locked in the system and processed by it. You are trashed. You have a completely discredited social identity. You're trashed by the system. So you lose confidence, you lose faith in yourself as a person that can deal with that society. But one is really only a failure in terms of the system not necessarily in terms of yourself. But of course...it rubs off, it influences you. So I think taking university courses in prison can be really beneficial. I think people in prison give a lot more status to taking university courses than I would, having spent as much time as I have now. I think at the time I too gave it status. I think it's a real social identity, a real morale...confidence booster. I think that's really

important. If people get the sense they can succeed, you know, in a conformist kind of way in this society. Which many people who've done any amount of time and have been processed have trouble conceiving. I think that's a really crucial factor. Belief in yourself when you actually know you can do it.

How do you think this comes about?

Well as a teacher, I think I have a consciousness--that's why I was saying it's difficult for me I've turned over a consciousness of teaching itself--I'm now a teacher, I'm not a student anymore. So I have to understand the pedagogical task of teaching and I'm very conscious with my own students about how they can be influenced, what's the best way to do it. How do you give them direction? How do you incite an interest in intellectual things? I know one of the important keys is being able to touch there lives in a personal way with what I teach. Certainly I'm very much a theoretician in a way that a lot of students have trouble with. But at the same time I appreciate that theory by itself is kind of meaningless. You have to be able to ground it and somehow relate it to your own life.

See, for me there's two things. I have to deal with the perception of the world that's in that kid's mind and then I've got to deal with the problem of how do I take what I want to talk about and relate it to that perception of the world. So education by definition is by definition a change in perspective to the student, it's a broadening, an enrichment of their experience in the world. I know that for myself, that hook for me was not psychology which I really ended up disliking--and I still do, I think most of psychology is bull shit, I like social psychology which I think makes some kind of sense--but I found it in sociology, political science. That's what I found gave me the context in which to place my own life so I understood. Mind you, I was lucky too, I found some good radical left criminologists who were able to take my own sense of critique of the world around me and give it form. Strange things that I'd experienced but I just couldn't put together and through interaction with them I was able to put them together in a theoretical framework, that through theory I could organize it. They took those bits and pieces that were experientially mine and related them and showed me how they related to each other. So it was a real broadening of my consciousness. For me that was really important because I wasn't about to stop being a critic. I thought it was shit

then and I still think it's shit. You know, after 16 years university. But now I simply know I was right. But you know, in some ways I think I did all this university out of spite. Like I was proving a point that they were full of shit back then and now I'm saying the same thing but now I have a level of legitimacy and a broader understanding. You know, I dislike this society and the more I studied it the more I understood why.

What about this concept of moral education...?

They want to teach humanities in prisons and they talk about moral re-education. Well just a minute! Like just whose fucking moral values are you going to moralize me into? Whose values are you going to impose on me. I don't think this is a society with moral values. This is dog eat dog, every man for himself, whatever the market will bare. That's what capitalism's about. So don't tell me you taught me your morals. Afraid not Jack! I didn't buy it then and I don't buy it now. I think I was more honest as a thief than most people are in society are as square-johns. I never hurt people, I've never been into sweat labour. I just robbed banks. I just robbed the rich. They got wealthy by robbing us. So I still don't think I did anything morally wrong. It was dumb...especially getting caught. Well...I could have killed somebody. A situation could have erupted and there was one that did, you know. I wasn't then and I'm not now into killing anybody.

Moral re-education? Well, maybe that's just how they sell these education programs in prison. But it comes down to values. Whose values? Why is it a higher value to be a businessman who exploits people that work for them and virtually plays games. Like my local I.G.A. they're theives, they play disgusting dishonest games. They take cans of tomatoes that are \$1.40...whatever...on the shelf and they put them out front for \$1.40 and mark up all the others on the shelf and this is a sale. That's dishonest. They're playing with my head. Whose values are behind that kind of approach to the world. Why should I want to emulate them?

Do you see yourself as being atypical in terms of people that have done time then as part of their release plan have gone to university then became a university professor?

Well...yes it is atypical but it is also certainly valid. I think my example proves the point. I make no

bones about it, I was certainly incorrigible and in those terms, I am. But I reject all that bull shit. In terms of the people who defined me as that, I am sure if they knew how I still think I'm sure they would say I remained incorrigible.

What about the suggestion by some people that exposing people in prison to university education only results in better educated criminals?

Well...on the other hand if they can read and write maybe they will get out of violence and into fraud. That in itself is an advance. Instead of beating people in the head behind the bar and stealing their poke they can go out and cash bad cheques. Seems to me that is somehow preferable. Seriously...I mean that's all silly. Make better educated criminals? That's that criminal stereotype. You know, the criminal mind...jeez! Don't educate them because the criminal mind will really be a problem then! I mean that's just silly. I guess it also comes down to the argument about whether they're actually serious about rehabilitating people. I think they maintain people as commodities and train people to be convicts. That's what they're supposed to be. That's where the real education is going on.

Interview Two: M.A. Subject

I come from a French Canadian family. I've got three brothers and one sister. I'm the only one that's ever been in trouble with the law. Although my family has been basicly based in Winnipeg...I've lived all over the world. I was in the Navy when I was 17 and I did a lot of travelling then...when I was a kid. I hitch-hiked all through Canada, Mexico, Central America and South America. I lived in England for a while. I've lived in Australia for awhile. I've travelled....I guess I've been around the world about three times.

How much education did you have when you first came to prison in 1970?

I had grade 12. I think...the university program started here at Stony in 1972....and the reason I jumped in was to keep my brain alive. Something different to think about.

There was no other motivations?

No. It was just something different to do. To keep my brain mentally going. Instead of working in my cell or working as a cleaner...pushing a broom or making canvas bags or whatever. I took two credits during my two-year sentence in 1972. I ended up graduating in 1979 with a B.A. I had 22 credits altogether because I had a double major. These courses were all taken here. They were off-campus courses...the professors were coming in from the U. of M. at the time. At that time, you didn't have a lot of choice because the administration chose the courses that were offered. I had to fight for a biology course and the psych stats course which was mandatory. I really had to push. There were only seven people who needed that stats course which was kind of hard...you know to get somebody to come in because it was costing a lot of money for a prof to come in. We finally got it through because there was no way we could graduate without it.

It sounds like you must have really got involved to take 22 courses. Were you getting something out of them?

Oh definitely. I enjoy reading. I enjoy understanding things that way. It got my vocabulary better. I can argue in more specific terms. It honed my logic...my deductive reasoning. Education for me was just for the sake of learning...learning different kinds of things...things that weren't gray...you look around here and you see cement and bars everywhere. I love to read...anything. Give me a book and I'm happy...whether it psychology, sociology or James Clavell it doesn't matter to me as long as I'm learning something.

Was there any kind of emphasis on education in your family?

No..not really. I'm the only one that ever went to university. The main reason I got involved is that...the system here is so subtle. It's insidious, if you don't do anything with your mind. You come out...you know...a ranting idiot if you don't do something. That was my main motivation. Just to keep the brain alive. I've seen people come in here at 18 years old and get out ten years later and still be 18 years old...mentally there's no difference. I mean that relates to education.

Any thoughts of helping you with employment or anything?

Not at the beginning. But at the end there was...it was pretty frustrating actually. When I went out, I wanted to work with kids so I applied at the Youth Center and various places. But they said "Oh no...no way. With your record we can't hire you. You know, working with kids is such a dicey proposition, you're still on mandatory supervision. Come back in a few years and we'll keep your application." At the end I had a few expectations. I figured I've got a B.A. I can work with people. I had a pretty good understanding of people. When you live with 450 people for many years you have to learn something about human nature.

Do you feel your education ever paid off during the years you were out?

Well it paid off in 1984 when I got arrested. I couldn't make bail. My lawyer mentioned X-Kalay. I said "What the hell is that?" He said it is a drug rehabilitation program without the emphasis on the disease concept. More of a reality therapy thing. I said "Hmmm, they got any bars there?" He said "No." I said "Good, let's go there." I'm looking at seven to ten years, with my record, for theft of about a million dollars worth of drugs from a medical center. My lawyer says go through the program and maybe 18 months or a deuce less, top end. I said "Fuck, that's nothing...18 months you're out in a year and a deuce less you're out in 16 months." So I went there for three months and completed the program. You have two group sessions a week and all of that. They keep you very busy. Three months later they wrote a report on me and I packed up three suitcases and was ready to go to jail. But I got a suspended sentence with a stipulation that I remain at X-Kalay for a year or until they decided that I was ok to leave. So I stayed...I've never had a break before.

I got pretty involved in this program to the point where they hired me. I was there seven months. They hired me in the adult program as a program assistant which meant that I did interviews at Headingly, at Detox and was a group session facilitator. My preference was to work with the kids. They had a youth program there at LeMay House but they had no openings but they said "Ok, we'll keep you in mind." A month after I got hired one of the youth workers resigned and they asked me if I was interested. I said "Sure." Then I had two jobs. I was working on staff for LeMay House doing 20 shifts a month plus I was still doing all the program assistant stuff for the adult program...two group sessions a week and taping interviews and all of this...about 80 hours a week. Of course, I had to be there for overnight coverage from 11 o'clock on Sunday night to thursday night to eight in the morning. On Friday night I got to stay up until midnight and Saturday night to 2 AM. So my family life and my social life were pretty well hampered and I did this for 19 months. It's a long time to live there.

I was doing some really good work with kids and got good recommendations from the people I worked with. There was a lot of conflict between the adult program and my procedures with kids because they treat kids as young adults. I treat kids as kids. I don't know if they thought my techniques were mystical or something. I would have group sessions that were candle-lit and the kids were blind folded so they couldn't see facial expressions or body language. Different kinds of things. There was a lot of

hypnosis and relaxation therapy. I figured hypnosis was communication. They figured hypnosis was magic.

So there was a lot of conflict between my techniques and what they thought should be done with the kids to the point where...they set me up for sure. They accused me of wanting to make love to an adult female client. I never had the opportunity to confront the client. They said you have a choice, you can resign or get fired. They wanted me out of there because my methods conflicted too much with their's. I think I was too effective. It was just pure and simple jealousy. So that had an effect on my life.

I left there and put several applications in with different people and finally got hired on with MacDonald Youth Services as a youth worker in a relief position. And I think that's where the problem was. They had a competition for a full-time position as a youth worker. On September first (1986) my boss said "Ok you've got the job and you'll be hired full-time." I said "Great! Fantastic!" September first came and I don't have the job. I said "How come?" Well, I was told "Pure and simple, it's your record. We would like you to stay on as relief just for another three, four, six months and see how you do. I said "Well listen, I've been doing this for a couple of years and I never had any trouble what's the problem?" And all I was left with was the answer's "No." All my recommendations were good. All my supervision reports were good. My rapport with the kids was good. Everything was good. They said "Ya, you're a hell of a worker but we're just a little leery about your record". So that was kind of a let down. I said "Ok, I'll hang around." So another worker quit and they had a competition. But in the time this was going on I find out that my brother had a brain tumor and that my Dad was dying with cancer and my son died December first. So I got wired again. I didn't handle it correctly at all and ended up back here.

You weren't involved with any kind of on-going support group after X-Kalay?

Well everything happened at a weird time. My girlfriend at that time...I had a really beautiful relationship with this girl. She was a youth worker as well. I got her job at X-Kalay and then I got her a job at MacDonald's and she's still working there. She went to Europe in May and didn't come back until August. And all this other shit was happening. I lost my job and all these other things were happening. She was my support in a sense. I don't have a lot of friends. I figure if you can make one

or two good friends in a life time you are ahead of the game. Lot of acquaintances but not people I could term friends. Self disclosure is not one of my main things especially with people like that. I didn't lie to the agencies or anything, I told them where I was coming from. I told them I think my experience with the penal system is exactly what these kids are going through now.

When did you get your M.A.?

I graduated in '84. The University of Berkley. I went down to California in '81. With 22 credits I didn't have a lot to do. Over there you can buy an M.A. for 700 bucks. From the University of Berkley. I don't know how valid it is.

How long did it take you down there?

A year and a half. I worked like crazy. Basicly all I did was put in my thesis. With my experience and how many credits I had they took that into consideration and gave me credit for it. I had one mentor and he asked me what I wanted to do. I said this is what I want to do. He said "Go for it." The title of the thesis was "Perceptions of Freedom." I did a lot of work in the penitentiaries over there and I had a control group of 900 people which gave me some pretty valid stats at the end. He liked it.

That's interesting going down to California. Why did you go down there?

My primary reason...I didn't go down there for university...I went down there to get the hell out of Canada for awhile. I had a lot of heat here.

Your record wasn't any problem at the border or anything?

Ah well...how I crossed the border...the less said about that the better. But it's been no problem to get anywhere in the world. There's always ways and means to do that. But my main reason was to get away from here. Every bank that got robbed they were coming to see me. Who needs this? Then when I came back...all this time I was wired too.

Heroin?

Ya. Well heroin. Dilaudid...any kind of narcotic. You know...Mexican brown...Chinese white whatever.

You didn't go down there for university. Why did you decide to do an M.A. at Berkley?

I took an M.A. at Berkley at the suggestion of some friends. Going to school there was a good way to lay low and support myself by selling dope on campus...very low-key and very lucrative.

Some guys coming out of prison find it difficult to mix in with campus life. Did you have to do that? Was it any problem?

Well there were classes involved. I just had so many hours a week of courses. But I've never had a problem getting along with people. I guess that comes from being a junkie, manipulator and a con-man since the time I was 12. I have no problem talking to people. I'm great at avoiding my past. I enjoy people. I enjoyed university. So that was no problem. I don't see it as an intimidating factor. My perception of why people find it intimidating is that...you're doing time with all these guys and there's this feeling of solidarity. You're all living in the same place and you're all doing the same kinds of things and you're always getting together. You know, it's not hard to go see a guy on a different range and talk about assignments or something. When you go to university on the street you're in a classroom with 120 people, you don't know any of them and I guess it's your confidence level. You want to ask a question and you might make an ass of yourself. But if you want to step out...if you lack a little bit of confidence you don't.

You came back to Canada in '84 and then the theft of drugs from the medical center...it sounds like a drug-related theft...?

Ya it was. Well my chemical background goes back to age 12 and I started doing heroin when I was 12. In Winnipeg and in Vancouver. All my offences were either theft to get money for drugs or fraud to get money for drugs or selling drugs to get more money for drugs. It's pretty hard to hold a straight job. They don't pay you enough.

What do you think you got out of the 22 credits other than a paper to say you completed 22 credits...?

The courses opened my eyes to a lot of different subjects. There was a lot of bent on psychology, sociology and anthropology...that was the three major thrusts. I found psychology very interesting. Especially abnormal psych or type of courses like that because it had to deal with human nature. And I always find myself trying to see how these things work. I argued with the professors like crazy. Sometimes I was right and sometimes I was wrong. I love to argue.

Did these courses influence your idea of human nature...?

They broadened my sense of human nature...the depth of it. It was more narrow before I took all these courses. But at no time I don't think when I was doing that B.A. ...just a funny aside...when I finished the thing the dean asked me if I'd like to go downtown for the graduation. So I'm thinking now they're going to take me out with two security guards...ball and chain and I'm going to wear my cap and gown. So I said "No just superimpose my diploma on a dartboard of Farrah Fawcett." He didn't like that. They just put it in the mail to me.

You didn't think the piece of paper meant that much?

No. I mean what's a B.A. really? Twenty years ago Grade 12 used to be a big thing but now it's worth nothing. I think a B.A. now qualifies you to manage a gas station rather than pump gas.

What about...say politics...your courses have any effect on how you view politics?

Well...as far as politics go I'm pretty well apolitical. Which doesn't mean I don't have a pretty good understanding of what's going on in politics because I think I do. They broadened my perception of the big picture as opposed to just looking at it from the newspapers. They didn't really have a great revelation overall...in a political sense. No...I've never wanted to be involved with politics.

How about...power relationships in society...any effects there...in the bigger picture...?

Well the bigger picture for me was the understanding that 96% of the wealth in the world is concentrated in about 6% of the people's hands. And that picture hasn't changed drastically in many many years. I forget exactly what those figures were. More aware of the corporate elite. More aware of how corporations get away from paying taxes. How they manipulate the government. Actually how they screw the government. Mostly, I guess American statistics. There wasn't too much on Canadian politics and world politics was just a small part of it...not really a major thrust.

What about the criminal justice system...criminal behaviour? Do you feel your involvement with university education had any impact on your views in this regard...?

When it comes to the criminal justice system I'm a cynic. I used to keep a scrapbook on different types of offences and I found these things go in cycles. When I started doing time, it wasn't uncommon for somebody on a rape charge to get 15 or 20 years...now...well it's starting to get a little heavier again. But for awhile if you got a \$52. fine and four weekends in jail that was large. Armed robbery when I started to do time you got three or four years...now it's not uncommon to get 15. So this has all changed. The justice system? I don't really believe there is such a thing...or at least it doesn't work. When you've got penitentiaries...you've got 12-15,000 people in penitentiaries and the native percentage is what? Seventy per cent? Now...why is that? It doesn't seem to work...a guy gets six years for stealing \$6. and a white contractor gets a LEAP grant for \$1.2 million and ends up building himself a \$150,000. home, buys a couple of Cadillacs and gets pinched for that and gets a \$10,000. fine and pays it out of his LEAP grant. So justice is really just a euphemism for money.

Insights? Understanding of the system? Not at the time I was taking the courses really but after...in 1984 when I had a pretty hard look at myself at X-Kalay. Here I was...I'm 34 years old...probably going to jail again...what did all this mean? Where am I going with all this? You been shooting junk since you were 12 years old...for 22 years. Why? I came up with some pretty good reasons...a better understanding of myself. I guess it all related to education in the sense you get your basics to understanding and the basics to work with for self-exploration and taking an honest look at yourself...you have the tools to do that with. Depends on how honest you want to be with

yourself...it's easy to lie to yourself. I did this for a long time. You can just sit down and cut the crap and say "Why is this happening?"...when you have the tools to do this.

You don't think you had the tools to do this before?

I don't know...it's not so much the question if I didn't before as I didn't want to. It's much more easy to rationalize...I think. You know...I shoot heroin because...I'm a one-percenter or ...I like this place or... I like the excitement it generates...I like the money...I like the lifestyle...jail is just an incidental part of that...one of the pitfalls, you know...you have to win all the time and they only have to win once. It's all very convoluted...and hard to sort out.

Well, the tools have been good...especially working with people. When I was working with kids. I found that what I'd learned from courses...I could tell supervisors...well this is happening because...this, this and this...this is my theory. Which would make sense to him...you know...page 23 of the textbook kind of thing. What I really truly believe is that it's all just common sense. If you're going to treat these kids with honesty...they're going to treat you in kind. I've worked with people that have B.S.W.s and M.S.W.s and don't know shit about kids but as long as they can find it on page 23 of some textbook they say "Ah huh...this is deviant behaviour because...whatever blah blah blah." It all makes sense to them if it's in the book. But commonsense, I think goes a long way with kids. If you are long on that you've got the game beat there.

Well...talking about yourself. You seem to say you gained some insight...did this translate somehow into your behaviour...?

Well my behaviour really changed for the first time in 1984 when I got pinched and went to X-Kalay and I decided I didn't want to do anymore time. You know...I was 34 years old...I got a break. I said "OK let's make this work." I had the opportunity of working with kids. The money was incidental. Here they were paying me to do something I wanted to do anyway. So that was great. It kept me very very busy...which was a good thing for me at the time. Because it kept my mind off drugs and it kept me

isolated from a lot of contacts. I didn't have any friends or any acquaintances I should say that weren't either hypes, prostitutes or thieves or a combination of all those. I'd never had a straight friend before. I made a few straight friends...two...there. One was a crazy man...a very funny man with a sick mind. We got along famously...we thought along the same lines. I'd never thought it possible that I could have a straight friend. Straight people before were always something to be used. This guy I met at X-Kalay made a lot of sense to me...he was funny...he was great with people. He taught me an enormous amount of stuff about youth working. One of the most capable people working there was him. You know...here this guy's never been in trouble before...he's got a sick mind and he's alright. There must be a lesson here somewhere. It got to the point where I said "OK, I've got a few credentials, I've got a B.A...."

...and an M.A....?

...Oh I didn't tell them I had an M.A. I just told them I had the B.A. You know I have this going for me...I can show them...

Why didn't you tell them about the M.A.?

Well you know...it was from the States and I just didn't want to bother and I'd been out of the country illegally for the time I was doing that. So I just avoided that. A B.A. was large at X-Kalay. I think I was the highest educated person at X-Kalay...with the B.A. never mind the M.A. So I had a certain amount of credentials there. I said this is what I can do and they said "OK what're you going to do for us?" The relationship was a good one...but then it turned pretty sour at the end.

Being drug-free at the time...probably had something to do with being isolated from contacts...you were doing something you enjoyed...you were so busy...?

Oh I could have scored anytime I wanted. But I came to the understanding that I was fixing heroin because I wasn't very confident in myself. That hit me like a ton of shit. Is that what I've been doing all these years? Ok. Now I'm doing something I enjoy doing. I'm drug-free. I'm not going back to jail. Fuck this is a great life...there's no parole, no hooks. I've got no more charges. I'm free. I really started enjoying life. I had a relationship with a girl. I started living with her. Things were going great.

We were very good friends. Everything was on the top of the world. Then when it fell apart. I guess I was so depressed that I didn't handle it. I just couldn't handle it. Things were going really really well and then..like I said...I was forced to resign for a very flimsy reason. Which I ascertained was through jealousy...primarily or a conflict of interest between my procedures with kids and their procedures with kids. Ok, well I handled that...so so but then my Dad gets cancer, he just retires and he gets cancer and my brother has a brain tumor that's inoperable right now...never been done on humans...so he's hanging in the balance. My sister also developed a tumor which turned out to be benign but I didn't know that at the time. A girl comes out of my past and says "By the way our four-year-old son is dying of leukemia." Oh, that's nice.

You knew you had a four-year-old son?

Oh ya...but I'd never seen him. He died December first. MacDonald's offered me a job and took it away. They needed six months more credibility. I figured if I don't have any credibility after two years of working with people what the fuck...what do you need? I was getting pretty twisted. I started getting migraine headaches. So I started doing codeine...Tylenol 3's. My Dad was getting them for cancer...plus a lot of heavier medication. So I was doing the Tylenol. Stress plus the migraines. So one day I ran into somebody who had some Dilaudid and I said "Well, fuck it. We can do this one time and get rid of the headache". I fixed four...whack...the headache was gone. I missed that rush. So I got into it again. I still wasn't stealing. Started doing more dope. So I used my life savings...bills weren't getting paid. I started getting financial problems...relationship problems and everything else. Everybody sort of knew that I was fucking up but they were saying "Ah, he's denying it." Working with kids...I mean here's a guy going into work with kids and telling them drugs are bad and I'm wired to the nuts. That was really preying on my mind.

That deal at MacDonalds...wasn't there something about...you were saying before... passing a drug test or something...?

Oh ya...they wanted me to take...when I finally got the job which was finally four or five days before they arrested me for this bank job...about the twelfth of December something like that. My Dad was on his last legs then...my

son just died two weeks before that and my sister was going in for that operation. I had all this conflict about going in and telling these kids that drugs are bad. And my boss said we'd like piss tests...urinalysis on demand. I said "OK fine".

Do you think they suspected something...?

No it was just standard policy. Because of my drug history. They just wanted to know for sure. They were just covering their ass...to the nth. So there was all kinds of conflict happening. Finally I was just getting so depressed and so fucked up. I just said "I don't want to do this anymore". I bought a gun. I said "Well I'll just kill myself." First time in my life I ever ever thought that. I turned off the lights and played Russian Roulette for seven hours in the dark and won or lost...depending on whatever your point of view is. And I said "What the fuck are we doing here?" So what do we do next? Well, let's go rob a bank. If they catch you they kill you...that's what they do. That seemed like a good idea. So I went out and did a few banks and I just kept getting more wired. I don't even think I counted the money. I just went straight to the man and said "Here...how much dope does this get me?" When I used that up I went out and did another bank. I would wait five or ten minutes and they wouldn't come and I'd leave. Finally they did come...and they didn't kill me. I was totally depressed and totally fucked up. But that was December...seven months ago. I realize now that I could have handled that a lot differently and caused myself a lot less grief. You know, I'd bought myself a house when I was still working at X-Kalay. I bought a brand new car which I could afford.

I wasn't making a lot of money at X-Kalay. So I finally got arguing...it took me a year...to get an independent living program for another eight kids. When that finally went through...and they wanted criteria upon criteria and I met them all...when that went through I was going to be the independent living director and I would have about four workers. Then they fired me. After they got all this stuff on paper they got rid of me...after I set the program up. So that really pissed me off. There was a lot of stuff happening then. But I got more money out of them at the end. I got a \$4000. raise and it was enough to get by. I was single in the sense I didn't have anybody to support so I bought a house and bought a car ...I got wired and bills weren't getting paid nothing like that and it just compounded the depression.

In relation to all the courses you took...in the social sense...do you think the experience had any impact on relationships with the opposite sex...?

I guess...in the sense of more vocabulary ya. I've really never had a problem with members of the opposite sex or having a relationship. I've always been very tolerant. I was married to the same woman for 15 years and there were some good times and some bad times. Basicly the relationship was pretty sound. I don't think she would say anything bad about me.

What about actually completing the B.A.? How did you feel about actually completing it...?

Well, when I first started out it wasn't a specific goal but when I got to reach the end of it I said ya, this is something I worked hard for...seven years...I got myself a B.A. and I did it all in jail. It's something to be proud of. So that was a bit of a confidence booster for me. Here I am one of the very few that's done this...completed it. It's a good feeling I have to give myself a stroke for that.

But you were wired you said from '80-'84...and then realized in '84 one of the reasons was maybe a lack of confidence...?

Ya true...I wasn't ready to face up to a lot of what was happening in my life to that point. And other people there weren't reticent at all about pointing it out to me. And I was in a position for the first time in my life that I had to listen. I had to listen...I had to bite my tongue. The group sessions there are brutal...there's no finesse, no polish. It's straight out of the Inquisition.

So you got some insight, accepted some things about yourself and so on but a question that comes to mind for me at least, is what about a support system or something after you leave there...? Like A.A. and N.A. they seem to emphasize the need for an ongoing support system or something...?

Well X-Kalay maintains they have a 30 per cent success rate but that's a crock of shit...as far as I can see. I mean there's no support systems. If you're in A.A. or something and you want to have a drink at three in the

morning you can call your sponsor and say "Hey, let's talk about this." If you're living in X-Kalay you are living a very sheltered life...you can't get high and get away with it. It would be the worst place in the world to get high in anyway. You'd be so paranoid about somebody catching you. There's only two rules...no violence and no alcohol or drugs. You break one of those two rules and bang you're out.

There was never any suggestion that you should plug into something like N.A. or A.A. or something when you leave...?

Well the position is...N.A. and A.A. are always based on the disease concept. I don't agree with that. I believe if you are going to quit doing drugs you do. If I'm going to quit doing heroin...I do. I believe the disease model gives you an excuse. Like I drink because this is my disease and drinking is my symptom. What an out. What a great out. Having a disease model is eliminating free will completely. There's all kinds of underlying reasons but it's not a sickness. That's my bent anyway. I've been shooting junk since I was 12 years old and I quit when I was 34 for two and a half years. I didn't do that because of the disease model. I did that because I said "Fuck, that's enough." I've done enough time. I've wasted enough fucking years. I guess wasted is a relative term too. I didn't waste those years. I've learned a lot of things. But I didn't live a normal life or as happy a life as I could have lived. I found that I was happiest when I wasn't wired...which was a shock to me. That was enough to satisfy me. I don't have to shoot heroin. I don't have to go back to jail. I got a job. I can do whatever I want. I was as free as I'm ever going to be...in this world. It was great. When the bottom fell out...well...it fell out. That was my fuck up. If I was to get out today the last thing I would do would be go down and score.

What about the topic of religion...?

Well...that's something...I don't think my education had anything to do with my religion. I was a catholic for my formative years. I was forced to go to church. I was forced to go to confession. My dad was a catholic to the day he died. My mother's still a catholic. All of my brothers and sisters are. I quit going to church when I was about 15. I said enough is enough. Catholicism is a weird religion. They cancelled St. Christopher, they

put him on welfare and I always thought "How the fuck did they do that?" Then they started a thing called limbo. Where I guess unbaptised babies went there because it wasn't their fault. Ok...they cancelled limbo. I was thinking to myself "Well, what did they do with all these little guys. Did they cut them loose in space or give them a promotion?" What did they do? People used to go to hell for eating meat on Friday. Now that's not so. So are there still people in purgatory doing a couple of eons for eating beef? There are so many different kinds of things. One of my neighbours when I was about 15 was a master welder and a mechanic and he used to always give 10 per cent of his wages to the catholic church for years and years. Then he started working up north and he wasn't quite giving them their tenth. They were going to sue him. So this turned him right off and it turned me right off too. I said "Who needs this shit?"

I believe that there's something...a cosmic muffin, he or she or whatever. I look around at nature. That's where I have my church. I'll go walk in the woods or go walk in the rain and think there must be some kind of order here. But life after death and reincarnation...I mean I'm interested in all that stuff. But I don't know but I'm not going to dedicate my life and do this and this and this so that I'm guaranteed a front row seat or something. I believe in living my life to the best of my ability, being as happy as I can.

What about other people and what they believe. How do you feel about that.

Well...I studied the religions of the world. You get into Eastern religions and you get into Western religions and how they tie into each other and I have an understanding of a lot of religions and I'm pretty tolerant of people. It doesn't bother me whether somebody's an agnostic, a catholic or a protestant or whatever they want to be. If they're comfortable. From my point of view that's great. I have some friends that are Mennonites. They're happy. They treat their kids great. I have another friend who's a Catholic and she has a 7 year-old-boy and the love that surrounds this kid is great...through that Catholic part of it. Sure...fine if it feels good to you. I'm not against religion. After studying religions I had a better understanding. Before studying this I was more intolerant especially if it was Catholic. I was more tolerant after studying it. It gave me a better understanding of what their motivations were and why they do

the things they do. Education had a large part in giving me a larger picture again of the overall systems of religions.

So maybe education did have some bearing on my relationships with other people but I don't really see it..especially at the time. I mean doing a B.A. totally in jail between '72 and '79 I didn't have a lot of interaction with family...with friends...with anybody else but in here and in here isn't the real world. You have your own code in here...your own ethics, your own status symbols. The power structure. You have to conform in a certain way or you don't conform at all. It depends on what bent you are. There's one rule in here if they think you're crazy they will leave you the fuck alone. So the crazier they think you are the less they will bother you. Which is why nobody still doesn't want to hire me.

But I've seen a lot of things...the kind of life I've lived. See...I think that's why I stayed in the game so long. I've done a lot of things I've wanted to do in my life. I've done a lot of travelling. I've met a lot of interesting people. I've been around the world and I've lived in a lot of different places. If I had worked since the time I was 16 let's say 'til now I wouldn't have done ten percent of those things. So in that sense it's not really lost time. Ok well, people might say you've spent 11, 12, 13 years in jail and what is that? But as far as experience-wise and doing what I wanted to do. There's been self-fulfillment...I've got to do what I wanted to do in large part. Except for this bit. It's going to be wasted. There's no doubt about that. But the other times I've been in jail I've learned something. I've accomplished a lot of things. I've learned a lot about people. I've got an education. So it hasn't all been wasted. But some people just look at it that way. I look at different people that are my age and they are working...they got married when they were 20 and now they have mortgages...kids...and car payments. To go to Bermuda for a week every four years or something is a large trip. Take the kids to Disneyland...Wow!

In terms of experience...I guess anybody who's done any amount of time and done anything outside is ancient. Let's say you do a deuce. You do 16 months. Well you've missed 16 months of restaurants. You've missed 16 months of movies. You missed 16 months of women, parties, bars or whatever you're into. When you get out you want to compress all that into the shortest amount of time and that's why a lot of people come back.

The system here is very stupid. The guy who gets along good in here is the guy who doesn't mind being told to

get up in the morning, what time to go to meals, what time to have exercise, what time to go to bed, what time to get dressed, what time to do everything. The guy who bucks that system is going to do the shits in here. But who's going to make it on the street? Let's say you do a deuce in here. You haven't had to make a decision for 16 months. But you get out and now you have to make all your decision plus you have to make the correct ones. Of course...if you've had no previous experience...we don't let you do that here. Here's \$150. and good luck. Guy gets out, he wants to get fucked, drunk, sucked, fuckin' stoned. Gets up the next morning and ends up in the welfare line. He's got enough money for a shotgun, some shells and a hacksaw blade. Well, I don't have a place to live. I don't have this, I don't have that.

Do you see any solution to that...?

Well, I've always said we can cure recidivism by shooting all second offenders. But on a more realistic level. I've been working in the carpenter shop here and we're making coin boxes for the mint. We're getting a contract for 91,000 boxes. If people were getting something in wages so they can save up. A guy can get out of jail with a few thousand dollars as opposed to a few hundred. It makes a big difference. You're not put in a position where you have three hundred dollars and you pay your rent. How many people get out and have a place to live? How many people can support a relationship while they're in jail? It's very unique for somebody to get out and say I still have my wife, still have a home. I still have a car and clothes. Most people get out and they have nothing. They have three hundred dollars, the clothes on their back and a little suitcase and a joint suit which they can sell on Main Street for \$50. And back to point zero.

Maybe there's some benefit to that day parole business? A gradual release...where referrals can be made to different programs and resources...?

I have to agree in part. You know, it depends on the individual. Some people are definitely turned off with being directed to do this and to do that...that they don't want any strings attached. Education has a point to that too. The more education you have, the more tolerance you have as a human being and more understanding of what they're doing. On the other hand, I have a classification officer that has a B.S.W. and he talks with me for 30 seconds. He says I have an anger problem, a chemical dependancy problem,

I have this I have that. I'm a psychopath, a sociopath...all these little pigeon holes. I just looked at the guy and I said "Look you've known me for five minutes here and you're giving me all these pigeon-hole kinds of answers. You don't even have my file." It's gone to Region to be photocopied because they had to pull it out of the archives. So I said "It seems to me you're playing devil's advocate. If you're trying to get a reaction out of me. You're failing dismally. We have two options here, it seems to me. We can either scrap this interview...or we can start fresh and...relax."

Which way did it go?

He relaxed. The second interview I had with him...I'd like to get into his head. I turned the thing around and got him talking about how long he was in the system. He was telling me I had an anger problem and wanted me to focus on that which was due to one isolated incident with the hobby officer here. So he based all this on that. So I asked him how long he had been in the system and what did you do before? I turned the whole interview around and I was doing the interview. I said "How do you handle your burn-out factor?" I said "It seems to me you're here to get your eight hours in and get your money and I'm just a number to you." When he finally realized what I was doing...he really got upset..."Ah, I think we should continue this another time." That's education too.

Did you have any thoughts about goals when you were doing your courses...?

Ya...I did. When I was just about to complete my B.A. and I figured Ok...what am I qualified to do? What does a B.A. do? I was never under the impression that it was a large amount of education. I said ok, we can do something with people. I've always wanted to work with kids. I like kids...number one. Secondly, I made so many fucking mistakes in my life that I figured if I could save one kid from going through the fucking agony I went through and if he straightens out his act...one kid out of hundreds...it's all worthwhile. The world's a better place. It's as simple as that. I remember what I was like as a kid. You couldn't bull-shit me. I was 12..never mind 17 and people did. You can see right through it. I always maintain you can't lie to kids. They will see through you and say "Who needs this?" I don't lie to them. I went out of my way to be fair to them...if it was yes then it was

yes...if I said no...I'd give them a reason why and that was it I wouldn't deviate from it...unless there was a really gray area and we came to some kind of understanding. But they got to understand that. They got to respect me. When I got fired from X-Kalay...these kids were crying "Where the fuck are you going? Why are you leaving?" That really hurt because these kids meant a lot to me. I worked with these kids for two years. I did some neat things with kids there.

I did something there was really neat. I had a kid from Rankin Inlet. He was an Eskimoe kid, had a skin disease...patches of hair missing and no teeth because of all the sugar and everything. He was just turning 18, had a suicide attempt...tried to hang himself and was just barely saved and was in all kinds of trouble for stealing heavy equipment and doing all kinds of inappropriate things. So they said "What can you do with this kid?" So I flew up there and talked to the social workers and told them we have a program for kids and we only handle them up to 18. This kid's not sophisticated enough for the adult program and he's too old for the kid program. I knew a social worker who was out of work who could do a proctor job on this kid. They were willing to pay anything. So I got a \$145. per diem for this kid. Here's this kid came in to the airport...looking up under his hat...I'm six foot one and he's like five foot six...I reached down and picked him up by the neck and said "Hi". Three weeks later I'd got him all different kinds of hats...outfitted for a wig which he didn't like but...and got him fitted up with a walkman and earphones...Booonnngggggg...he's looking up from under his hat. I worked with this kid...me and the worker...for about five months and the change in this kid was just phenomenal. We got him into a course in Fort Chimo for heavy equipment operators and now he's making \$47. an hour. Doing really well. At the airport...tears in his eyes...he says in his broken English..."I thawt dis place wass gonna be rweely stwict." And now everything...was great. No more thoughts of hanging himself. Heavy equipment operator. Took a ten-month course...now he's making \$47. an hour...got a postcard from him not so long ago. Things like that make it all worthwhile. But they didn't like that either at X-Kalay...they said "Here you are going independant. You're having a program outside our program." I said "What the fuck. I'm paying you part of this per diem for having him on your books." They didn't like it.

Aside from your job at X-Kalay...what other kinds of employment have you had...?

I was self-employed most of the time. I've done everything...I've run businesses, run clothing stores...made a lot of money. But I'd get bored. I'd rent office space sometimes and it'd sit there for a month and I'd say "Well, what am I going to do this time." Then figure it all out. Start the business. Work 18-20 hours a day.

What kind of businesses?

All different kinds. Some of them were just scams. Some of them were legit. I built pallets for awhile. I had people building pallets. I had an advertising company. That was a neat one. It was semi-legit too. I got a directory from the States of all the corporations...all the businesses. I went to all the travel agencies in Vancouver...I was living in Vancouver. Got all their pamphlets...deleted all their names, all their advertising and all their printer's names. Xeroxed them. Rented a Xerox machine. Had three secretaries...paying them in this office...mimeographed all these sheets...all they did was lick stamps. I'd say well here's a sample of my product...if you'd like some advertising done \$500. will buy you 5000 sheets. For every 100 letters I put out I got one back. I'd send them 5000 sheets of the same thing. You couldn't do that in Canada but you could do that from Canada to the States. So I was grossing after office expenses...\$3000. or \$4000. a week. So I did this for five or six months then I shut that down. Rock ore mining development...that was a neat one. Northern Miner had a paper out so I got to a reporter. It cost me \$3000. to put a little blurb in there saying that the oil companies were going to drill on this 100,000 acres I leased in the Northwest Territories. It cost me a percentage of a penny on the dollar. I had the mineral rights. So I sold property shares...\$5000. for one. I got lots of people involved and then I sold short. The ironic part of it was if I'd stuck this one out I could have retired and made millions because they found gold and uranium. Everybody made lots of money. Another time I was going to start building condominiums along the Fraser River but I sold short and there was nothing there. It was fun but the first time I got a legit job was when I was 34...at X-Kalay.

When you look back on your university experience do you think anything came out of it in terms of morality...ethics...?

I don't know...every person has their own set of ethics and I made mine up when I was about 12 years old. It was very simple at least when you say it it's simple. I don't fuck with people. If they fuck with me they're wrong they deserve whatever they get. I won't go out of my way. Individuals I'll never rip...corporations, companies, banks they're different they're insured. My mother right now is having a lot of trouble because of my dad's death with insurance companies. He bought a policy and everything a couple years prior to when he was diagnosed as having cancer and they're saying that's not true. They want letters upon letters from the Mayo clinic and all this. They're really giving her a hard time. I've always hated insurance companies. They're my prime target. Moral development? Did my university education make me a better moral person? I don't know. I don't think so. I never considered myself to be the average boo boo bear. I've lived my life for good or for bad...I've pretty well done what I've wanted to do. I don't go out of my way to hurt people...I never did. So I guess in that sense...I've always been a "moral person". Morality is a very subjective thing...everybody's different...everybody's unique. Everybody has their perception of morality and what's good and what's bad and what's gray. Education gives you more tools to learn but I don't know if it had any effect on making me any more moral. I don't know...it's hard to answer that.

What about this society...do you think it's a moral society?

No it isn't. There's no utopia.

Do you think there's any difference taking university inside compared to outside...where there's the whole different social thing...?

I've done both. But I was wired at Berkley. I'm a weird junkie...when I shoot junk I get hyper. My brain is just racing. For every answer I get...I get about another thousand questions. I have a very inquisitive mind. I don't know what my IQ is but it's not low. I always enjoyed having arguments with professors. If I figure I'm right I'll go to the wall with it...

Do you think there was a lot of opportunity for that when you took the B.A. in here...?

Oh ya, there was. We had the cream of the crop. They were really good. The head of the English department was teaching the English course. It was great. We made him an honorary convict and gave him a hat. He was one of the boys. A lot of their techniques teaching here I guess are different than on campus. Instead of...ok instead of reading Dante's Inferno and Milton...ok you have to read these but write a journal on how you perceive what you read. So this is what we did for the whole English course and a lot of these journals got published so that was a different way of doing things. Another thing that was unique here was...there was seven of us taking this stats course and when I first thought about that perception of freedom thing that I ended up mastering on. Instead of taking this dry boring stats course...that's a killer...chi square this chi square that...he said "Ok what do you guys want to do?" We all brainstormed for a couple of days and came up with this thing because we have a perfect control group here...450 captive people. Let's do some research. So we did that. This time it was interesting and that got published somewhere in the obscure annals of Manitoba. I've never seen the article but I know it's there. There were some pretty smart people in this course. So they had different approaches...they made it interesting too. And we made it interesting. There were some pretty intelligent people going to school here at that time. Great minds who really amazed these profs. They came in with a lot of attitudes that were ingrained...these are certain types of individuals. They're not normal people...and we really don't know how to teach these people. What do we do? And all of a sudden they got all these questions...what's going on here. Some of the profs said "If I had a graduate group to work with I'd work with you people." It was good. We really had a good rapport. So in that sense it was fun.

It sounded like a pretty liberal interactive kind of relationship. But what about the environment here...that was fine in the classroom but about when you left and went back to the range...?

Well that again depends upon who you are. I've never really had any problems with anybody here. All the time I've been in any jail. There were people I could talk to about any kind of subjects. Hours would go by... days, months...years. I had one particular guy that was an advocate of free will. We'd do bennies and sit and rap and rap. We'd get into logic, philosophy and religion...all different kinds of subjects. Really good mind. So there

was no big difference going to class. We all sort of hung around together anyways. Guys were doing it for different reasons. Some for self-betterment, some for a gaff...some for this and that. A large majority of that group used to talk or study together or just continue to be involved...which was good. And it gets you away from jail too...that was my primary motivation. I'd get my nose in a book and I'm not doing time. But besides the actual education factor here...I was into so many other things...yoga, TM for awhile, bio-feedback. I was into power...studying power...sorcery. Medicinal power. Why is it that some people go mountain climbing and fall off mountains...an accident? Or is it power? Yoga was great for the hole. I did five and a half years isolation and it never got me. The longest stretch being 22 months.

Why were you in the hole 22 months?

Well it started out in Dorchester. I just came out of reception on the start of my 18-month sentence. The sentence was six years but I got it down to 18 months on appeal. I was 20 years old...not a bad looking kid. This bull (guard) said well...I'm going to fuck you in the ass and you're going to suck me off and this and that. I was very street hep but didn't know a thing about jail. I didn't know enough to go to the other cons and say listen this bull is getting on my case get him off. So I put up with this for about three weeks and I got pretty leery...he had keys. You know you hear all the horror stories about kids and all that. So I said "What should I do about this? Might as well kill him." So I piped him...broke his neck and fractured his skull. I figured he was dead...but he wasn't. I beat the beef on a technicality. They charged me on the wrong day. He was already in the hospital and I was in the hole. My lawyer was a high powered lawyer from Montreal. He was working on my appeal so he also handled this charge for me. He put in a writ and got the charges squashed. I was still doing this six years so they had internal court. I got 90 days bread and water...three weeks at a time...and thirty paddles...so they gave me that. I put 27 stitches in my tongue. Stubborn kid I wouldn't make a sound for them. They had a doctor there with a stethoscope...whack him again. They threw me in the hole and they were playing games with me there. They wanted to kill me. They had me in the hole for 23 months. I went in weighing about 207 lbs. and came out weighing about 112 lbs. I had pneumonia, one of my lungs was collapsed, my eyes were all infected. T-235 was their experimental tear gas and it

not only fucked up your eyes...it made you puke. Plus beating with sticks every week. Got to be that anticipating the beating was worse than the beating. Actually I got a few licks in. One guard came up to my cell and started talking about my family...your sister's out doing this and this and this and your mother. I got up...I was wearing a pair of coveralls and was manacled to the wall but I could walk right up to the bars. I said "Listen I don't know why you're saying all these things...you don't even know my family." All the while I was pissing on him. They took me to internal court. I said "Listen, I'm in my cell manacled to the wall...if this guard is standing in front of my cell letting me piss on him he must be doing something he's not supposed to be doing...Right?" I was found guilty...another 90 days in the hole plus bread and water. I had a piece of chain supposed to be attached to my manacles and secured to the belt but it wasn't and I tried to whack him with it. That was the end of my warden's court days...they didn't want to take me to court anymore. I was in the hole a lot of other times for being in a condition other than normal. The only time I get pinched for that is when I'm straight they must figure...who knows? I've had years of being high...fall down stairs...no problem...just get up and carry on.

What kind of impact do you think all the months you spent in the hole had on you?

I got really bitter for awhile and then I just let it go. Education had a factor in that too where I learned quite a bit about stress and how to alleviate it. I wish I could have followed my own practices...my own advice this last time...but I didn't. Basically just experiencing all that shit and then letting it go. You can always say revenge is the best way to go...you'll have to dig two graves and all that sort of shit. But is it really worth it? You can't go back. You can never go home. So that helped...education-wise. I was a bitter mother-fucker for a lot of years. I wanted to go back to Dorchester and kill about 12 bulls...for torturing me...paddling me...beating me with sticks...macing me...tear gassing me...bread and water and all that bull-shit and all the psychological games they played for 22 months. No medical attention, no radio, no visits...nothing. I had 20 months in when my appeal came through and it was cut to 18 months...they should have let me out...time served...but they didn't. My lawyer, my father were trying to find out where I was. They finally figured out I was still in jail and my father had to finally

go to a member of parliament and they finally let me go two months later. They gave me a size 42 suit and I looked like a refugee from Auschwitz...got to Montreal and that's as far as I got...I had to go to hospital. Couldn't eat anything...I was on intravenous for about six weeks...my lung was collapsed...I was in bad shape. So I harboured that bitterness for years and years and years. I wanted to go back and do these guys in.

I carried a lot of hate and bitterness in me for a long time. Finally I said is this really worth it...harbouring all this crap. Are you happy doing this? What's the bottom line here. How do you let this go? Do you let it go? If you don't let it go is it worth following it to its natural course. You are either going to die or get life or you will get away with it. What are the odds? And if you do get away with it...how do you live with yourself? What happens after? So I decided it wasn't worth it and just let go.

Did these experiences having any bearing on your university education...at least initially?

Not really. But the system...at the time I was doing this I figured 98 percent of the people are sheep. I didn't want to be a sheep. So I wanted to do everything in my power to not fall into the trap here. That was just a personal thing with me. Education was part of that in the sense I could do something different that had nothing to do with the institution and had nothing to do with the system. I've seen people here that were totally illiterate that sleep 24 hours a day, they get up for meals and medication and go back to sleep...get up for meals and go back to sleep. They'd do this for years. What's left? Nothing. People get totally bitter. End up flipping. I didn't want that. Ok, so I'm doing X-amount of years...let's get out and put it behind me. That was a great theory. It didn't work in the sense that people never let you forget that you've done time. You go for a job...we can't hire you because of your record. So...fuck I did my time...did all of it. A five-year pardon? I don't know...I was thinking about it but I figured it's just not worth it. I don't think they'll ever erase it. I didn't believe in the system anyway. I guess part of what jaded me was when the freedom of information act came in and I wrote for all my files and

all I got back for my trouble were blank pages that I paid three bucks a page for. Most of them said a file may or may not exist...they weren't about to tell me under the secrecy act. The RCMP sent me back 30 blank pages that cost me \$90. I said "What the fuck if they're going to do this...a pardon ain't going to work."

You finished grade 12 on the street. Did you like school as a kid?

Well...the experience was so different. I hated school. They start brainwashing you when you're six. If you argue there...you sit out in the hallway and listen through the key hole. I remember grade nine they kicked me out of school so I had to go to Otterborne Collegiate which is run by Jesuits. My average for the year was 98 percent. But argue, argue, argue...these are all preists and brothers. In grade ten I couldn't handle it anymore...I just quit. Later I finished 12 at the Adult Education Center.

I turned 17 in August and joined the Navy September first. I was in the Navy two and a half years. Which was a lot of fun. I got lucky. I went on a six-month world cruise almost right away on the Bonaventure. We sailed to the South Pacific, Hong Kong, Japan all over the place. Made a lot of drug connections in the Navy. I had to leave the Navy. S.I.B. was starting to put all kinds of pressure on me. It was fun...customs were so lax being in the Navy...emeralds, heroin, cocaine. I was stupid. I was 17 and too flamboyant. I was driving a 1936 Rolls Royce and living in a \$1700. a month penthouse and drawing \$129. a month pay...\$120. plus \$9. kit allowance or something. S.I.B. said mmmmm. They can hold you for ten days with no charges. They bring you to a military prison. They were asking me all kinds of questions. They said "We know what you are doing but we can't really put the finger on you. You have a choice. You can either stay and we'll get you or you can have an honourable discharge." I said "Ok, let's go" and that was the end of my Navy career.

If you could draw a line under your university education in prison. Is there any way you could sum that up?

It was a way of getting out of dogmatic thinking and having other people's point of view impressed on me. It gave me the ability to question this which was something I really enjoyed. It freed me up to do a lot of asking. It was a totally different venue in that sense. That path led

to greater freedom...of myself...personal freedom. As far as having a piece of paper saying that you are educated to the nth...it didn't do me a hell of a lot of good. But personal development-wise it had a large impact. It made me think in a lot of different areas and in a lot of different ways. It showed me that I could ask people questions and get valid answers and if they didn't have the answer they would go look for it. Which for me was a totally different thing than lower education where two and two is five and you had to believe that there was no questioning it. It's all inter-related with dealings with people and dealing with myself. It had a large impact...sure. It freed me up to do a lot of things mentally...anyways.

How do you feel about your current situation and what led up to it?

Well...I was so depressed. This is my understanding and it's subjective. I was so depressed at the time about what was happening there were so many stress factors...stressors in such a short amount of time. I had no support system set up...which was bad on my part. The people that were trying to get close to me I wouldn't let in. I closed myself off totally and I reverted back to former behaviour which is where I felt comfortable...I guess. This is how I see it now and that was to do drugs. When you are high on heroin it's a very good psychological pain killer. You don't have to worry about stressors...you don't have to worry about anything...until you need your next fix and you remember all these stressors and you fix again and it's gone. So it's great...in that sense. So that's what happened. It wasn't a question of anger...it was a question of depression and I just mishandled all of that stress and subsequently ended up with eight years. I realized the next day coming in...I don't think this eight years is going to do me any good in terms of self-betterment or more understanding of myself. I've had seven months to date of thinking about this and how I could have handled it differently and what I could've done. People here tell me that I have a chemical dependency problem. I maintain that I don't because the set of circumstances that happened in that short period of time are not replicable. I'm never going to get into another situation where I'm going to lose a father, lose a son and all of these other things...it's just not going to happen ever again. If I was clean for two and a half years after being wired for 22 what's to stop me from being clean again. If I was to leave here today and go work with kids I wouldn't be in any worse situation than I

am now. But they don't see it that way. Which is unfortunate. This eight-year bit is going to do absolutely nothing. I can't go to school here. I can't take anymore education. There's really nothing for me to do. What I do is read incessantly and paint...which keeps my brain alive...and I work out which handles my aggression. But as far as self-betterment...I'm not adverse to that. I'm not adverse to listening to anybody who makes any sense if I disagree with them I'll tell them. If they make sense then I'll agree with them. So far I haven't talked to many people that make sense to me. They're very assumption-oriented. They read the file and say this is how you were eight years ago and this is how you are now not much has changed in the interim... which is crap. Try to tell people you were out for seven fucking years and you've done this, this and this and they say "Well here you are. You're back so that negates it."

Interview Three: B.S.W. Student

My involvement with the police began at a very early age. They sent me away from my reserve to attend the Portage la Prairie Residential School and I used to run away from there and the police would bring me back. I had terrible experiences with the principal at the Residential School. I quit there when I was in grade 8. In my teens the police were always picking me up for being drunk and as soon as I was old enough to go to jail I started getting short sentences for being drunk and not being able to pay the fines. These were served at the Portage Women's Jail.

I had one baby when I was 14 and he was taken away from me after five months. I had another baby when I was 19 and this son still lives with me today. I had a lot of trouble with alcohol and as time went on I became more violent...lashing out at people. Not only when I was drinking. I was a single parent and a lot of times I got drunk and it seems I was more violent and didn't care about the consequences. I got charged for assault when I was about 23 and got 18 months. It was considered a very serious assault. I served my time and I didn't go back to the reserve and I could have...but that's were my problems were. I had no skills of any kind.

I got day parole in Portage. I taught myself how to sew inside the jail...they had power machines. I thought that's what I'll do when I get out. I was the first woman in Portage Jail to have day parole. The Superintendent there at the time was new and we kind of learned together. My son had been apprehended by Children's Aid at that time. When I got out on day parole I went to the Manpower office...my first time ever there. I asked for a sewing machine operator job. They sent me to Prairie Textiles. The guy said "Are you experienced?" I said "I don't know what you mean...I can operate a sewing machine but I haven't

worked before." He said "I'm sorry we can't hire you without experience." I went back to the jail and the Superintendent asked me what I was going to do. I said I was going to go back and talk to this guy some more. He didn't hire me the second time I went back but he did when I went back the third time. When I was there six months he said "You're really doing well. I'm proud of you."

However, alcohol came into the picture again. I had my parole...I had my apartment in Portage and was reporting to the RCMP and all that. The drinking started on the weekend and I felt guilty because I knew it was my parole condition to abstain from alcohol. I got laid off that job and I came to Winnipeg. I got my son back and we went on welfare for about nine years. First city welfare then provincial welfare and I was sure that was my life...that that's the way it was going to be. After so many years when you're on welfare you think...my son is getting big and I was afraid one day he was going to say why don't you get a job why don't you work like other people. One day I thought to myself I should go look for a job. However, I went to jail for assault again. This time I got three months for assaulting this man during a drinking party. I got out of Portage again and took a social skills course where they made us look for jobs everyday.

I went to this place called Native Pathfinders and told them what I was doing. It was late in the day but this lady said I can drive you to a few places and she did. The first place I went I got a job. I told this lady I'd been on welfare for nine years and hadn't been sewing or anything. She said it would probably take about a week to get back to it but she gave me a chance. I worked there...Century 21 for about seven months before I got this idea I wasn't being paid enough and said I better look for another job. I gave my notice and said I'm going to look for a job somewhere else.

I got a job right away at G.S. Sportswear and worked there for about two and a half years. The last six months of that job I was drinking pretty heavy. I missed lots of work...one time I missed a whole month and I would phone and say I was sick. He would always say if you're feeling better come in tomorrow. He would keep taking me back. Finally I told him I have to go to River House for treatment because I have a problem. He used to see my son all the time and say why don't you smarten up you've got a nice boy there. But that wasn't enough to really convince me that I had a problem. I went back to work at that same job when I was finished my treatment program.

At this time I met this guy that got out of Stony

Mountain and we were together for about three years. He had a drinking problem too...that's why we got along. This relationship was abusive also. Drinking was a factor in what happened between me and this man. It was in 1980 that I got charged for his death. First it was second degree murder and then after we went to plea bargaining...with my lawyer...they reduced it to manslaughter and I plead guilty. I was out on bail six months before I went for my trial. I got 30 months and because of the federal-provincial agreement I was sent to Portage to do my time.

Some changes took place for me just after this happened. It was really a matter of working on the drinking. Realizing for the first time that I really had a problem with alcohol. I was still working in the sewing factory when I was on bail. I had a lot of work to do because it was the first time I really began looking at myself seriously as an alcoholic. I didn't know if I could ever make it...to look at myself that way. Anyway I went to Portage to serve my time and stayed there about a year. There's almost nothing you can do there. The only thing they had was a life skills course. So I took that course because at that point I needed to talk. I guess I used that in place of A.A....the meetings and all that. I was able to talk to a man that used to work at A.F.M. He did the life skills course. He was coming from Red River Community College. That's about all that was offered at the women's jail at that time. I was denied three times for day parole. I said ok...I can understand the seriousness of the crime. I didn't want to go back to the life that was behind me but I didn't know how I was going to do it because I didn't have anybody I was connected with inside or outside. But it was always in my mind that I was going to change my life somehow. I didn't know how to reach out for help or anything.

I finally got a day parole and I went back to work at Prairie Textiles. My boss remembered me from years before when I worked there. I went to Regina House for my day parole. I had a parole officer...I could not reach him...communicate with him. He was too happy go lucky all the time. It was hard for me to say look I got so many problems. He didn't set it up for me to be able to tell him those kinds of things. I didn't like my job but I couldn't tell my parole officer that.

I stayed out on the street for about three months. It was very hard for me to go to that job. I went for a weekend pass from Regina House...everyone else was going on these passes so I figured I should try it too. I didn't really have anywhere to go but I went to a place where my

old friends were and there was drinking there. The third day I was there I lost control...it was nice and hot outside and I looked at this beer with the moisture running down it...so I opened it and started to drink. I drank three...one right after another and I was just full. I had to decide what I was going to do...here I was on parole and drinking again. I thought I'm not going back to the house but I will phone my parole officer. I phoned the house and talked to a lady that worked there. She asked if I was ok. I said "Ya, I'm just fine." She said I should come back. I thought she was trying to set me up...this is the old thinking...she was trying to catch me...they'll nab me.

I took a bus to Vancouver that night. I was drinking heavy and I was on the street about two weeks in Vancouver. I didn't enjoy the drinking...or the kind of freedom I had out there. I thought I wish they'd just arrest me and get it over with. I knew I had to go back and serve my time. Anyway I got into a drinking party and one of the guys got robbed...I had a lot to drink and couldn't remember what happened. I knew there was a knife involved...anyway they arrested us.

I knew I was going to the women's federal prison...and they transferred me to Okalla. I was there for about three months. I didn't get any new time...that charge was dropped on me and my nephew was charged with armed robbery. I was lucky with that. I was there for three months before they transferred me to Kingston.

What happened there was...they had a school there in Okalla. They had correspondence courses there but I couldn't partake of those because I was waiting for a transfer...you couldn't do anything because of that. You are serving like...dead time. They had a school there and I went in there and looked around and I saw these computers and these girls were working on them. I was watching them and thought I can do that too. I talked to the principal there and told him I'd like to do something but he said there was no way because I was waiting for a transfer.

What was it about the school that appealed to you...?

Well...I just thought I can do that too. Just pushing those key punches... that looks easy. I went and talked to the principal again and he said "Ok, I'll give you some work you can do for yourself even though you're not involved with the school...just to pass the time." I was also rooming with a girl who had a typewriter right in our cell. She had a correspondence course and I used to ask her

if I could fool around with her typewriter and she said "Sure go ahead." So I'd do it when she was gone...she was taking a Native Communicator course. It was a two-year course and she completed it. I taught myself to type with an instruction manual I got. I got a lot of feelings like...I could do it. I got some confidence. When I looked at what I'd typed after...I thought ya, I did it...look at that. That made me feel really good. The principal would give me math to do and I would take it to my cell and do it and take it back to him. He would say "Ya, you're doing well." I'd do the typing in the evenings by myself.

When I got my transfer to Kingston I looked at the handbook they give you when you come in and I looked especially at the school. That's where I wanted to go. If there was anything I wanted to do there it was go back to school. They said you have to wash the floors or something for three weeks before you can get in. I applied for a job the next day that I was there. My cousin was serving ten years there so she showed me where I had to go to look for a job. I went to see this woman and she said "You are in orientation. You have to be there for one week." I said "I know but I can do both things." She said ok. They put me in a long long hallway they called the tunnel and I cleaned it for three weeks.

I went and spoke to the principal and he said "Why do you want to go to school?" I said "That's a stupid question to ask...I don't really know myself. I just want to be doing something." I told him I wanted to go everyday...not like when I was at Okalla. You have to go every day to get somewhere. A week later I got into school. They gave me tests to assess me. They started me at grade nine. I took math and I took English. I also enrolled in the typing class. I completed the typing and went to grade eleven in my math and English. It didn't take me long to get there.

The difference was that you didn't feel guilty when you asked for help and then when you made a mistake you were willing to work on it right away. When you called them they came right away to help you. I guess they really knew that you wanted something...and they were there. When I went to boarding schools I could never ask for help. When I made a mistake...I couldn't let other people know...because I was considered stupid. At Kingston it was so different.

A few months before I was to be released I wrote to a lady at the John Howard Society in Winnipeg and outlined my plans to her. This lady used to come to Portage when I was there although I didn't talk to her there. I thought she probably won't believe me because people never

believed my plans before. I wrote to Kia Zan half-way house in Winnipeg and told them what day I was going to be out on my mandatory supervision. I told them I had plans and that I thought it was time I learned and...I just needed somebody to give me guidance. I wrote to Willy--the lady at John Howard--and told her I was finishing my school and asked her what programs there were for me to continue with in Winnipeg. She sent me a whole package of programs. She had sent me this kind of stuff before...but this time I looked through them...there was New Careers, A.F.M. and different kinds of other courses. But it wasn't quite what I wanted...it was something but I didn't know what it was. I couldn't see it. It was kind of something in the counselling area...with people.

In prison my experience was always to be working with other people. I was elected as the inmate rep on the Inmate Committee. I guess my interest was kind of ...to help the other inmates to understand what was happening to us in there and the reason we couldn't touch outside people. I guess I kind of wanted to work in some kind of area like that. I looked at all the stuff Willy sent me and I was kind of interested in something like New Careers. Mind you I had applied to New Careers about 18 months before I had got out. I wrote again about six months later and asked them to please renew my file. I wasn't clear exactly what I wanted to do but I knew it was people I wanted to work with. I kept in touch with Willy and told her I plan to go to school when I get out and I don't know if Willy believed me or not...I forget what she said in her letters. I told Willy one of the problems I had last time I was out was that I could not have a relationship with my parole officer. I could not reach that man.

Somehow...it was different this time...it was me that was writing the letters. It was me that was asking. Another thing too was that I liked to read my letters over because...it was such a difference now that I had been going to school. I watched the news on TV. It wasn't the same anymore...I could understand better what they were saying. Just that idea...imagine me I could learn these things. I think that's what kept me going...that I could do it. I told people my plan was to continue my education when I got out on the street and...this is what I've done here. I had done my up grading right to grade 11. I was really proud of it and I didn't care if anybody said...oh ya, she's said it before...I thought it's their problem if they think that way because I had such a good feeling that I knew I could accomplish something.

I guess I was tired of the life I had been

leading...that's what I said when I got to Kingston and I looked at the blue and green walls...the fans were running up on the ceiling and I thought ya I always wanted to avoid this place but I'm here now but it'll be the last time I ever come here. It was such a cold feeling. That's it I'm finished with this life. I have to do something and the problem is my drinking and a lot of other problems I had before like rape and incest and all those things...I'd never dealt with those.

When I got to B.C. I had started to question myself how come I could never stay sober...how come I'm always going back. I thought back to when I was a kid and thought about the incest and wondered if anything came from there. They had a woman psychologist there and I made an appointment to see her. It was like I was always moving moving moving always moving...trying to drown out these problems all the time. I found this out the first time I sat in her office. I couldn't tell her everything but I told her I realize there's something there...I can't stay sober. I can't change my life but I want to. I think that had a lot to do with it. Even the next time I saw the psychologist she said "You know I've noticed you can't stay still for two minutes. You're always moving around." So she taught me how to do relaxation exercises. I used to practise those...especially in a crowded room. I just felt like I wanted to run all the time. She said anytime you feel like that...you practise these breathing exercises. That's where I started to work on the problem but I was only there three months...it didn't give me time. I felt comfortable with this woman but I didn't have time to deal with it there or at Kingston really.

At Kingston all I did was build more anger because when you look out the window there you can see KP...which was protective custody and I used to think I wonder what they do for men in there who have done this to women? My brother was serving ten years for rape and I used to look over there and think...he must be in there. I thought... I wonder if they are giving him any kind of help? Because this is where it came from and it built more and more anger. I didn't deal with this problem until I came out.

I noticed I was speaking up for myself too...I'd never done that before. Already in such a short time I did certain things. So I kept in touch with Willy and she offered to be my parole supervisor. I said "Willy, what difference would it make between man and woman supervising me?" She said it's up to you in the letter and she said I would also like to come and meet you when you get out and I will keep in touch with you from now until the time you come

out. My interaction with Willy had been almost nothing before. I think I went to her only a couple of times when she came to Portage...I don't even know what I talked about.

I felt good about Willy supporting me...that's the word because now I could feel that difference because now it was more like a support. Instead of somebody saying...I'll be here... I 'll always be here when you need me. It was different. So when I came out...I had asked my instructors for letters because I thought what if I go to Winnipeg and want to go to school...they might not accept me...I had my doubts. They wrote me letters...both of them. I brought them back and showed them to Willy when I got here. She met me at the airport. I wasn't very happy to see Willy because I wanted to see my family. My son was supposed to meet me...but there was a delay in Toronto and a flight had been cancelled and I came later. But Willy Carleton was there.

When I got back to Winnipeg I went to check out my application at New Careers. I told the lady at the desk some information and that I had applied quite awhile ago and that I had sent a letter asking for my application to be renewed. She said "Let me check it." She went in the back and came out and said "We have nothing by that name." I was so mad. I said "Well fuck you." And I walked out.

The adjustment when I came out was very difficult. It was very very hard because I wanted to do something and I didn't know who I could get to help me to make more changes in my life. I think Willy had a lot to do with me making those changes. I always tell her that and she always says "Oh no..." She was a person that certainly knows her job as a social worker. She knew what to do and she believed in me that's one thing I knew right from the beginning. She used to come to the half-way house and I used to be so bitter and upset. I was bitter about the incest...I knew I had to deal with that problem. At that time Willy brought a Native lady out with her...Eva was a student placement at the John Howard Society. At that point I didn't care who was involved anymore...I just needed people to be involved with. I didn't care who they were or where they came from because that first day I sat down and told Eva some things I didn't want anybody else to know.

I was brought up in the Native culture in the traditional ways and I saw those things and I said I don't believe I want anybody to push those things on me. I had found my own faith and way to survive and I didn't want anybody saying you're an Indian and you should have sweetgrass and all that because I don't want that. I think I stated that to Eva the first time we met because I was tired of having people push things on me.

So from the beginning I think Eva and I had a good understanding. Willy would never come to Kia Zan half-way house...just Eva would come and do her report on me. I told Eva about some of the things that happened to me inside and she said she could understand because her brothers are in Stony Mountain. I told her I have this one problem and I don't know if I want to deal with it or not but I think about it all the time and it makes me so angry I can't sleep at night.

I went also to see Dr. Herschovitz at A.F.M. and said "You know I have some stuff to deal with that I didn't tell you about when I used to come and see you when I was at River House. Those things are incest, rape and gang rape." This incest turned into rape and I've experienced other things like gang rapes when you drink..you know stuff like that. I said "I think these things have a lot to do with my life." He said "You do a step four and five (of the A.A.Program) and after if you can't deal with the stuff then come back." That was another thing...he wanted to know if I wanted to go to River House when I left Kia Zan. I said why would I want to go to River House...I know what alcohol does to me. I've been there four or five times in the treatment and you see those films and I know it does all those things. I said I don't need the treatment what I've got to do is try to help myself and go to A.A. meetings and try to work that program.

Herschovitz remembered me when I was there a couple of years ago and he said you're not the same person who was here then. I was a real mess, he said, when I came to them before. I went there right from the Safety Building when I got my bail. They were willing to take responsibility for me on my bail. That was really strange because they didn't know me. I'd been in there four or five times by then...they knew I had a problem. I couldn't admit it before when I was there. Herschovitz said he knew I was an alcoholic when I first came there but he said he had to wait for me to say it. I stayed at Kia Zan but I used to go see Herschovitz and that's another thing I got addicted to...Herschovitz...I thought he would always have answers for me. He used to say you go back out there and work that program...I think it's a god-send...I've seen it work. It seemed like so much work...like I couldn't accomplish anything. I didn't realize all the pain you have to go through to grow. Anyway...I told him about the stuff from the past...I could still feel it bothering me but he said go and do a step four and five.

I asked Eva if she thought this stuff had anything to do with me always drinking, running away and hurting

people as much as I can because of that? She said it could have a lot of bearing on your life. I said I want to do something about it...I'm tired of the life I have. Next time she came she brought me a whole bunch of stuff...information from Klinik about sex assault and all that. I looked through those pamphlets but I couldn't bring myself to read them. Too close to home. Eva said I think it's time for you to work on that problem now because you're talking about it. She said you should get an appointment at Klinik...I can make it for you. I said no I'll make that appointment. It was hard for me...I was terrified but I knew I had to make a move. I'd pick up the phone and dial...but I couldn't do it...I'd put it back. Finally I dialed this number and this woman says can you tell me what happened. I said you know I don't think I should talk about this over the phone to you. Ok she say...you can come in tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock you have an appointment. I thought about it and I thought about it...I didn't want to go.

I spoke to the director at Kia Zan about what was going on...what was happening to me. Like a lot of times when you hear something crashing...it's the only time that you get that release...when you break something. Lots of time I'd feel like I could smash a jar or something and only after that could I feel like I'd been relieved of that feeling. It's built so high...the energy from what happened. I told the director that I was having such a terrible time to make that first move and he put his arm around me and he said "You know I'm beginning to think that I know you really well...you've been with us so long...you were here on your bail and you were here when you got out and now we're here with you again and your stuff...you're going to do it. I know it's in you."

I used to do a lot of writing...about my feelings because I couldn't talk about it. Lots of times I would cry and stop because I couldn't go any further and I'd give them to Jerry the director at Kia Zan when he'd come to work in the morning. He'd read them and I'd go to see him after. He'd sit there and it'd be just like he was going to cry...he'd put his arm around me and say some day you are going to look back and say everything is ok now. He'd say...the way you write is enough to touch anybody...I could never write my feelings the way you do. I'd say I write because I can't talk. I couldn't talk openly about anything. I used to bawl my head off writing those things. I was way upstairs and nobody could hear me. When that dam breaks...it just keeps coming and coming. Sometimes I used to think I was so uncontrollable and I couldn't stop crying

because it had been so long...too many years with all that garbage.

It was very hard for me to go to Klinik. When I just about got there I almost stopped...I thought maybe it's no big deal...maybe I can live with it. Anyway I was in the lobby and this lady came out...she was so nice her appearance and everything. That was another thing...a thing I never saw in myself in all those years. I always thought I'm an ugly ugly thing...who wants me...I'm worthless and useless...no good to myself...no good to anybody. But those things came from that...exactly why I was going to Klinik.

I saw that woman psychologist for the first time...I used to hate women. That was another thing that was happening at that time...I started to appreciate other women and the positions they had. I never had a woman doctor before and I appreciated that. I could swear this woman had the same experiences as me...she was so good with me. I supposed I latched on to people at that time...like Willy...that were the right people. I'd always talked to people that had said oh...you'll get over it or pray about it it'll go away. It doesn't go away. You have to work through it...especially something like that. It's just like they always left me hanging. You know...it's your decision...tomorrow will be better.

I started to meet the people that were going to play a part in my life. I think it had to do with being ready too. I don't think I cared who it was at that time as long as they were ready to listen to me and I knew I was being listened to when I went to these people. I could tell the difference. It made a difference too...because I was ready.

I continued to go to Klinik for help. I used to cry my head off. I relieved a lot of those things that happened to me when I was a kid. I used to remember little things that I probably tried to push out all those years. I could remember the feelings...the touching...the words that were said which broke my trust completely with everything...and everybody from that point. I could see that. They did their counselling from a feminist approach and I really liked that because to myself I was always calling myself an Indian woman...we're used to being squaws and all that. I had a chance to deal with that part too.

Do you think being Native played any part?

I never really thought about that...whether it had any bearing. There was seven children in our family. My brothers have been in prison too. I talk about them

sometimes in our classes because our classes are supposed to be confidential and you get that feeling when you're talking in class. I was angry one day because they showed a film showing a man beating up his wife and there was so much anger that came out from me and I had to talk to the instructor right at that point. What I saw in that film was the violence in the man and I saw that in my brothers. My brothers were never beaten when they were kids...I never saw that...we never had that in our family. Often people would say ah, these men were abused themselves. But you know where it came from? It came from the residential school in Portage. They used to strap them up the arms and the rear end until they were purple. I was telling my instructor that...they were never abused...my parents were very passive people...very kind to each other. I never saw that in our family. But what really made me angry was that I saw the school doing it to them...and my brothers are still doing it today. They use that power...where is it getting them...always back in prison. That all came from the residential school. They always say the Native children get their traits from imitating the role model of the mother and father. What I wanted to say that day to my instructor was that my brothers imitated that principal...and what he did in order to have control over people. We were just kids and...a man to have control over us with a strap. That man should have been punished for that. That really makes me angry to see that happen to my brothers. They probably don't even know where it came from.

My sister died...when she was 38 and she likely died from the incest she experienced in our family. I mentioned that to my counsellor at Klinik when I went through the therapy there. I realized for the first time what rape can do to a person. It can kill and that's exactly what happened to my sister. She drank herself to death...she was found dead by herself. I could see where I was having a problem living with what happened to me but I knew it happened to her too. We never discussed those kinds of things...they were supposed to be kept a secret. Look what it did to her. Sometimes it makes me angry when I think about that. My counsellor made it very clear what happens if a person withholds that kind of stuff inside. I looked at my life and I knew I had to deal with the drinking but I also knew there was something else there I had to deal with to keep me sober. I never felt good about myself. You always have that...remembering back how you felt. You know...here you were supposed to be loved by a member of your family and they go and do stuff like that to you. It breaks your... Like they fool you into thinking ya, I'm a

really good member of the family...I'm just taking care of you and then they do their work. I had to go through all that...all the anger...relive the whole experience and remember little things I thought I forgot...what happened. But I realize too...that when I worked through all that...that's what helped build my self-esteem too...to start to have some confidence.

With regard to education...what happened when you found out New Careers had no record of your application...?

When I went to New Careers and my application wasn't there I went back to the half-way house. I explained to Rick--the director--what happened. I was really upset but he said "Never mind...there's another place you can try." He wrote it down and told me to go to Manpower and ask for this particular place. I went to Manpower and I had this place written on a piece of paper...it was Kirkness Adult Learning Center. Other residents had gone through that program. I thought maybe it will help me decide if I should continue with my education...because I had been out two months and I was starting to get discouraged because nothing was happening. If the people at New Careers didn't keep me on file...I was feeling discouraged. I told Willy about this...these people are supposed to be looking after their jobs and they didn't even keep me on file. It was difficult then...but I can understand it now...you know how some people do their jobs...? I guess certain people are like that.

Anyway...the lady at Manpower pulled out my file and said "Production's not so good right now." Right away in my mind I thought isn't this what people do to you? They read your file...they say this is who you are...this is what you want to do. I said "You know what? I'm not here to apply for a sewing machine operator job. I want to go to school." I gave her that piece of paper and said this is where I want to go. She said I might have to wait two weeks on the waiting list. I said I would wait. Two days later they called me...it was in the evening. I could start Monday morning. They wanted to know if that was too soon. I said no...it's not too soon. I started Monday morning.

I was scared. I was terrified because this was the first time I was going to school on the street. I was wondering what it was going to be like. I went and I met some nice people there. I was there the other day...they wanted me to introduce one of the instructors from the Winnipeg Education Center to the students. They asked me...would you please come...since you've been through here

and have gone on...one of the ones that have made it. I went there and the director...Sharon...said to me by the way "I'm going to hire you when you finish your degree." I said "Oh, it's nice of you to think of me like that."

When I started at Kirkness...they showed me what their program was about. I thought...this is no problem to me because I've already taken this kind of stuff. It was kind of like high school math...high school reading and I had no problem to get through that course. But it helped me in making a decision on what I was going to do in my life. I already knew I wanted to go on with my education...but now I knew it even more. No more going back to the factory to work. I didn't want that anymore. I thought that's it...it's finished. Now I'm going to go to school. That's the part Kirkness played in my life. Not so much to upgrade me...but to help me to make that decision.

But when I was at Kirkness...I used to say to Eva...when I was going through therapy at Klinik. They used to come and pick me up at Klinik after my therapy because I had a hard time to know where I was or anything like that because the effects of that...from years of carrying that stuff effected me so bad. I was sure I couldn't walk out of that place...because there was so much shit I went through...because I developed so much hate for that person. Eva used to check on me and say how's it going and I'd say it's awful..it's terrible but I said what I like about it is that I have a little...very small bit of peace when I come home. I could feel it inside. I'd come home from therapy and lay down on my bed...I could feel..I could sense that little bit of peace. I wanted that more than anything else. So I told Eva I could sense that...it's very small but I want more...when I go back I have to go through this shit...more and more.

But once I had reached that point and I came down. They show you a chart, what they use when they're assessing your progress in the therapy and there's a point you reach when you come down and that's when you feel more relaxed in talking about it. I guess that's where the peace came in. I could see it more clearly. I quit blaming myself...not right away...but I knew it was something I was going to do. I could feel that...like it's not all my fault. It was never all my fault. I looked at it like I was a child when I was going through therapy and I experienced exactly what happened when I was a child. I went back to that stage through therapy. I used to tell Eva...I want that little bit of peace more than anything. I don't care anymore about the pain...about the anger...I'll go for the peace...I want more of that feeling.

So I went and I got more and more out of it. Pretty soon I didn't feel like I did when I first walked in there. Some of the guys at the house used to say oh you've been crying and they want to put their arm around me and for once I felt like...ya, I need somebody's arm around me. Before when somebody used to put their arm around me...especially a man...I could feel that there for a long time after because I guess that thing was still there. But the guys used to talk to me and my son was very supportive of me too when I went through this.

Before I went through therapy I could never be close to a man...even the presence of a man in the room...if I could hear his footsteps. I used to tell my son about that...I just hate those men when they try to play a power trip...just by the way they walk. I said you know what I hear there...it's fear and I start to get mad...men like to walk like that to impress somebody like they're in control...that's bull shit...I used to tell my son. He used to say Mom you're going to be ok because you know what...some women going through therapy like that hate their own husband...their own family...but you haven't done that...you're willing for me to come here and visit you and talk with you about what happened. I used to discuss it with him and I never used to talk about that...with anybody. My son said now I can put everything together...now I know where the anger came from when you were drinking. He said "I used to think it was me or I was part of it." It was therapeutic for him too. It was good too because we developed a very good relationship through some of those things.

Eva said to me one day what are you going to do about your education? I said well I'm going to finish Kirkness and maybe take a course at A.F.M. I applied to A.F.M....this course they had and it cost \$35. and I was going to pay that. But it didn't happen that way because Eva said to me...you should try the course I'm taking. She was at the Winnipeg Education Center and she said next time she came she would bring me an application. I said ok...I didn't know what it was or anything. So she brought me this application and I thought...that's a really big application...it's really thick...what am I going to put on there? But because I'd already got upgrading...I figured ya, I can do it. Where they ask you for autobiography...I tried to write it in a short form...what I did with my life...different social problems and what I've done about those problems and where they're at now and what my plan was...always to work with people but I didn't know what it was going to be like or what it meant but that it was just

something I wanted to do. That's where my two instructors' letters from Kingston came in. It wasn't even that hard to fill out that application. I asked the director at Kia Zan and Willy for letters of reference...and Kirkness gave me a reference. So I had more than I needed.

So I applied for the A.F.M. course and I applied for W.E.C. and I was thinking well...whatever happens will happen. So I left it like that and before I finished Kirkness I got a letter saying that you were selected as one of the people for a two-day workshop at the U.of M. and I got a little bit excited about that. I told everybody at Kirkness and they were so happy and they said we know something good is going to happen. They were happy at Kia Zan I got that far with the application.

After the two-day workshop and I guess it's the way I perceived my problems before and there was a big difference and I answered questions related to social work about what I would do if I was a worker. I always thought that anybody I had worked with...a worker...always left me hanging.

Like one time I had this counsellor at Kia Zan...I don't know what her background is but...she's a Christian lady. I had an appointment with her...our appointment was for one hour and it was at the point in my life where I had to talk...I had to get it out...I was talking for the first time in my life. I felt it was important to see her for that whole hour. She said ok. What happened was that before our hour was up somebody knocked on the door and came in and they said am I seeing you today? The lady said ya...in fact in five minutes. She cut me off like that and that's how I always felt about other people that worked with me. She didn't see me for the full hour and I thought ya, she's not really interested.

I didn't get counselling from Kia Zan because of that lady...I felt like I couldn't talk to her after. I avoided her. I needed to talk so much about how I felt and what was happening in my life. I was told that I should confront that lady about what she did but instead I was going to River House to see another counsellor. Anyway after... I did confront this woman because it bothered me so much to walk past her and not say hi to her or say good morning to her. I found out she was going through a lot with her marriage and I think it affected her work. After I found that out I felt compassion for her. I felt I could understand her now as a human being. She had problems too. Anyway she left shortly after and I think it was due to the marital problems. I thought it's ok...I understand that now.

But I think at that time I felt I had people who

were supporting me. I could see that when I went to do that application...they were willing to support me. I think that made a difference. Like Willy used to always say to me you can do it...I know you have it in you to do it. I never had anybody say things to me like that...that I can remember. That's what made a difference in my relationship with Willy...she used to sit on the floor she didn't sit across from me or sit beside me...she'd take her shoes off and sit on the floor when she'd come to my place and talk to me.

Before I was accepted at W.E.C. I had started living on my own and that was really hard. That was part of the adjustment coming out of prison. I felt a lot of pressure from that...of living alone for the first time. It was very lonely and yet I had wanted to get out of Kia Zan because I felt I was ready. I knew I had to go and make a start somewhere and it was about three months after being in Kia Zan that I started to think about that and I was scared.

When I look back...I think the adjustment was more positive this time because other times when I came out I'd have to go back into my role...like playing mother or wife or whatever and having to think about looking for a job. But this time because my son was big and he didn't live with me anymore and I chose to go to a half-way house...it wasn't mandatory but I chose to go there because I wanted to adjust properly. That was my choice. They said you don't have to but I said I know...but when I looked back I realized I never made proper adjustment...right away I had to fit into these roles...you have to do when you get out. It was hard because I had a whole bunch of problems and I couldn't do it...I couldn't fulfill those roles so right away I'd get discouraged and say to hell with it I'm going back to jail anyway that's the only consequence...big deal. There's nothing else...that's the way I used to think.

But anyway when I finally got the phone call from Laura Anderson and she told me I would be starting in the fall...like...I didn't think she was speaking to me. But now I had another problem because I finished Kirkness and I had six weeks to wait and I was still on mandatory supervision. I phoned Willy and told her that I had no income...was finished Kirkness and had to wait six weeks to start at W.E.C. She said go to welfare.

I went to welfare. They said no we can't help you. I had one cheque coming from Kirkness which was only about \$76. and I couldn't believe the hassle they gave me. I explained my situation but they still said no. I said you know...it looks like to me you help people coming off the street with absolutely no goals and once a person is out and trying so hard to help themselves and they don't get any

help from this place.

I phoned Willy again and told her my feelings. She agreed that's exactly how they run the system. It's like it's money coming out of their own pocket. Why do they do that? I can understand now but then I didn't understand that. Anyway Willy said to go back and talk to somebody else. I did and this other person said the same thing. Willy said ok, I'm going to phone somebody and explain your situation and see what can be done. She phoned me back and said go back in now and see this Bruno guy...he's a supervisor or something.

I went to see him and he was very nice to me...after Willy got involved. I also talked to my counsellor at Kirkness and she phoned too. I had so much anger I had to talk to more than one person. What I got out of the whole thing was that sometimes it's better for more than one person to get involved to put pressure on. I saw the result of that. This Bruno was very nice to me...they paid my one months rent and gave me enough allowance for food. I asked about clothing...I had been away for three years and I needed some new clothes. They gave me \$100. for clothing...but what can you buy for \$100. now? But that turned out ok.

I started at Winnipeg Ed in the fall of '84. It's a four-year B.S.W. course so I'm now at the end of my third year. It's gone so fast...when you enjoy what you're doing. I think I was ready for some changes...but I didn't know how to go about it. I believe that...during the three years I was there that I wouldn't have come this far if I hadn't gone back to school. Because I think that played a big part in helping me decide...to make decisions and to see what I really wanted.

In terms of other possible effects...you said earlier you could now understand the news. Did you mean politics?

I think...my education makes me understand better. Not much I can do about it. I have an awareness now...mind you that's one area that was completely new to me when I went into Winnipeg Ed. As a Native person they didn't teach us those kinds of things. It's not like people that come from Chile or somewhere...they are born and raised with that kind of stuff...it's every day...but we don't...it was done deliberately to us...not to know anything about politics. But I'm understanding it and I think it just changes you as far as your attitude but it also depends on if you've worked on these other problems too. For example...I see...I had

gone to Kirkness with another guy that was enrolled in Kirkness when I was there but he made it not even a year because of the drinking...he's still drinking...he's still out. Like for example...me suppose I went in and I wasn't involved in anything or worked on problems I probably wouldn't have been there even a year. When I worked those things out...education just gives me that...to me it's just like a strength. With me it's changed my perception of life...things that happened to me in the past.

Do you mean as a Native person or a person that's been in jail...?

I think both...as a Native person and as a person that's been in and out of jail. I see...jail guards where they have to work under a system also and where I used to take it personal that they were doing it on their own...and there are some that do it on their own...but you can't generalize. I think they have to work under their systems too and be the way they are. A lot of things that happen in prison...there's nothing that's very rehabilitative in prison that's offered especially with social problems...that happened to people in the past. They don't deal with those kinds of things. Like psychologist, psychiatrists they don't have many of them in prison and my experience with women's prisons...especially Portage...they were lacking in that area because a lot of women have a lot of really serious problems. For instance the women that get charged for very serious crimes...something has happened to them...the majority of them in the past like sex abuse, rape and incest and things like that and that's how it comes out...finally. I've talked to other women...it's not just my own experience. I've talked to other girls and they say that after they've served their time...they say you know something like that happened...there was incest in the family or they've been abused sexually by somebody...taken advantage of when they were drinking and passed out...whatever. I've got a friend who that happened to and she did a lot of time and she turned to women because she says women treat her better. She hasn't dealt with her problem and I'm scared she will go back to that same violence because the problem is still there. A lot of girls have an anger and they don't have a way of bringing it out.

Do you think your perceptions of human nature have changed as a result of your experiences...?

Oh yes...definitely. Not only as a result of my education in general about why people do things but also having worked through my own problems. There's always some kind of pressures around people that get in trouble...before or after...they don't have ways of coping...that's the way they cope with there problems.

Do you think that includes men too...?

Men too. I can see that with my brothers very well. I see things...since I started at W.E.C....not only how I interpret them but also how society has created problems and people don't know how to cope with them. That's how I see problems now...they're not isolated problems. I used to think I was the only one but they're problems from way back. They've always been there. This course has helped me grow and learn a lot. I might have worked out my stuff before I went there but it's even added more to what I've learned...being impartial now...even though I used to be in them myself.

What about your perceptions of authority...?

It wasn't just the principal at the Residential School...it was most everybody in my life before was authority...over me because I think I always felt a lot of inferiority...low self-esteem so therefore I was always fighting even though they didn't know it. I was doing it within myself. I think one of the main reasons was that I had no way of knowing that some of the things they did they did deliberately...in prison some people do it deliberately because of their job and some people do it because they're just like that. That's why a lot of inmates feel like that...retaliating a lot of times...if you're always being told ah, you'll never make it...you'll never make anything out of your life...you begin to believe it after awhile. Until you deal with that kind of anger...why you're angry...because I've always done what people wanted me to do...I think that's what happened to me.

You know where that happened...with the parole situation. I started to see and understand that it was a game...I saw the parole application and I saw what it was really saying to me and I said ok I'll go along with it...I'll play their game. I realized it was a game...something I never quite understood before. Like reform...rehabilitation? How can people expect you to reform when they send you to a place like that? You know, you begin to see that in a parole application...how can they say

you're reformed...I mean what is there here? Instead you say...if I had a chance to do this or to do that...I'd probably do it but you're isolated you're not given the tools. Another area where I saw my adjustment when I came out was...when you go in I think it came from the very very first day I ever went to prison was that shock you go through...like hey I'm going to be here for the next 18 months. When I got sentenced I looked out and saw the sun shining and I figured that's it for me...no more life for me...that was my first experience in jail. The first time I ever dealt with that shock was when I came out in '83...

The shock of coming out...?

No...the shock of being incarcerated the first time. That was back in 1969 or maybe before that for drunk charges. You go through a shock...you are taken away from your family and there's nothing you can do about it. But I never dealt with that until I came out in 1983. All those times I went to prison...you get kind of numb.

What do you think made it different this time...?

I think I wanted to change this time. I was just tired...just tired of no life...nothing happening. Routines...I used to be so bored with my life...same thing day in day out. You go from your job and back...no social life. Now I can do pretty well anything I want to do. Another thing I learned from education is that you can pretty well do whatever you choose to do...I mean freedom to choose. I have a choice.

What was it in your education that taught you that...?

Because I have rights. I don't always agree with everything everybody says or does. I can make it fit in somehow with own feelings. Like...I had a hell of a time with the Ma Ma Wichi Itata Centre. I chose to go there but I knew it might be difficult with a Native organization. Sweetgrass and the traditional ways used to a part of my life but I had chosen to go my own way and the old ways have lost a lot of their meaning. Even when I was a child it had lost a lot of its meaning. I read a lot of these books about the history of Native people and I still get choked up and I used to remember my grandfather saying you never trust the white man. The white man is wanting this and doing that. I often get choked up when I read Native

history...because my grandfather was so right.

The thing with me...maybe it was good that I went to boarding school and it was my life up until I was 14. I think what helped me a lot to have the perspective I have today is because I've been involved with a lot of white agencies...whether it was through prison or whatever...it wasn't all totally Native people. My counselling and all that came from white people...that's why I say I don't see any difference from anybody else. I feel very strongly about that. I have talked to other Native students and they feel...ya, we're Native and we're supposed to be here and we're supposed to stay here...and I get so mad and I get so pissed off because for me I'm a person...that's how I see myself. Native or not...I don't see that part...I deal with myself as a human being.

Do you think there was any connection between your position and your education...?

I think so...I think it has a lot to do with my education...to see myself as a person not as a person who was colonized or things like that. I don't hold those kinds of...like Ma Ma Wi I had a difficult time there. Also when I was doing my student placement at John Howard, the director at the time...Barry said to me just before I left...it's happened all through my life...he said don't you think you could help a Native organization? I said why do you say that...just because I'm Native? I don't believe that exactly because the problems I experienced are all of this society and therefore when I got counselling there was no Native people involved in my life. I came out of it better than I would probably if I had gone to an elder or something. But mind you, I did go for counselling to an elder with this guy I was living with and things never changed at all. You know why? Because the guy believed it was ok to have done what he did and put it in the past and go on living...that's the kind of counselling he got. There was nothing more. He didn't really break it down and look at it. He would say smoke this pipe...say a prayer and it's gone. But it doesn't go away like that.

As a result it repeated itself. My education had a lot to do with me leaving that guy I was living with too. I honestly think so. Making that decision. I know now it's over. The first time we went to see this elder...he was hired at Ma Ma Wi as an elder but his job there was short-lived because Ma Ma Wi does police checks, even with volunteers. They checked him out and they found that he had been involved in a child sexual abuse thing and they had to

let him go. The Native community knew that but they still go to him but some don't...some have labelled him...they do it to their own people. Me, I saw it as a different problem.

It was brought up in our orientation, the first day we were there. I talked to my instructor and I asked why do people want to condemn their own people? The man is human, he makes mistakes like anybody else and here the Native community is against him for what he did in the past. It could have been a long time ago...I don't know. To me it was no big deal. Some of the Native students that were there were shocked...an elder? Because a lot of the Native people look an an elder as a super human being.

I saw that in the guy I was living with too. He said we'll go to this elder and give him some tobacco and we'll say a prayer. I said I would go with him in order to make this relationship work. Actually it was him that needed the counselling...he was the one doing the battering. We went there and I had a chance to say what I felt about the relationship. I said the reason I left so many times was because I'm not going to be abused I don't see why anybody should be...for saying what they feel. I looked at all these things with that relationship and I said I'm going to get out of it and stay out of it.

At that time in school I did a paper on violence against women and the information I got helped me. I went to Klinik for about a year before I left this relationship so I had a lot of strength when I left. I knew I did the right thing. It's been five months now that I've been away from him. I can see that he's nowhere near the point where he can say I have a problem...that means alcohol and that means battering. He's staying sober in spite of people and that's not a healthy attitude. He thinks it's serving him good but the way I see it if he worked on it he would have a much more fulfilling life...a reason to live in this world. Here he says A.A. is no good. I went to A.A. many times. I said maybe you weren't involved in A.A. you were just around it. You can't...not without working the program. But he says ah, people are there to compete with each other...who did the worst, who did this better. He's got a very closed mind.

I'm glad that I left that relationship. I know that I can make it. I left him when I was three months pregnant. I talked to one of my doctors and they knew about my relationship because I had gone a year before to get my leg x-rayed because he took this power-twister and he was hitting me with it. He'd never hit me where you could see the bruises. Except my first year when I went to school and

I felt like giving up because it was too much going to school and trying to live in this relationship...he was never supportive to me. I went to school and Laura said don't give up. You were highly acceptable to this program she said, come in and write your exam. I didn't want to I was so depressed...when you care for somebody and that person beats you up how can you feel good? Laura said put shades on and come in and do your exam if people here ask you what happened then they're in the wrong place. I went to school and wrote my exam. There was only one person that came and asked me what happened. It wasn't out of curiosity it was out of concern for me...that person is a very good friend of mine. It was a man and he knew my situation. For three years I used to go back and forth in that relationship. I thought I must be crazy to be there and go back and forth and back and forth. I see now that the reason I went back was because I had hope in that guy. I used to see him being a good person but then that's that vicious cycle. There's a honeymoon phase and it's part of that cycle. I saw he could be a good person so I'd go back. It's good for awhile then it comes back. I realized it wasn't going to change because I didn't see him make any effort to change. I didn't see him go to A.A. and say maybe I've got a problem. He never made any moves to change. I talked to my doctor and he said what about the father of this baby are you still involved with him. I said yes and it's still the same. The doctor said I would suggest you get out of that relationship if you want to carry this baby...I had a miscarriage last summer. It would be healthier for you and the baby. I thought about that when I went home.

I didn't tell him that I was going for therapy. My counsellor used to call me from Klinik in the evening and I'd pick up the phone and it would be Cornelia and she'd say you can't talk now? And I'd say no. She'd say ok call me when you can. When I hung up he'd say who was that? I'd say it's my doctor I have to make an appointment or something...lie you know. I had to get out of that relationship.

There's a part in the Evolve program that talks about addiction to people. Addiction to what I thought was love. It used to be the hardest part to deal with when I left him. Of course there's no other person like him and that's why I wanted to back. It was hard. But that counselling that Cornelia did with me that whole year before I decided to leave him helped me. I realized that I couldn't be running back all the time. I wasn't helping him either you know saying...it's ok I'll always come back. Mind you I

still see him once and awhile. I don't feel he's got to be there. I feel like if he's not going to be a good father then he shouldn't be there. I think there's supports now that it's not necessary for him. I have a lot of freedom and I feel a lot of freedom now that I'm not with him and it's been five months that I've been away. I really feel...it took a lot when I was addicted to that person to break away. I counsel myself. I can get out of myself and see myself.

All these things that have happened. My life has changed so much that I feel like it's somebody else that it happened to. That's what I see like it's a totally different person that lived that life. I don't feel I could ever go back to that life I had. I'm almost positive it will never happen again. You know why? I compare the situation I was in before...the guy I got charged with (manslaughter) and the situation I just got out of. They were pretty well the same kind of relationship but then I couldn't deal with it and I did the best I could and that was to get rid of him. Whereas in this situation where I got out of it I see that I'm not the problem...it's his problem...I see that very clearly. I've grown so much through education...through dealing with my problems that I couldn't go back to that kind of a life or put myself in a situation like that.

I have a lot of the same friends I had before but I also have a lot of new friends who are more like the people I want to be with today. I enjoy people talking about something that's more relevant to me today...things I can identify with.

I'm sure my relationship with my son is different today also. He's 24 now. We're different people but we support each other. I don't even say to my son anymore...maybe it's not what you should be doing. I think instead maybe it's where he should be right now and maybe he'll learn from his experiences...which way to direct himself. Actually when I think about it my son and I didn't really know each other very much because I was in and out of his life. It was hard on him and he couldn't understand it but when you finally have to sit down and make amends he understood. It was hard for me but I think that's what helped me also to accept my son for what he's doing and what his life is. He was with me all the way through...all the times I got into trouble. He never said you should quit doing this or quit doing that I think he realized a lot of it had to do with alcohol. When I did go to Klinik for counselling he said well that's probably another thing that drove you to what you did.

I remember too when I got my first-year cake in A.A. and he presented it to me. I was afraid to hear what he was going to say. I had asked him to give me my cake and we went up and I was shaking. But to hear him say in front of all those people I used to hate her but I've seen so much change she's not the same person anymore.

I think the reason I had so much trouble at Ma Ma Wi was because how they deal with the problems with the Native people. They say we'll base it on culture and they bring in this sweetgrass and they want people to come in but they have to be from a Native organization. You know what it promotes? Racism among people. They're already like that when they come in but they are even more so when the counsellor says well we'll have to get a Native person. Oh boy, I had a hard time with that and I had to speak to my instructor about it. I told her what I'm experiencing now is a very negative field experience because from my own experience I've gone through different types of counselling and they were never Native people I went to. That's why it was hard for me to say the Native's problems are unique...they're not unique they're like everybody else's problems. My instructor tried to make me believe that they're unique.

Another experience I had when I got to Kingston...I went to see my C.O. for the first time and I saw him like...maybe five minutes. But he had my file there and he wrote a few notes and asked me why I was there now and what level of security I came in at and things like that then he said ok I guess that's it. Later a new lady became my C.O....this was her first experience in a prison. Me and her hit it off right away. She saw me again the next week and she brought this thing my first C.O. had written...it was on a long sheet of green paper. She said would you like to read this. I said sure I might as well. I read it and you know...what that guy had written there was exactly what he had seen in my file...like he never asked me how are things now. This was at the time I was trying to get into school...there were changes taking place. He never asked me about how I felt or what I planned to do. My new C.O. said you'll have to sign this...that you've read it. I said no, I'm not going to sign that paper because that's not me. I said I saw this guy only five minutes. I also told her I came to Kingston as a medium security because I earned my credibility in B.C. She said oh, they got you down as maximum I'll have to check that. And she did. She said they had me down as maximum but she got it changed to medium which meant I got paid more.

I thought that was really nice that I met a lady

that listened to me towards the end of my prison experience. I think that's what helped me to keep going...if it had just been another guy that didn't listen I might have got discouraged. They do that all the time though. This woman though helped me to verify my feelings...that something is not right here. I was being treated like nobody...that's what I saw and when I had that feeling that I was being treated like I had always been and I ended up in jail I chose to fight that feeling and that's why I chose not to sign that paper. There were no consequences and once I found that out...I used to think oh, I'll sign that paper otherwise I'll lose time or something. When I didn't sign and nothing happened I realized that I had rights.

Interview Four: B.A. Subject

I was never in any serious kind of trouble before I was 16...I think drinking under age or something...minor stuff. I got picked up on that first offence when I was 16 and they transferred me to adult court after I was out on bail for a year. When I was younger I used to sniff quite a bit. On that first offence I was sniffing then. It was quite regular. It was quite common in the course of a night to go through a whole can of contact cement. A can never lasted very long. It was getting to the point at that time that I was having hallucinations...seeing things. But for other kinds of drugs...I've smoked occasionally but I don't care for it. I never bothered with any others. I used to drink pretty heavy though...my other two charges were both on nights when I'd been drinking. I still drink now but mostly on the weekend...not during the week because my job means too much to me. But I've always accepted the responsibility for me getting into trouble.

Why did you start taking university courses inside?

I don't think I really ever exerted myself prior to going to jail. When I first started taking courses the girl I was going out with was taking psych nurse training at Selkirk and because she was taking courses I think was one of my reasons. And of course one of the guys I was hanging around with at Stony was one of the first guys to ever get a degree inside and I think those were the two basic reasons I started taking courses. When I got transferred from Stony I never saw my friend again but I had started taking courses and I was sure once I started that I wanted to complete my degree. I found that once I started I wanted to see if it would accomplish anything...if it would get me anywhere...to improve things.

Prior to coming to jail...I was 17 when I got my first bit...all my jobs were labour jobs. I had completed

grade nine on the street. The first time I went in I was working in the machine shop and I was doing pretty good...I was in there 40 months. At the same time I was taking...I guess my first taste of education inside. I was taking that related training...drafting, blueprint reading and math. I was taking those classes twice a week. I also wrote my G.E.D. during that first bit. After I got out my girlfriend was taking psych nurse training and I think I was only out about six months...eight months something like that. Then I ended up coming back. The first university course I took was at Stony Mountain and it was a third year history course and I did fairly well. The next two courses were third-year sociology...one was criminology and the other was corrections. That was with the teachers right at Stony. The only course I ever failed was later on campus at U. of M. Pretty well my whole program was at Stony Mountain with the professors there.

The courses I took on campus were in 1982 when I was on parole. I got out on parole in the fall prior to that academic term which was January to May 1982. I was living at home until February and then I ended up getting my own place. I didn't fair really that well on campus because...I wasn't really out that long. I think the big thing was that I had the apartment and it was my first place and it was a big adjustment...being on your own. I always lived with my parents before that.

I got student aid at that time and I had a parole officer. I went and told him that I wanted to get student aid and look for a job and maybe take courses in the evening but I had no luck finding a job. When it was getting close to the time I had to sign up for the courses and arrange everything they told me oh ya they are going to help me make these arrangements. I went to the University of Manitoba to see about getting a student loan and they told me I couldn't have it because I was on parole...mandatory. But what I did then was go back and tell my parole officer and he said don't worry about it we'll take care of it and everything. At the same time I was talking to Ed Anderson at U. of M. and he talked to somebody at student aid there on campus and the same day the guy called me in and talked to me...phoned the main office and they gave me my application and everything. I never mentioned anything to the Parole Service that I had it arranged. I was already on campus taking courses for about three weeks and the next time it was even mentioned was when I was leaving after reporting and my parole officer said ya, we're still working on your student stuff. I said you don't have to work on it anymore because I'm already on campus. The only way it really got

processed was because Ed Anderson called somebody and got things going. It was only people on day parole that weren't eligible for student loans. The Parole Service never helped me once when I was out.

I registered for five courses that time. I guess I was motivated. I wanted to push on with something that would lead to something better. The first time I got out...I had been working in the machine shop in Stony but I didn't want to do that for the rest of my life. At that time I did work in machine shops doing welding and stuff like that. But when I went back the second time I was working in related training in the office. I realized too that was part of the thing about taking the courses. I didn't want to end up constantly breaking my back for the rest of my life. I found too that when I went back I was always improving my job in the prison. When I was transferred to P.A. I took a clerical course they had there...typing and calculators and stuff like this. The day after the course was finished I got hired by the finance department there.

At the time there was only one other inmate there and one female staff. The guy who was in charge of the accounts payable for the institution was off sick with a heart attack. When I went in there she didn't want to hire more than two inmates and the other guy was going to R.P.C. and they were short staffed. The woman there wasn't any good at teaching you anything...I went into that job pretty well cold. But I was making out all the vouchers for the ladies up front to send to Saskatoon. I had contracts galore I had to put together. I was in the finance department quite awhile then I went back into the school full time to try to finish my degree. I did finish it during my last year at P.A. with a correspondence course.

I guess most of my actual work history has been in jail. Pretty well...the three jails I've been in I've had top jobs. Some guys might have been in jail a year or two and every two or three months they are working at a different job. Myself I've never been like that. I've always looked for something I wanted to do and I've stayed with it.

When I was in P.A. when I came back last time I had pretty well had enough of everything. I decided right away that I wasn't going to bother with any paroles or passes or any of that stuff and I found that my time went faster than it had before. Because it didn't seem like I had anything hanging over my head...nothing I had to worry about...my time went by. It was four and a half years. Just before I went out to the farm...I was coming back after

lunch on a Friday afternoon and the keeper of the dome said you are being transferred. I said where the hell am I being transferred to? I was already in a maximum. He said you are going out to the farm on Monday. I said well I'm not too sure I want to be transferred...like why? I had a good job in P.A. in the finance department again. He said well they decided up at the front there's no reason for you to be here. So I was out at the farm.

This last time you came back...why did you decide not to bother with applying for paroles or passes?

Well I was tired of the whole thing...reporting to this person reporting to that person. There was actually no reason to...they were of no importance to me. They never helped find me a job...they never helped me with my education...they never helped me find an apartment or setting up something for me to do in the evening. I had no idea of what to do in the evening...at times it's still that way. But I guess I was just tired of all this answering to people. I've done it for a lot of years.

Do you think the courses you took had any impact on how you see things around you...politics for example?

No I don't think so. I don't follow the news and stuff like this. I think there's a lot of B.S. on TV and in the papers.

Did you always think that?

Well I didn't before but now I do. I can see through a lot of the garbage. I think maybe because of the courses there's things that a lot of other people don't normally understand that I pick up on. I've never been a news-watcher. I don't believe everything they say. I mean you look at this Conservative government and they've got ministers being dumped left and right and I find it kind of hard to support anything like that. I find it strange they've got these people making laws and they've got scandals all over the place. Like say you got all this big whoop up about the prostitution in the cities right? Every spring there's this big round up in the cities but it doesn't last long. And here you've got a minister watching who knows what in West Germany and you know I find that sort of comical but I also find that sort of sad considering here's one of the persons going to be making decisions for everybody right? But now I think I've got a better

understanding of it. One thing about education is that on a motivation level...I think by just accomplishing it has helped me to know that if I do something I can succeed at it.

Like when I went out to the farm. A friend of mine was in the root house there and he moved to the steer shed. He wanted me to move there too and I thought shit I don't want to go there...those animals look big and I've never been around them. The boss of the steer shed...well he was a nice guy but he wasn't really the brightest guy you could find. I went to work in the steer shed and a few months later I was the top guy there. I was taking care of everything...all the feeding and all the medications and everything. I mean how many other places in the institution do you get access to syringes? But I had access to piles of them. But then again those syringes for steers...you could almost see Saskatoon through them...they were so big. The boss told me there before I left that he hadn't been sure about hiring me but that he thought I would have no problem taking care of a thousand head myself if I wanted to get into that kind of work. I mean years ago I wouldn't have even attempted something like that but I felt confident enough to try it and I was able to do it. I never figured I would enjoy it but it ended up I really enjoyed it and it's probably something I would like to do.

What about the criminal justice system. Do you think your perceptions have changed in any way?

Well I really never had any knowledge about it before I was involved. But I can't really say...I'm a big supporter of the Winnipeg City Police. But I've run into the occasional one that I've found pretty fair and that's surprising on occasions. Years ago there were occasions I'd gone through stop signs or something and I'd had too much to drink and they gave me a ticket for going through the stop sign and I knew darn well they knew I was drinking and was drunk...right? But they never did nothin' they just said go home and take it easy. I figured for sure I was going back because a couple times I was on parole. I knew they did a check and knew I was on parole. I don't blame any of my charges on anybody...or my time. I've seen the cops do a lot of sleazy things and maybe the treatment I've had from them hasn't been all that great but I guess I can sort of understand it from the charges I've had. But I've never blamed my time on anybody else but me. I think I got a pretty fair sentence the second time (six years)...I mean the second time around. But I didn't think it was

particularly fair getting nailed with a five the first time around.

But I don't think I had any real resentments about it. Like in jail you find a lot of guys that are just going to ride staff there and they sort of blame staff for keeping them there. But I've never felt that way. I very seldom had any charges in jail. I think this last time I only had two caution slips and one charge and that was because one week I was sleeping in constantly. I didn't mean nothin' because supposedly I lost a week going out for exercise but I never went out anyways. Also at that time I waived everything anyway...parole...passes so if they had taken 30 days or something it wouldn't mean anything. But it wasn't that I was playing games. I just never really had charges in there.

But I think my perception of the system has changed because I understand it better now. But I think a lot of it could be through...not just university but just...seeing things over the years. You become more aware of things. I think it could be partly because of the education but partly because of just aging. But I think it's also true that the system has changed also. Like when I first went in I think the majority of the guys were in their mid twenties and late twenties but now you've got the guys in their early twenties. Things as a whole in jail are pretty nutty...most jails are about to explode because of these kids. Years ago...it was still dangerous but guys were more solid. If there was a racket it was because of something...it wasn't just for the sake of...kids there now are more ready to bang cups whatever just for the hell of it.

But I think the education has helped me mature a lot...with the aging and maturing combined separately from two different directions along with the education I think I can understand things better. I think one, kind of led to the other.

I remember one professor said in a course we took at Stony Mountain...a psychology course about personalities...he was telling the class here you got a lot of outlines but don't go looking right away to analyse people on these things. Like this is only one course it doesn't mean you know what you are doing. I think you find a lot of that, especially in jails. I knew one Native fellow at the farm who figured he was going to use reverse psychology on the Parole Board and he had a first-year psychology book and he was telling me about it. I said ok...like what are you going to tell an Indian that believes something like that, right? It's like talking to the wall.

What would you say about your perceptions of human nature? Do you think they have been influenced by your education?

Well, that's kind of like what I was saying about it helps a person to mature. You start learning to look at things from a different direction...not just education things but other things too.

What kind of other things?

Well, like say a task at work or something. There might be six or seven ways to do something but I think a lot of people just use the one way...the first one they think of. They just don't bother thinking about other ways. Like there could be four other ways that are easier to do it. One thing I think education does is it helps you try and look at those things.

Do you think you looked at those other ways before you got involved in education?

No I think I just thought of one way and it was more or less straight ahead. But I think one thing I noticed now...like I get those cattle magazines. It's been about six months since I've been at the farm and there's a lot of terminologies that I'm so stale on because I haven't done any of that stuff for awhile. But somehow I'm able to read these magazines and see the different and new ways of looking after cattle. There's always something new...and I can see that.

How do you feel about having completed the requirements for a degree?

Well, I felt good that I had finished it but the thing is that I was sort of gearing up when I got out of jail...here I had finished a B.A. and was working in finance and what I was putting on the slip was what the girls were putting in the computer and that was the amount that was being paid out. I had complete access to all the contracts for things that were bought there. In fact when the S.H.U. (special handling unit) was opened there...it was in the morning this one particular time and a big crate came in and it had the name of the company on it and I said to one of the staff I see that rifles for the S.H.U. have come in. It wasn't ten minutes later that we were called in for some

reason and about half an hour later when we came out these crates were gone. I knew exactly what was in everything. Like when their grenade launchers came in I knew they were there. We were paying bills for \$400,000. a month sometimes and it was the same when I went out to the farm I was in charge of almost \$600,000. of beef and then I come out to the street and...nothing...right? I got to build up credibility...that's what Manpower told me.

What about your employment situation since you've been out...has your education been of any help?

Well, I went to Manpower...I set the interview up and the girl there had contacted the Parole Service and...

Why would she contact them...you were all finished?

Well ya, that's what they told her. But she thought there might be somebody there that helped in these situations. I told her on the phone when I was arranging the interview that I had a criminal record and all that. Every place I've applied I've told them I have a criminal record. I always figured if they're going to do a check they're going to find out anyway. More or less what I was hoping for was just to get my foot in the door and get a chance at it. The job I got...my cousin talked to the boss about hiring me. I work in a lumber yard right now. I don't care for what I'm doing right now but I still do it. I guess it could be classified as labour. I drive a lot of fork lifts but there is a lot of labour involved. I wrote out the application and I put on it that I was in jail. This guy looked at it and said well the people at the office might not want you because of that but I'll tell you what to do. Fill out another one and put no on it and I'll tell them I checked you out myself. He made it sound like I was getting a break. But I know now that there's about four other guys working there that have criminal records. A few of them are married and that...settled down. But he sort of made it a big thing like they were going to check and he was doing me a big favour. For some reason it all seemed a little fishy. I've sort of got my questions about the guy.

You were saying earlier you hoped becoming involved in education courses would lead to something better employment-wise. What kind of jobs did you have on the street prior to this lumber-yard job?

Well I was into the welding before. I did work in machine shops before. But you know machine stuff...they're actually good paying jobs but the thing I was thinking is that you are still into a lot of messy stuff. My brothers for example...I've got three...they're happy doing that kind of work they're up to their elbows in grease. They like working with things that are mechanical. Me, I can't stand it. I've found that I enjoy doing paper shuffling and stuff like that. I don't think I would want to be doing a trade like welding or something when I'm 50 years old. So far the only job I've been able to get since I've been out is the lumber-yard job. The boss says when things slow down in the fall he will lay me off and I can come back in the spring. There's lots of overtime right now but in the fall there won't be then I'll just be living on my basic pay which is like only \$6.00 an hour. If I pile up the overtime during the summer I figure when I get laid off I should get the maximum on unemployment.

When I'm laid off that will give me an opportunity to look at things. My brother wants me to drive truck with him and if I'm getting unemployment I could start driving with him and see if I like it. But driving is one thing but fixing the truck is another and I'm not very fussy about that. I could also look around for other jobs too and see if I could maybe fish up something better. The boss said come spring there's no problem about calling me back. They like to keep the whole crew all year around. I can't say I really mind my job right now...there's great guys there...it would be hard to find another crew like that. All the guys get along great but I'm not that crazy about getting up at 4:30 in the morning.

What about in your personal relations with other people...do you think your education had any impact there?

Well ya, it not only improved my writing and stuff like that and my understanding of things when I read it. But I think it probably helped me personally...talking. I was never that talkative before. I wouldn't really consider myself really outgoing now but I'm way better than I was before so it has helped me quite a bit in that area. I find too that by doing a lot of that stuff that I've learned that's it's better to express things rather than just sit on them.

Why do you think it's better?

Well I think a big part of education is the expressing of opinion and learning other peoples ideas and teaching them yours. So in that area I think it has helped quite a bit. I think a lot of it is confidence in what you say. I think I'm probably more confident now in what I say. I understand things better now. Like I remember this one course I was taking...I had done my assignment and the teacher came and looked at it and he said I was wrong but I didn't think so and I started explaining it. The thing was that I was wrong but I totally convinced him that I was right. At the time I didn't know that. Later I was looking at it and I found my mistake but at the time I was confident in what I was saying and I was able to express it and I had him believing that what I'd done was right. He told me later he had marked all the other papers wrong except mine.

Later at the school there in P.A. the Supervisor of Education asked me if I wanted to be a tutor in the school. I said no way...you guys are getting paid for that. But it was pretty good for my confidence. Years ago I never would have got a chance like that. This would have been teaching guys in grades nine to twelve and I find that pretty strange because like I said I never took grades ten to twelve.

What about in relation to your interaction with the opposite sex...do you feel your education has made any difference there?

Well...I haven't really had anything to compare it with yet...since I've been out. Maybe in general it has because before I used to hang around with guys that I'd got in shit with before and even guys that I'd done time with. Whereas now I don't hang around with either one. Occasionally I've seen guys that I've done time with at different places but I just don't bother with them. I've had guys call me up and say let's go for a beer but I just don't want to. I think I'm looking for a better...class of guys I guess would be the word. But people that are also...I wouldn't say totally educated but maybe...Inmates I think are quite basic. I think a lot of their lives are quite simple. You'll find that with a lot of guys I used to hang around with when I was out before and I had my apartment... I was only on student aid but it was a decent apartment. But there were guys that I used to hang around with and they were working all the time I was in and they had little shitty apartments and they were making \$10. an hour but their lives were just going around in circles. They would go to the bar...more or less from one piss-up to

the next and broke until the next pay day. Talking with these guys was very basic...mostly about the parties and the hotels and things like that. I find too even the guys at work now...the conversations are more intelligent than the guys I used to hang around with.

I think education has had something to do with the kind of people I want to hang around with today...people whose conversations and lifestyles have some substance to them. These other people...there isn't. I'm looking more ahead now...not just day to day existence.

What about your ability to make decisions today...do you think there has been any change as a result of your education?

Well, I don't think decisions are any easier today really than they were before. I think probably...I'm not sure if this is the right way to say this but when you don't know nothing life is a lot simpler. Seems like the more you know the more complicated things seem to be.

What about family relationships? You have lived with your parents most of your life...you are living with them now...do you think there has been any change in your relationship with them?

Well, I don't hide things from them anymore. If I'm going out to a friend's place for a few beers I tell them that's what I'm going to do. Years ago I'd try to hide it. They'd be thinking ya you're on parole whatever...

Why do you tell them the truth now?

I think it's the communication to some extent but also I think it's the decision you know, you've made a decision and that's what you're going to stick by. Maybe it's just the challenge to see what they're going to say. A large part of it too is that I figure if I go out and get in trouble...I'm the one that has to deal with the consequences. I'm the one that's got to handle it. When the time comes it's my decision to get myself in hot water or not. Most of the time I feel pretty confident that I won't but there are still times that I...feel totally lost out on the street. I've learned to handle things and cope with things in jail but whereas on the street...I'm still learning.

In jail I've seen all the situations you can see. But out on the street I haven't. I think one of the

professors I remember was saying one time...he was saying it's fine to have a book and show a case from a book but to have the real situation is different. You might have the theory but you don't have the actual thing happen. Not all things follow the theory or follow the pattern or whatever they're supposed to. There's a lot of things I've read about but it doesn't help when the situation comes along. Like you might get a lot of answers you could use at the time but a lot of times things happen so fast you don't have time to think really.

Do have any plans to pursue any further education?

Well, I don't really want to. All the courses I've taken for the C.M.A. (Certified Management Accountant) at P.A...a commercial law course and first-year accounting and clerical courses and all the courses for my B.A....it seems like what I've taken already hasn't produced anything. But say if I found a job with a future and they say you need upgrading in this well I'd definitely do it.

You say your education hasn't led to anything employment-wise yet. What do you think the biggest barrier has been?

Well I think you've still got that thing that society just doesn't want to give you a chance. You could have a lot of things that are really good but all you need is a couple of bad things and that's what people look at a lot of the time. One of the big things is that people say the kinds of things you did in the institution weren't at the same level as on the street. I don't buy that at all. One place I applied and I told them...I was working with government employees...so you can imagine how much work I was doing. I applied to quite a few places. I had my resume all typed up. I mailed quite a few out and I delivered quite a few. The biggest thing was people saying...about the comparison of the jobs I had inside compared to out here. I think that's a crock. I think the real thing is being an ex-inmate. Like Manpower saying you have to build up credibility. What about all the money I was paying out in P.A.? Here I was in charge of the steer shed too...not so much all that money worth of beef but the caring of these animals. There were times that I would be giving 30 needles a day. With all these jobs...the handling of responsibility was important.

All those courses I took. There's something about accomplishing such a thing in jail...there's not piles of

people that do these things in jail. It hasn't given me any recognition out here. It's all lead...so far...to nothing. I've made the moves with my resume.

What kinds of jobs were you applying for?

I applied in finance offices too...stuff like that. Clerical things, shipping and receiving clerk stuff like that. I never figured I would jump into something big right off the bat but I figured get in somewhere and work my way up. Supposedly I'm doing that at the lumber yard but I don't see much there. I can't really afford to take time off to look for something else. Right now you've got tons of students all over the place trying to get in someplace too. Right now is a bad time but maybe in the fall would be a better time. I would like a job in finance somehow...not necessarily handling the money but maybe sending out the bills or writing up the orders or something clerical like that.

You were saying your education hasn't led to anything...what about in the other areas we've talked about?

Well, personally it has...definitely it has. In terms of future prospects in getting jobs and stuff it should. It hasn't but it should. You're not going to change the way people think about that. You got to keep knocking on doors until you get lucky or whatever. My boss says he'll give me a good letter of reference in the fall when I'm laid off and if things don't work out I can always go back there in the spring. It's good to know I can go back there. I don't want to be out of work for very long. I like to keep busy. I enjoy working. I don't like getting up in the morning but I know if I didn't go I'd miss it. When I was out at the farm at P.A. in the steer shed I worked seven days a week. There was about five or six months that I didn't take one day off. One time I figured I would take one weekend off. I took the Saturday off...wrote a pile of letters but my mind was on the steer shed. The next morning I was up in the morning but finally about nine o'clock I said to hell with it and went into work. If I didn't go to work I knew I'd miss it.

When you look at your record the offences were pretty close together...you were gated last time...do you think that's the end of it?

Well I hope it is. I can't necessarily say for sure but I just figure to keep on going the way I'm going and hope to start getting some breaks down the road somewhere. Unless you get that break...

Interview Five: B.A. Student

My first involvement with the police goes back to 1957 when I was first convicted of vandalism and theft. I was ten years old. I went to the Manitoba Home For Boys in 1960 and actually it was for relatively nothing...skipping school...nothing serious just generally being a nuisance. There was a thing with my father at that time too. They were trying to get me away from my father...they felt he was an alcoholic. I had some problems and Family Court became aware of it. It wasn't so much because of my criminal past-times as it was them looking at it as some form of protection for me. The actual charge that got me to Portage was actually thinking about committing a B. and E....thinking about it...conspiracy that got me sent to Portage for two years. I did a year and a half. There were five escapes during that time. They finally...I think they wanted to get rid of me after that year and a half. I was a very unruly type of kid and couldn't be controlled by them. By the time I left there I was almost out of control in terms of discipline.

Although at the time I showed a fair aptitude for learning. I remember B.D.Jones, the superintendent, saying you know I'm going to let you go tomorrow because I have no choice. He literally kept a promise to me because three months prior to that he had said if you just hang in until Christmas I'll let you go. In October 1961, I had gone home on a Thanksgiving pass and didn't return. Got picked up in a pool hall and they said why'd you do it? I said I don't like it here...just tired of being here. He said stay here three more months and I'll let you go because we're not teaching you anything anyway. We're just really holding you but because you're doing so well in school we want to see you finish this term. I went through grade seven there in four months, I went through grade eight in four months and I was in grade nine four months. If I'd stayed he said they were going to put me in grade ten and from there they would send me to Portage Collegiate...if I stayed. The

superintendent said I can't make you stay, in fact most of the staff here don't even want you to stay but I want you to stay. According to some I.Q. test there I had the second highest I.Q. of anyone there in recent time and he was pretty impressed with that. I wasn't. It didn't mean nothing to me. All I wanted was out. He also warned me...he said because if you leave and you get in some more trouble you're not coming back here. I wasn't even fifteen yet but he said I'd be transferred to adult court because they weren't taking me back. They couldn't handle me...some of them were getting afraid of me by then. I said well I want to go anyway and I left.

Sure enough six months later I got in trouble and ended up with six months in Brandon Jail. I ended up in trouble in June...six months later...trying to steal a car in Flin Flon. I had a court order to live there for two years but I had a girlfriend by then who was pregnant in Winnipeg and after a month I decided to come back to the city. I was in the process of stealing a car...couldn't drive...but I was going to steal a car anyway. But the R.C.M.P. blocked the garage door and I got popped after a chase through the bush and muskeg and everything. They shipped me down to Winnipeg and transferred me to adult court.

I went to Brandon Correctional Center, I was fifteen and a half years old. I was segregated from the rest of the population. I was allowed to exercise with the other cons and watch television a couple of nights a week with them. But otherwise I did my time literally alone.

I did a couple more bits after that at Headingly. By that time there were a lot of young guys getting transferred to adult court and getting sentenced to Headingly. They had a separate cage for young guys under 18...pretty well all guys that I knew through reform school. So it went on like that. I got out after that eight months. At that time it was a lot of B. and E.'s. and some assault charges. Because as a juvenile I had already picked up quite a few...I went through a period there where it seemed like I got charged for assault causing bodily harm on a weekly basis. I'd get drunk, I'd get in a fight with someone and I'd hurt someone and get thrown in the Vaughan Street Detention Home.

That was probably part of the reason they didn't want me at Portage because I'd already shown signs of being a hopeless alcoholic and a drug addict. I had been convicted of breach of the Drug and Food Act during one of my escape periods from Portage. That really shocked the authorities at Portage. They thought I was a full-fledged junkie at 13-14 years of old. But really there were a lot

of guys my age using drugs in Winnipeg...bombers, seconols, tuinolols...you could get them six for a buck in them days. We'd usually jump on a bus, go to Main Street and buy two bucks worth from one of about four pushers we knew. Six bombers a piece would be pretty heavy. We'd eat them, get back on the Sargent bus and by the time we got back to my friend's place we'd be bombed. A couple of times I O.D.'d. Sometimes we could get a "per" (prescription). In those days 24 seconols would cost you \$2.50. at a drug store. Anyway it was the thing to do. It was a cheap high...a high right? Already in those days I was concerned with being high. Of course the guys I associated with were all four or five years older than me so I was just going along with them...doing what they did. I showed signs of being violent really early on. I was an aggressive kid. I mean there is just no way of getting around that. I was always beating somebody up in. It seemed like that was one of the things I probably enjoyed doing as a young guy. And of course it made everyone uncomfortable.

After the eight months, I got out and grabbed 15 months for another assault causing bodily harm. I finished that and got another eight months for assault causing bodily harm...immediately after that. Still no school or education since Portage. Then I grabbed another 18 months for three B. and E.'s and part of a small parole I got last time. So I ended up doing a 23 month sentence. There was a lot of fighting in the provincial jails...fighting a lot of other young guys.

That became an important element in my life...fighting. I started to become famous for it...at least on the local level. And of course the more I became aware of that...the more I fought. It was just something that just seemed to go on and on. I schooled myself in who were the tough guys in Canada. Like Tommy Stone from Vancouver. I used to hear all the big names...Lui LaForte from up north...I can think of different names I knew from the forties and fifties. You know, really well known street fighters. It was almost like it was an obsession to me to become one of those people.

During that 23 month sentence in Headingly I finally went to school. I went to an up-grading course and again I showed that same aptitude for learning. I was always at the top of the class. I was very competitive in school. It was like everything I did...I had to compete with everybody around me. I emerged from that with the equivalent of a grade ten.

I got out of Headingly after that 23-month bit...which was now my fifth bit. During that time though I

read a lot. I read constantly. There wasn't much television in jail in them days. Because of an old con I met...he introduced me to Bertrand Russel and some pretty deep reading. I became interested in things like plays. Things that I never ever discussed with anyone...but I became interested in literature. I just knew that it interested me so I read and I read.

For some reason this older guy really impressed me because he used to practice different parts in these plays. He'd find a quiet spot and he'd go and...his desire was to make it in Hollywood. Now that I think about it...this guy was really a wacko. But then it seemed so neat. But in retrospect I realize the guy was way off balance. But he was an intellectual sort of a guy. He noted that I had something like that in me and he steered me to different books.

But he also glamorized criminal life to me and I became partners with him after I finished that 23 months. This guy was also a card mechanic. He could deal fixed hands. He could put a deck together in seconds and you couldn't see it. He could deal seconds, bottoms. For a year he had me practising all those moves...I wanted to be a mechanic too. He developed an interest in me in the finer forms of stealing. Although I could put them to use on my own...I needed someone.

So I got together with him. He was selling cars in Brandon at the time. What happened was I had a couple of good looking ladies that had come on to me and wanted to learn to hustle. I didn't know the first thing about being a pimp or anything. I didn't know how to start them off but I knew that Phil would somehow know. So I phoned him in Brandon. It was the first contact I had with him on the street. He had often mentioned that different times on the road...Toronto, Florida or New York or different towns he'd been in...he'd bring hookers with him on the road. He really made the life of a criminal really glamorous and attractive. I told him I've got a couple of really good looking babes that want to work but I don't know how to start them off. He said ok, I'll drive down there and meet you and we'll set something up.

I didn't realize at the time that Phil was an alcoholic. I'd never been with him on the street. So he comes in...arranges this meeting. Before he came in he said, do you have liquor...somehow liquor fitted in. So I said ya, I got some beer. He said make sure you got some hard stuff and he named it...make sure you got some gin and others things I should have. So the girls came in. Turned out to be just a drunken party. All he wanted to do was get

fucked. He got on the phone and pretended to be phoning these important people in town who were going to set these girls up. It was all a staged effect. He'd been practising to be an actor in prison so he did this well. You were convinced he was talking to somebody important. Last I heard he was working as a bartender in some hotel in Vancouver. He was a fascinating guy. He looked like Elliot Gould...looked like his twin brother. Quite a character.

So we all probably discovered it at the same time that all this guy wants to do is party. So the girls left. I was mad at him. I said why didn't you just say you wanted to get drunk and get fucked instead of leading me on too. He said to me, you want to make bread kid? I mean serious bread, big bread? I said ya. He said ok, we're going to make big bread.

So he taught me how to heal. How to go in and open safes during the day. The idea being that you had to dress well, carry yourself well, look as if you belonged in the office or wherever you were going in. At the time I was a bit of a clothes freak anyway. I was always trying to dress in the latest fashion. I was twenty at the time. So what we started doing was we started walking into different business establishments. We'd walk in back doors, front doors, right through groups of people, walking right into the safe...they're open during the day when the business is open anyway...and taking quite large sums of money sometimes. I finally got caught in a walk-in vault one time...when I got my first penitentiary bit...27 months. Of course he didn't hold up his end. I'd be the guy that walked into where the vault or safe was and his job was to keep anybody from walking in there by giving them a line of conversation. Because he could converse well it seemed natural he should do that...but he didn't do that this time. I got caught in a walk-in vault. I used to wear a particular type of fur jacket that you could put all sorts of stuff in that you couldn't detect...a bulky thing. I didn't get pinched right away...I fought my way out of the place. I knocked the manager to floor but left behind an important clue. I dropped my glasses which happened to have my name on them. So I was pinched...no doubt about it.

This guy thought he had a gold mine when I was working with him. Prior to that we'd done a pretty big heal job which netted quite a bit of money...they'd call it robbery today but in those days it was called heal...so this guy didn't want to lose me. So he said look we know you're going to jail but let's hit the road and make some more bread and end up in New Orleans or somewhere. So we went to Toronto.

The thing about the heal though...the heal was already an old thing back in the sixties. It probably originated in Toronto because they got on to us right away there. We were setting up a large store. We had it all down...we had cased the joint for about a week but the night we went to do it...when it stayed open to 9:30 which was when we found was the best time to do those kinds of scores because the manager is usually out on the floor. But the night we went to do this place we decided to give it one more check. We drove around the back and there were about 15 police hiding all over. They just knew what was going down because we'd been in there all through the week setting it up. We knew the safe was open...we knew it was a good score. Plus we were staying in a fairly nice hotel with Manitoba plates. I guess they knew there were a couple of prairie hoods in town...healing joints. So we had to leave. I came back to Winnipeg. I haven't seen Phil since.

I came back to Winnipeg and set up a couple of heal scores on my own with a couple of young guys. A couple were successful but finally I got caught on one and that's when I got my first pen bit for the one I was running from and another one.

My name had already gone to the pen because of my association with Phil. Phil had already done three pen bits prior to the sixties so he was well know...as a professional criminal. Word had already gone back to the joint that I was an up and comer. So I immediately got a posh job when I walked in. They made me a barber which gave me access to a lot of places. A lot of guys...the incrowd at Stony...were actually wanting me to heal a safe right in Stony, up in administration, which I'd have access to because of where I worked. It was all set up right from when I hit reception. It was almost as if I belonged there. That didn't pan out but I soon got to learn the workings of a penitentiary. I didn't take any education during that bit.

I got out in '68 and lived in Calgary and grabbed another bit and went to Prince Albert. I was almost 22. I got three years out of Calgary for B. and E.'s. Me and this other guy really went on a rampage. We were doing like five a night. We were making pretty good money now that I think about it. It was a grind but I was living good...living in nice hotels and eating in good restaurants. I always had whatever I needed. But it was short-lived.

P.A. was a whole different ball game. It was a maximum security prison. I wanted out of there. I didn't want to live the way you had to live in a place like that. I mean it was like going into a war zone. Lots of stabbings. Lots of fights. And of course I was getting

into fights there because it was an aggressive place. And during all those years, besides the reading I always worked out. I still work out. I'm a bug for it. I always worked out. I always kept myself in good physical condition. I always lived as a warrior. At least that's how I perceived myself. I always kept myself ready. At the same time I always had that part of me...that was different...that yurn for nice things...that wanted to know good things. I was interested in art. Even though I hadn't defined it as art in those days. I was well read. By then...at 22...I had worked my way through Steinbeck and Hemingway...all the great modern writers. I still hadn't tried education yet...but I guess I was preparing myself.

I transferred out of P.A. to Stony. I wanted out of that max joint...you never knew when your number was going to come up. You could end up in a serious fight. I almost did a couple of times...if fact at one point I was surrounded by 200 hundred Indians because I took up somebody else's cause. I could have got seriously hurt that night. But I didn't. But I had to carry knives and that kind of stuff in there...never had to use them...but it was just to know that someday you might have to. I got out of there as quickly as possible.

I transferred to Stony and started trying to educate myself. I joined a group of guys in there that were putting on a play...The August Moon. I got a part in the play. I was taught by a drama professor from the U. of M....professor Turner. I guess this was some of the influence I had from Phil obviously. I got a part in a play and I actually performed in it for a few months. I went to two actual performances then I lost my nerve. We had given one performance for the joint...the cons, the staff and their wives. Then we did it at Studio 22 at the Armed Forces Base. I went through that then for some reason or other I lost my nerve. I became completely self-conscious and I couldn't go through with it anymore. I became just a stage-hand then from there I just dropped out of it. However, from the experience of that it got me interested in other things.

From there there was a creative writing course being given in the evening by a well-known local poet...George Amabile. I took this creative writing class because from even my first bit I used to keep a journal sort of...or a diary or whatever...and I used to write these things to myself. Along with the creative writing I also took an art course being given by a professor from the U. of M. in the afternoons. I was too impatient in those days to be able to draw. Although I felt at the time I did have

some sort of latent talent. I did show some promise in writing. I was the only one out of that entire creative writing class that George Amabile...at that last class...he bought me a book called The Whole Bloody Bird by Irving Layton. He gave it to me and I think what he was saying was he was encouraging me to keep the faith...keep writing. It was his way of saying it. I memorized that book. I fell in love with Irving Layton and poetry. I was determined to become a writer...now that I think about it. However, that didn't take place...certainly not right away...if it has yet even.

What happened was I got another bit. I got out on that one in 1970. I'd already had a little taste of culture...whatever you want to call it. But I got back out. I ended up back with the same woman who had my child back in Portage. I don't know why it worked out that way...I hadn't seen her for six years. We had another child. So I went through a period in my life there were I was trying to be a father and a husband. It didn't work out. We broke up in '72 and I grabbed another penitentiary bit. I grabbed two years for B. and E.

I got out in '73 under the new system. I was under a mandatory parole. Met another woman...moved in with her. That relationship lasted four and a half years. I didn't do much time in that four and a half years. I did three six-month bits in Headingly during that period of time. They were for pretty serious charges. But by then I was pretty good at working the system...the lawyers and stalling the beefs.

What were the three six-month bits for?

They were for B. and E. but they were for fur stores...jewelery stores. I was a professional thief there's no doubt about it. Even though I worked too. I worked for three or four months...five months sometimes. I'd work as a painter or whatever I could get. At one point I even worked as a counsellor with Rene Bertrand. I was with New Careers. Of course that was a return to education. I was taking child care courses...child care theories...child care methods. Lectures from anthropologists, lectures from sociologists. All that sort of stuff. I was about high-school level at that time.

Again I was living with a woman. She had a child. I was being a father again and a husband. But from a different perspective this time. This woman and I were more like partners as opposed to being lovers or whatever. We were like partners because I took her stealing with me. I

taught her how to boost and rehash. I taught her how to work doctors. That ended after four and a half years.

When that ended that left a tremendous void in my life for some reason. I guess I really cared for her too. It left a void and I returned to violence. There had been a fourteen year stretch where I hadn't had a charge for violence. When I was a kid there were at least four charges of assault causing bodily harm. Then there was fourteen years where that didn't occur. It was all property offences. But when this relationship ended from then until the late seventies my violence resumed. At least me getting arrested for violence. My drinking and drug use became really bad...it was way out of control. I ended up getting in a lot of fights. Around this time I lost my eye in a fight which was a fairly traumatic experience. I blew one eye and it was a result of being...looking for it...it's a long story I don't want to go into it. It doesn't mean nothing. I lost an eye one night.

For a lot of people that would slow them down. What it did for me was it speeded me up. It made me a very dangerous individual. I was determined to never lose another eye. And what I did was I took to weapons then. I started carrying knives and guns. When I got in a fight in a bar I'd use chairs... stools. I mean I was still getting in fights...I just didn't stop. It got worse and worse. Finally I tried to kill a guy one night and I stabbed a guy. I ended up back in the penitentiary. I'd been out of the penitentiary for five years.

I went back to the penitentiary for two charges of violence. One was for attempted murder...they dropped it down. The other was assault causing bodily harm. I was feeling pretty desperate because first they thought this guy was going to die. I was sitting in the Public Safety Building not knowing if it was going to be a murder beef. The guy had gone into open-heart surgery. He was on the table for about six or seven hours. Well...I got re-introduced to prayer...I have to tell you I prayed. As much as I understood prayer. I prayed...I didn't want this fellow to die. I didn't want to do a life bit. The guy lived. But I could never quite forget...how I felt during that period of time. I felt hopeless. I felt like my world had really come to an end. But it doesn't take a guy long to start getting cocky again.

Anyway when I got back into the pen again this time...all through those years there'd always been university courses offered but I was of the mind however that I was more intelligent than anyone in university...so why bother. But this time I went in and was determined to

work at it. I went in and went to university this time and managed to get seven courses down at Stony. I went at it seriously. My old aptitude was still there. I certainly debunked the myth that everybody in prison is illiterate and all that other stuff and I was able to prove it. All the professors from the U. of M. were quite taken with me.

When it came time for a parole hearing I had professors sending in letters. The philosophy professor I had said I was the equivalent of a graduate student in philosophy...this was after having taken an intro course. I had a guy come right to the board...Ed Anderson...he was the continuing education officer for the U. of M. It was debatable whether they wanted to let me out because I was still fucking with drugs inside the joint. I'd been pinched a number of times with outfits (syringes). It was a divided board. Half of them didn't want me out because of my infractions of rules inside the pen but at the same time the progress I'd shown in school indicated it might be worthwhile for them to let me out and give me a chance. I made the parole.

I remember one of the classification officers saying...I'm going to put my word in so you get it but I'm reluctant to do that because what if you fail...are you going to be able to pick it up again. At the time I didn't know what she meant...I really didn't. I thought of course if I fail I'll just start all over again. I thought it would just be so easy to start all over again.

Well...I failed and I got returned to the penitentiary. And I knew what she meant. I couldn't start all over again. I had really lost complete faith in myself. I went right back to where I was before. I became a moody, aggressive violent guy again...a number of fights in the prison. I failed.

When I'd got out on parole I couldn't make it on the campus at the U. of M. and I was terrified of all the people there. There were 22,000 students there. It was like being in a little city. And I had never been exposed to that many people in my entire life...going to Eaton's was a chore to me never mind this huge campus.

There wasn't anybody to introduce you around there...?

No...I had a lot of people. But from an officious point of view...was the part I resented. They were there...they would see me in their offices but they wouldn't see me in any other sense. I realized I was just an object of fascination to them. I had one guidance counsellor out

there who enjoyed talking to me in his office. You know, I was something different...here I was this ex-con with all these visions. That's the attitude I got from the academics...and I didn't like it. I still don't like it. It was clinical. I even went running with this guy...he's still out there, he's this mature student counsellor. He's got his masters in psychology or his ph.d....probably his ph.d. Him and I would exercise together...but all through it he was analyzing me. There's no doubt about it.

At any rate I wasn't ready for it. I was completely terrified of the whole thing and consequently I messed up and I got returned to the prison. I completely lost faith in ever going after it again.

How did you mess up...?

I got drunk. I went through this university in the summer taking prep courses preparing myself to begin a regular year. These were special courses for people who were returning to school after many years of absence. The idea was to just familiarize them with campus life...so I went through all those things. Then the night before the day when everything returns to normal and there'd be 22,000 students milling around...you know running, rushing looking for their lecture halls. I guess just the thought of it drove me into a bar. I sat down and drank up \$80. worth of whiskey and went back to the half-way house and picked a fight with the whole joint. Ended up fighting with one of the guards out on the lawn...which is something you should never do and something I did. Ended up going on the run again. I had a Canada-wide warrant again. I went to Vancouver. I was drinking heavily. I was using drugs heavily. But at the same time I knew I couldn't hide forever. I thought I'd go back to Manitoba and finish it and start it over again if I could find it in me.

I came back...went in...had the opportunity to do more courses. I was so angry at the way my life had gone. I was so angry at myself...I couldn't do it. I dropped out of a couple courses and I just gave up.

Finally the time was up and I got returned to the street. I hit the street in a valium fog. Returned to fixing and drinking. I was out only five weeks and I picked up an armed robbery charge. I held up a hotel. I got four years for that. Back into the joint. Drugs are so available in the joint there wasn't even a transition. In to the drugs again. Carried on again until finally...fighting again over the drugs...I beat a guy up over some drugs. I got caught and thrown in the hole.

Everybody was really pissed off at me at Stony. I guess they looked at me like a guy who should succeed but wasn't. I really pissed a lot of people off including myself. Plus I was a bad influence on younger guys...there's no doubt about it. Younger guys would see me and probably say I'd like to be like that...the same way I did when I was a kid. I'm sure they wanted me out of there.

They transferred me to Edmonton...Sharp's Farm which is a maximum security prison in Alberta. That was probably one of the nicest things they could have done for me now that I think about it. Although I fought it all the way. I hired a lawyer...fuck I was going to do a million things. But what it did was it gave me an opportunity to explore human nature again. To really see how degrading people can be in a hopeless situation. I saw so many violent people who were so much more violent than I was...mindlessly violent. It made a lot of sense because there was nothing happening in their lives and there never would be because there were 132 lifers in the joint out of 200 guys in population. Just a hopeless place. If there was a hell...that was it for me.

All through that I knew...the old feelings that I'd had when I was 20 years old when I was in Prince Albert. It wasn't that I hadn't been in max joints before. It was just that I hadn't been for ten years. Now I'm almost a middle-age man. I'm in there. I had the benefit of education. I had opened certain things in my mind. I had become aware of certain things. I had become aware of wanting to be a full individual...a well-rounded person. I was aware that I had a sensitive nature. By then I had already won a couple of writing contests. In fact the year they transferred me to Edmonton was the year I had placed first in the Prison Arts...for writing poetry. Prior to that I had placed in the top three out at the University of Manitoba in a contest. This was going up against third and fourth year English Lit students...and I don't even have English Lit courses. I had won and I had been published in a few poetry journals. There was that side of me but now it was becoming more fulfilled. At one time I never would have entered contests...submitted poems to journals. My feelings when I was young were what's the point I'll never win anyway so I won't enter. Now I was willing to enter and submit.

The experience at Edmonton...I knew I didn't want to be that hopeless as some of those guys that were doing life and didn't give a fuck about anything anymore. The racial violence that's going on in the prairie prisons. You never hear much about it in the media but it's the most crucial thing happening in the three provinces right now. I

don't give a fuck what anyone says...that's the big thing. If you solve that issue or help work it through and resolve it somehow. Problems between Indians and whites.

Did you say you are part Native?

Part native.

Was that confusing?

Very confusing. Always has been. Always has been through...I guess in my mind I called them Indian wars. Essentially that's what it is. The Native people on the prairies it goes without saying...have been shit on so badly especially the guys in prison...what else is there to do but live a warrior's life and engage in acts of war and that's what they do. I never ever wanted to get involved because my own violence was enough to handle without turning it into some kind of racial conflict. I chose to live in the white area.

My reputation for a guy that could handle himself had always preceded me so when I walked into Edmonton I was well received. People went out of their way to make me comfortable. People sort of treated me with respect. So I knew that I could live in the white section. This decision had to be made. I thought if I live in the Native section then it will seem that I've made that my loyalty. But if I move into the white section to the Natives it's going to seem that I've made my loyalties there. But for some reason I knew I could handle myself better there because number one once I got into the white section I knew I was going to work out like a madman. Which I did. I was doing two-three hour workouts every day...like serious serious workouts. There were four of us in there that people thought we were nuts because like I would do ten sets of chin-ups, ten sets of push-ups...between chairs and this after doing a 35 minute-five-mile run. Then maybe I'd go in and do some weights. The purpose of it was to keep everybody at bay. I declared myself within the first three days in the unit I moved into...I let it be known. I said I'm not involved in any of your racial riots and I'm willing to fight anyone in the joint man-to-man for my beliefs so don't ask me to get involved in your fucking wars because I'm not involved. So I stayed out of them. After six months no one would dare come and ask me because they knew where I was at.

But while I was there I pursued more education. I took my first major English course. I took it through Athabasca. I studied Faust. This course dealt with man's

intellectual and moral search for self. It's studying some of the greatest writers of all time. The reading that went into the course was tremendous. I was looking at different forms of mythology and I was working them into my poetry writing. I took up art again. I discovered that I had a little more patience now and I was able to do portrait-like drawings...pen and pencil sketches. I do have an aptitude for drawing. I had to be 38 years old before I took it up again. I found out that I was good at it. So I continued to write, work-out, study and it kept me sane...it kept me alive. I stayed away from the drugs...more than I ever did. Although I did indulge...not very often. I never ever allowed myself to get impaired in there because it was a war zone. Somebody was always getting stabbed in there...every month there'd be a knife fight. I never ever allowed myself to get impaired because when you are impaired anything can happen. You can get hurt. When I did use drugs it was always with caution and control. I'd take a couple of things but I'd never let it get out of control. I never did it often.

So you had control?

I had control. Damn right I had control and fear is a good controller you know. Fear is what kept me bouyant in there. Fear of having to do the ultimate or fear of having the ultimate done to me. Which is to die...right? So people thought I was the most consistent guy in there. They'd offer me positions with the committee to work as a grievance clerk but I always declined because along with my beliefs through the years was the belief to never become involved with jail-house politics. I never did. I've had offers all through the years to become involved with committees but I never did. Behind the scenes though I've written letters for people that were doing committee work. You know...real critical letters of the prison and critical of policies. But that was as far as I would take it. I would never become a politician.

I was living in a very interior world in prison and very beautiful...by the way. I have to admit sometimes I miss what I had found in there. Believe it or not. I miss what I found in there. What I found in there was an interior world. I was exploring dreams. I was exploring mythological motifs and working them into poetry. I was actually able to spew them out again, regurgiate them into some poem I was working on. I was living with symbols. Everything had meaning to me. I treasured dreams. I mean I'd go to sleep at night after a full day of working out,

reading. It was a pleasure to go to sleep because my dreams were an adventure. I miss that because in this world out here you are so much on the go and you have so many other types of concerns. It's not easy to find the time now to explore those things. Although I suppose I will be able to explore those things once I become acclimated out here. I'm not yet. I do miss that time because I know I learned more in a year and a half there than I've ever learned at any point in my life. I learned more about people even.

Do you think education played any part there?

Of course it did. Particularly that English Lit course. That course gave me the knowledge that I have control of my life. I never knew that. That I'm the guy who determines how I'm going to feel today. I can see that now and I could even see that then. But I didn't feel that then. I knew it intellectually then...that all through these years I was the guy that determined if I was going to go to jail...if I was going to feel bad...if I was going to get in a fight or win or lose or whatever. That course gave me the absolute understanding that I am in absolute control of my day.

It really came about by studying this character Faust. Christopher Marlowe was the guy that wrote about him. Faust of course sells his soul to the devil for knowledge...of magic...of things that ordinary mortals can't do. Alchemy being a big thing in the fifteenth century...everybody wanted to be an alchemist. To decipher the philosopher's stone and Faust more than anyone wanted the knowledge of magic. He conjures up the devil and he makes the deal. He goes to hell for eternity for the deal. That was a big moment in literature. Someone not to have a happy ending in literature. You always had to have that happy ending. Here was an unhappy ending...which made a lot of sense to me. Well then Goethe took the story of Faust a little bit further and of course he gave you a happy ending in a play which took Goethe 53 years to write...using every form of poetic language known to man at the time. It was beautiful to read. Terribly hard to understand because you had to translate this thing.

There was something going on there...during this time '84-'85. It had to do with the environment too. It was a war zone. Even when I studied in there I used to have my chair tilted towards the door so if anyone was coming into my cell I could be ready. I was always poised and I sat almost like a soldier with my back straight and I would study like that. It was interesting...now that I think

about it...it wasn't then. This was a senior level English course and I ended up with a 67 per cent which isn't a great mark but having never had the benefit or the experience of such a course before I was extremely proud of myself.

I garnered more ideas out of that course. Ideas that I will probably be using for the rest of life I realize now. But more than anything it showed me that I have control over my own development and over my own personal life. Not that I've exercised it a hell of a lot because I've gone through a lot of experiences since then.

A number of things occurred during that period of time. The course was behind me...I was trying to make it back to Stony Mountain. My mother phoned me and said she had cancer. I only had two phone calls during the time I was there. I didn't bother phoning...to me that was sentimental and all it would do would upset me. I knew I was in a war zone and I wanted to live like a fucking warrior...a warrior scholar if that makes sense. A warrior that doesn't have to fight just by virtue of my exercise no one wanted to try me...or get mixed up with me because they could see my capabilities and that was fine...that's what I wanted. I didn't want the physical confrontations. It gave me room to study...to pursue the things I'm interested in which is writing, studying and drawing.

I walked away from a riot there...towards the end of my stay there. The guys got control of the place. All the Indians on one side were armed and I and another guy...an Indian guy, one of my very best friends...looked at one another five minutes into this riot. I looked at Rene and said I don't want any part of this. And that's walking away from 175 angry insane convicts. It was all part of some change that was going on in me. The person I did my step five with recently out here...told me he thought the turning point in my life was the walking away from that riot. They were breaking into the medical dispensary where all the pills are and they kept everyone narcotized in Sharps and for very good reason because it's a hopeless place. Keep them drugged. So they dispense a lot of medication there. In fact they call it the boardwalk...medication time there they call it the boardwalk like in Atlantic City they say...are you going to hit the boardwalk tonight?

What about guys' tolerance to medication over a long period of time?

What the guys do is...undercover drugs come in like hash and they use the hash to buy up the medication. For three or four pieces of \$10. hash you could buy up a guy's medication for a week. So if you get an ounce of hash in you could buy up three or four guys' medication for a month and you can get as much medication as you want. I'm talking about serious narcotics...tranquillizers.

I didn't go on medication. That was another thing that made me an odd ball there. The unit I was on...everyone was on medication. Everyone was trying to work the croaker...work the system...and I didn't. My medication was a five mile...a ten mile or a seven mile run...depending on how I felt that day. That was my medication. That made me it possible for me to sleep.

This English Lit course you took...it was by correspondence...was there any contact with a professor?

I corresponded with a tutor. We were encouraged to phone but I couldn't see myself going up into an office...sitting in front of a bull...and phoning some university tutor and discussing Mephistopheles, Faust and Goethe. I still got a lot of bad feeling towards people like that. I had this feeling too...they would be thinking what kind of game is this guy playing? How could he possibly be interested in something like that? So I kept it at a subliminal level. I kept it at a correspondence level. I shared some of my feelings and views that way. It was meaningful. I've kept it all. I've still got all my essays from that course. I ended up writing three major papers for that course. It will still have meaning for me...50 years from now...if I'm still alive. I was able to draw on my knowledge of Greek mythologies. I really explored these things. I really explored how other people arrived at God. It was a serious course.

The course was called Images of Man in Modern Literature. The idea was to trace the idea that a guy would sell his soul for success in some area. The idea was to trace that idea from the fifteenth century right up to modern times. The final book I studied was Under the Volcano by Malcolm Lowery. The idea was to trace that theme from Christopher Marlowe until now. Christopher Marlowe would have been Shakespeare had he not been killed in a bar room brawl when he was 29. Christopher Marlowe was writing better stuff than Shakespeare at that time. What happened was he cut his life off by getting in a simple beef. I guess he had problems with anger and stuff like that.

I transferred to Stony in March '86 and was released from there in August '86. I'll be out a year this summer. Right now I'm taking a Sociology of Law course at the University of Winnipeg and to me it's an important course. I'm just starting to see some light in it now. That's just from the readings I did this weekend. Of course the first week I just frantically took notes. I think I'm going to do a paper on Bill C-67 because they tried to hit me with Bill C-67 this last time I was released.

I was one of the first guys in Manitoba they felt shouldn't be released. That was part of their own error because being the hogs that they are they were willing to just throw it at anyone. They hadn't really established any criteria. The guy just confessed to me...my parole officer...the last time I saw him that they weren't even sure how to use it and they thought I was the perfect candidate to test it. They made a huge mistake with me. I'm just saying they were being a little over zealous in the treatment of Bill C-67...which I have a very strong resentment towards by the way.

I know the reason Bill C-67 came into being was because Mulroney and company were losing in the opinion polls...they were losing their grip on the country...in the wake of all the things that had happened.

How many university courses have you completed?

Actually ten but I didn't write the exams for two of them. I have credit for eight courses. Why I didn't write the exams for those two courses was because I was going to take them over again. I could work harder on three other courses and just breeze through those two...because I'd already done them...but that didn't work out at the time. But had I written the exams I would have passed them...I know that. Maybe not with great marks but I would have passed them.

Do you think your involvement in these courses has affected your perceptions about politics...before and after?

Well, it certainly did. I was more involved. Being in Edmonton...after supper the guys would gather in the TV room and it would be time to watch the news and stuff. There was a lot of discussion. Everyone had a political opinion and sometimes there'd be these tremendous arguments. Usually it would only be the people that were fairly intelligent...I don't mean the guys that were concerned with hustling dope. So I began to notice a lot of

things...flaws. In fact I was able to perceive that any time an election is on the horizon you can bet that some law and order policy is going to be implemented. I began to notice the pattern and over the years I had begun to notice that before but I hadn't made the connection. Now I was able to make the connection. Of course that made me very angry...but not in a negative sense. It made me see that really I had been a puppet on a string...to a large degree. Not just in a consensual way but in a personal way because of my personal motivations. I've always been played by a lot of people. But now I realized I had been played by governments too. I had been played in a way that doesn't make you feel very good about yourself.

I don't know if I've formed...but it's part of my aspirations right now to be able to at some point have some sort of impact in a political way. I don't mean by going out and directly being a candidate. But maybe by being able to offer some really insightful thing. Like by this essay I'm doing...by being able to take a look at a law...piece of legislation and show why it came into being and show why it shouldn't be and doing it in an intelligent positive way. By using all those formulas you hear about on campuses...by being positive about it...by using that sort of an approach.

There's one thing about education I've noticed...there's no going back. You can't ever step back and say that you're not aware anymore...you can't hide behind some sort of street-corner anger. It doesn't work anymore. All of a sudden you are able to see issues you weren't able to look at before. You have been able to maybe step outside of yourself for a time.

Do you think your perceptions of power relationships in society have changed?

Well not all laws of course...I'm beginning to see that now and only recently...that not all laws are the vested interests of huge combines and monopolies. Some laws were actually brought in because of some small guy having a complaint. For governments to be fair...to accomodate. We'd said earlier that the middle class is usually the voting power of any democratic society. The middle class certainly in Canada that's who you've got to persuade if you are a politician. Middle class people...they're not really rich people. They're not affluent. There are a lot of frustrated little people...for one reason or another...in the middle class. So a lot of laws came into being because of their frustrations...the anti-combines act when I think about it.

The narcotic control act in Canada about 1907...that was really a middle class beef against the Chinese people who had ready access to opium from mainland China or wherever it was coming from. Not all laws came into being because of the interests of big business. At the same time I'm not fucking naive enough to suppose that all politicians haven't been bought and sold and packaged by some huge corporations...like I.T.T. had Henry Kissinger in their pocket at one point. I know that from being able to read. You know he was the guy that went down and spread money around in Chile so they would have a military coup so I.T.T. could get back in and mine tin and copper resources and whatever else they had happening there...after the prior government had kicked them out. So there's no doubt in my mind that money buys politicians. But at the same time I also know that little guys have a say too. I guess that's one of the things a little guy like me would cling to in a democratic society...the belief that somewhere along the line I could change some fucking thing. I don't know to what degree but...

Do you think you saw it that way before?

Actually, I felt hopeless about it. I didn't feel that I could ever say anything. I was powerless. I didn't even care.

Do you think your perceptions about the criminal justice system have changed?

All it did was allow me to read John Stuart Mills, Jeremy Bentham and realize how prisons came into being and what was happening in England in the eighteenth century. What brought about this great change. What made parliaments decide not to rend and tear you into pieces with horses and whip the shit out of you. What made them stick you in prison now and throw a bible in the cell with you. The whole idea was to teach them morality. They felt that somehow or other you were illiterate, you were from a poor background. Most prisoners from the beginning were poor people...disadvantaged people. From the ranks of poverty. And it makes sense if you are busy trying to eat you're not going to learn much about morality. Morality goes out the door when you are hungry. We're animals. If you are hungry you're going to eat. Of course by then the upper class society were humane enough to see you can't just keep quartering these guys...have them torn apart because they went out and stole a loaf of bread or a piece of silver from

some rich guy's house or hang them which is what they did in the eighteenth century. I was able to see that and nothing's changed. It's still the poor people in prison. A small percentage...maybe five per cent of the people in prisons are from middle class and upper class families. About five to ten per cent. There are very few white-collar criminals in prison or if they are they're not there for long. They don't even go into the real prisons. There are different degrees of prisons in this country. There's everything from the special handling units down to maximum security to medium to minimum. White collar criminals go to medium and minimum institutions.

The big argument right now is...Colin Thatcher is in Edmonton. Well big fucking deal...Colin Thatcher is one guy out of 30,000 prisoners in Canada...one dude. He's doing 25 to the board. The media had their fun with him too...which they always do when a big figure has a fall from grace.

But suppose some sociologist preparing a paper from a positivist point of view or a functionalist point of view as opposed to a Marxist point of view...would he use Colin Thatcher to say look the law is fair? Fuck that, the law still isn't fair to the disadvantaged and the suppressed people. Prisons are still filled with those kinds of people. All you have to do is walk through any prairie prison...what do you see? You see Native people...very simple. You don't even have to be a scholar to notice something's got to be wrong.

What about your perceptions of criminal behaviour...as it pertains to you...have they changed?

When I got out in August last year I didn't jump into university where I'm at now. I didn't jump into the A.A. program which is where I'm at now. I didn't jump into becoming friends with you which is where I'm at now. I didn't become friends with my sponsor John or Peter Ferris and all the people that are in my life now. I jumped right back into the criminal life but the difference was...the difference was I had developed a conscience which was just like education, I could no longer step backwards and say I didn't have a conscience. I couldn't go backwards and I was very frustrated with my criminal life. But here's the difference. I didn't drink to excess anymore even though I have an alcoholic problem. I still drank the way I used drugs in Sharps Farm...in the max...I did it with control because at no point did I ever want it to get out of control because I still had that prison wariness about me. I didn't

want to do anything that would leave me helpless at any point. I still lived like a warrior. But a true warrior I understand...I'm understanding never gets in a fight...never. Probably go through life without getting into combat because a warrior really learns the essence of being a man and learning how to yield and balance things out way before a situation arises.

I was living like that even in the criminal life downtown. I wasn't getting in fights and playing my role the way I used to. I've got a reputation amongst the underworld in Winnipeg and I wasn't capitalizing on that to any great degree which is what I'd done in the past. I used to really play it up. If I went into a bar I knew people were conscious of me. Instead now I felt a bit ashamed about that...a bit of apprehension about that. I felt like the aging gunfighter...fuck I didn't want to be me. I had developed a conscience. I couldn't hurt people quite the way I had in the past. I just couldn't do it anymore. I knew I couldn't do it.

Do you think age plays a part too?

I think it's both. The age has something to do with it. There's no doubt about it. When I came out I want to tell you where I was at physically. Physically I could run...at the drop of a hat...I could run 10-15 miles which I'd done on many of those runs during my training period. I could never do that when I was 21 years old. I could do sets of push-up...70 to a set...75 on a good day. Not many people can do that. When I came in there I was in my prime...physically I was certainly all there. Also I know I had to work very hard for that. It took me a long time to develop myself. I worked out that whole last four and a half years that I was in. I worked out at least five days a week. That's serious exercise. I guess you could say age had something to do with it. But it wasn't that I'd lost my spark or anything.

It was a combination of things. Certainly psychologically I was older. I mean I was sitting downtown last year with a bunch of guys that were at least ten years younger than me...most of them. Even the ones that came close to my age were five years younger than me. I began to question myself what am I doing in a bar surrounded by all these kids that are just coming into it. What am I doing? I don't even belong here. I don't fit in. I really knew that. I really felt that I didn't fit in. I knew that if I hung around long enough eventually I'm going to get hurt in some way...whether it's physical or mental or but in someway

I'm going to be hurt. That possibility got stronger and stronger. Finally the night I left there I practically fled. When I say there I mean the local hotel...the Claredon hotel...that's the bottom in Winnipeg. The night I left I was absolutely filled up with it. I couldn't...I wasn't making it there. Everyone still had their same beliefs about me...all the so-called rounders still believed that I was this psychopathic killer...the fighter. A lot of people think...by the way...I'm a several times killer. I've met people that believed that about me. You know...when did you first kill somebody? I had a broad ask me that last year. A couple people. You know...silly. Silly. But I mean that happens after 25 years generating...I mean it was all stupid. Also it was frightening. If people believe that of you what are they going to do if they become so afraid of you that you may pose a threat to them on a given night? If they got any spark in them they are going to take you out right? I was getting more and more aware of that...the gunfighter syndrome. The aging gunfighter syndrome. All I wanted...all I knew was I wanted some fucking peace in my life. Of course I'd been wanting that more and more but on a particular morning I woke up and I said I'm going to achieve this peace. I don't know how I'm going to do it. I knew I'd have to do it through A.A. or Narcotics Anonymous or both and I thought I'll take whatever steps are necessary. I started attending meetings. On this particular morning there was no doubt in my mind I wanted some rest. I wanted to be normal. I wanted to be sane and not to have all those problems that I have down there. Away from violence and all that stuff. So I tried to make a decision to get straight. To be straight. I certainly wanted to return to school because I knew that I was...I know myself enough at this point that I know that I don't want to be a labourer. I don't want to labour throughout the remainder of my life.

In that English Lit course I took I was particularly taken by a poem by Tennyson when he's talking about Ulysses...the old Greek hero...he's an old man now, he's already fought the battle of Troy and he's carried out those 12 tasks that the gods have put before him to achieve. He had done all these things...now he's a graying aged old man and still he hadn't lost the spirit of inquiry or the spirit of exploration. I used to keep a poster of that in my cell and it fuelled me because even at 38 a gunfighter is old...a fistfighter...he's old at 38...you just don't move the way you did when you were 25 or 20 even. I used to read that and I knew the one area of my life that I'll never grow

old in...is in learning. I know that. The acquisition of knowledge. I know that the boundaries...and this is in the poem by Tennyson...that the boundaries recede before you as you press on and on and you never grow old. It's the one area. I'm taken with that and I'm told...I hadn't defined that myself...but I've been told by you and by Peter and other people that I am the sort of person that needs to be constantly exploring. I agree with that. I love reading. I love writing. I love knowing new things. I know I'll never be filled up with it. It makes me feel young. It has so many things about it.

So when I decided to make a break from that it took me a week to kick the booze and the drugs and it was a week of attending A.A. meetings without going through a treatment program...without going through a withdrawal thing and I didn't use anything for the first time in trying to withdraw. I didn't take any 222's or anything to ease the pain. I just did it cold. Because I had messed around too long. I'd fooled too many people or fooled myself too many times you know...take me down slowly. So I did it cold. I went seven weeks with total sobriety and I had a one-night slip. Some people might say that's a step backwards. You called it a step sideways. I like that better. I don't like to see it as a step backwards. So I went along for another month and I had another slip and it wasn't with booze it was with something else. It was a drug. I could have continued. In fact I had an invitation to continue. But I didn't.

I also began to see just over the last three months, I guess, if I do the right things and take responsibility for my life and go and meet appointments and follow through with little things every day. Continue to do that. I see the immediate returns. I took up exercising again. I started running again. Then I got prepared to do a step five which is a big step in the program where you discuss yourself. For some reason or other I stopped working out. All I could do was concentrate on that for a couple of weeks and it was really an emotional upheaval. I really went through a lot of things. I did that and it took a couple of weeks to do that. And of course I was mildly disappointed. Always my search...my exploration has been to arrive at God I suppose...but to arrive at God in a very large way. I mean I don't just want to know God from the concept of faith. I mean I want to see God in every person. I want to see the very molecules of God and know that I'm a part of it and know that there's this tremendous...thing happening. So I've been searching for God in a fantastic way. It's never been enough for me from the Christian

standpoint to take the leap of faith and say God either is or isn't. It's still not enough for me. I've got to know...absolutely know. And that's part of education...for me. It has to do with art. I can see traces of that search in everything I look at now. If I go and view a painting for long at a gallery or read a poem several times...I can see people engaged in that same search. Whether they're conscious of it or not. You know there's a lot of theories about art where it comes out six sevenths of what an artist is trying to say isn't what he's consciously trying to say. I particularly like Ezra Pound's definition of a poem...it's a mathematical equation of the soul...a good poem. If you think about a reader who's looking for something...some meaning...some loss of meaning...they are going to read this poem and somehow or other that poem will give them the formula...it will open the door into something even greater yet. So a poem should be a doorway to the soul or a doorway to something finer.

I'm really taken with poetry. Poetry is the one thing that's been a constant in my life. It's the one thing that's never lost its zest and it's always been there...even at my lowest moments...particularly at my lowest moments. Poetry...being able to read it and trying to write it. To get lost in it sometimes. It's always been there.

What about your perceptions of human nature...do you think they have changed in any way since you became involved in higher education?

Well certainly for one thing I could no longer...and I can't...I can no longer...in my better moments by the way...in my more objective moments which are my better moments, I can no longer look at people and say he or she is doing this because of they are no good. Nothing's black or white. I began to understand the hostility of native people in prisons. I've begun to understand my own hostility. I could see the different devices certain guys in prison use to stay sane. Some people actually pretend to be insane to stay sane. I've noticed that too...that some people act as if they are insane and I know it was to preserve their sanity and it works. It works...I knew a couple guys that did that so well that you would swear to god this guys were absolutely mad. Their whole reason for doing it was so they wouldn't go mad. It got them through. I really like this one guy...a really well known guy...a rounder's rounder. That's what kept him afloat.

I began to see that and understand some of the

reasons for why I did a lot of things in my younger life...why I acted or reacted a certain way to things. Out of that same sort of fear...of loosing touch with reality. I've begun to see that my life has been largely dominated by a type of fear...a nameless dread or whatever you want to call it. I'm becoming able to articulate this fear...not that I've been able to sit down and been able to say precisely what it is. And it's not that I'm not objective about it anymore because I still get caught up...I still get gripped by it. Sometimes it still forces me to do irrational things. Sometimes that fear can still overcome me and I won't get on a bus, for instance. I won't walk into a library or I won't walk into a cafeteria because that nameless fear will hit me and it paralyzes me. It causes me to do negative things. But the negative things I do aren't all that great anymore. All I will do is run and hide for a day or I'll run from that one issue and I won't take it up until the next day. However I will go back to it.

I went through a period when I wanted to meet a lady at the Manitoba Writers' Guild...Kate Bittman. I wanted to meet her because she had published me in Prairie Fire back in '84-'85. And I had been attending a couple of poetry readings at Act Two and I'd seen her there. I'd overheard a conversation one night and somebody said oh, hello Kate. I looked at her. I watched her for awhile and I knew she was Kate Bittman. I'd never met her. I had only corresponded with her. She had accepted my submission of poetry. A year or so later I actually saw it come to fruition. I actually got a copy of it. I was so proud of myself because Prairie Fire is kind of a distinguished journal in Manitoba. So I wanted to meet her and I heard her talking to some people on another night and I heard her say she worked on the second floor at 100 Albert. So now I knew where she was but I still didn't have the courage to walk over and say hello my name is...I couldn't do it because there were too many people around. Act Two is really a small cafe and you can hear people cough down there.

One day I went down to the Manitoba Writer's Guild. I stood at the door of 100 Albert and I read brochures and posters on the wall. I couldn't work up the nerve to walk up the stairs or jump on the elevator. I left. Finally I got the courage again a few days later and I went back. I went upstairs. I went into the bathroom. I went everywhere except where I knew she'd be. Finally I walked into where she was and I introduced myself...hello. I was well received. I haven't been back there but I'll probably see her again now that she knows who I am. I got

some advice about what to do about some of my writing.

Like I've got quite a bit of writing prepared which I believe is publishable...at least most of it is. Of course there are lots of steps required to do that. If I was to set out now in '87 I probably wouldn't see anything in print until late late '88 or early '89. That's how long it takes from the moment you submit at certain places.

Talking about human nature though. Talking about fear and understanding that most of the people I've been in contact with most of my life operated out of some sense of fear. I'm not sure that they all realize that or that they'd even want to acknowledge that. Most cons will never admit to having fear.

Do you think your relationships with the opposite sex are any different now than they were before you got involved in higher education?

Since getting out in August...I guess we are going on the assumption that I went through some emotional change prior to August. But I'm not so sure of that. I haven't been out with a member of the opposite sex for the last four months. Three months of which I've been trying to work the A.A. program and it was a month prior to that that I'd been out with a woman and I didn't even try to do anything with her. I was too impaired...I was too high on drugs...I was too incapable of it.

However I did have a relationship from August to October last year. Had my perception of women changed? It's changing right now towards members of the opposite sex. I guess I have become more considerate in the sense I don't hit on broads. Another thing is all the time in my life prior I'd always had the alcohol and the pills as a crutch to give me the courage to do a lot of things and now that I don't have them I don't have a hell of a lot of confidence in dealing with women

At least with the last relationship. It wasn't very long. I was going out with a girl call Linda. She was phoning me up until a couple of weeks ago and she somehow thinks she plays a part in my life. I finally told her a couple of weeks ago, listen we live in two different worlds we're light years apart. I have this thing happening now and there is no relationship. She couldn't believe I'd say that to her. I haven't been out with her since last year. But she continues to stay in contact with me.

How did I treat her? I treated her like a lady. I remember after we broke up she came to the bar one night where I was hanging around. She came down to rub salt in

the wounds or whatever and I was so angry that I didn't know what to do with myself. She was sitting there really enjoying the spectacle she was making of me or whatever...or at least that's what I perceived. I was so hot I didn't know what to do. So what I did was I jumped up and left the bar...but before I did I drilled a chair because I didn't want to hit someone else. But I was so frustrated so what I did was I punched this chair as hard as I could. Of course she phoned me a week or two later and said what was all that about? I said you know what that was about. Anyway she continued to phone me. I always kind of left things open and I was afraid to close it. She's a woman right? There's no woman in my life right now and I don't want to close the door on the only woman that knows me right now. Finally I found the courage to close the door two weeks ago. She phoned...I was still at my brother's place and I told her I was moving to where I'm at now. She said can I contact you there? I thought it over and I finally said no you can't...which took some doing inside of me to be able to say that. Actually I don't really care that much for her. She's not part of what I want in my life right now. She's part of what I don't want. Not that she isn't attractive. Physically she's an attractive girl. She has a lot of social attributes...she has a bit of money. She owns a house. She owns a car. She owns a cottage out at Lake Winnipeg. She has a good job. But she's also a bit of...she's patriotic towards guys like me. She recently just got involved with a guy that was on the run from a prison and went on a crime spree.

But to explain how my personal relationships were before. The two women who I considered that I was in love with...I treated them horribly. I used to beat the shit out of both of them and I was very physical. I haven't been physical that way with any women for the last ten years. But then I haven't been emotionally involved with any woman since then...not since the last time when I broke up in '77. I've been out with several women since then but there hasn't been an emotional involvement since then. I even went with one for a period of five months...two months on the street and three months visiting when I was in. I let her go at that time. I knew I was going to get a long period of time. I was going up for stabbing that guy. I told her I was looking at getting a possible fin (five) or a seven. I said goodbye go and get on with your life. I was able to do that. I wouldn't be able to do that ten years prior to that, certainly. I would have hung on to the last bitter moment.

When I broke up with Linda last year. She claims

she broke up with me because of my drug use. But that doesn't make a hell of a lot of sense because she uses drugs every weekend. She jumps into the cocaine and you know...the designer drugs. She's got to be fashionable and all that bull shit. I met her for lunch one time on her coffee break where she works. One of the tips a guy gave her was a line of coke. She was so proud of this. She really disgusted me. I didn't say anything I just said ya. But when we broke up she said you just won't get off the drugs and the booze...you are a hopeless drug addict. But it didn't make sense in light of the way she lived. But those things don't bother me anymore. I don't give a fuck what she does. In fact I don't even want someone like that in my life. It's too upsetting. One day she's up there. Next day she's down. I don't know where she's coming from. I realize she was only hanging on to me for some patriotic reason. When I say patriotic I mean to the rounder cause or whatever. In fact when she had that trouble with that guy that was on the run...he stole her car...I said now you know him. Now you know you got a problem there. You have this urge to be around guys that have high profiles...high criminal profiles. Just as a joke I said to her I hear Charlie Manson's coming up for parole why don't you fly down to California and pick him up at the door or something. She laughed at that. She said I don't have a problem with that. I said ya you do have.

Prior to this girl I went out with someone else for about a month and a half when I first got out. There really wasn't much there neither...of very little substance. I backed away from that because she had a ten-month-old daughter. She was looking for Mr. Goodbar and there was no way I knew that I wanted anything to do with that. So when the opportunity came for me to back out of there I got right out immediately.

So since then it's been four months since I've even been out with a woman and it's been six months since I've been to bed with a woman.

Something radical has been altered in my life because I've never been without a woman in my entire life. I've never gone the way I've gone now...when I'm on the street. I've never gone without having one or two or three women tucked away somewhere. I always had women there for me.

Why do you think that is?

Why is that? I don't know why that is?

Do you think maybe you equated women with sex...as a commodity..?

Oh ya, definitely. And I suppose I always did. Certainly. Ok maybe let's say the reason for all this is the reason that I've changed in my conception of women? It must definitely be that happening in my life because I've never done this before. Even the times I was out on the street for five weeks I could go through ten different women. Easily. Ten different women. I always used them. In fact the two women I lived with and it was always their apartment or their furniture. All I had to do was simply make the bed and sleep in it. I've never ever been in the position where I was the guy that was the provider. I made a futile stab it when I was a kid when I was 24 or 25. It was always their stuff.

In fact I'm glad we are discussing this...because I've been wondering what's wrong with me lately. This certainly makes sense to me. I haven't articulated this before and now it makes a little more sense to me. Because I've been wondering what the hell was the matter with me.

Another thing is that in the last three months of trying to get sober I've encountered a couple of women that I knew from my prior lifestyle. One when I was coming out of Peter Ferris' office and she was hustling a guy in the Westin Hotel. I happened to be cutting through there and I could see she was trying to trick this guy...hustle him. I said are you working on a trick here. She said ya, I'm really broke. Have you got any money. And I have to admit I looked at her with lust. I'm sober now. I'm healthy. I'm working out...all my manly things are happening again. I'm not drugged up anymore. I'm looking at her and I'm thinking she would be an interesting little item.

And then I really looked at her and I could see the puncture marks in the back of her hands where she'd been sticking needles in. I looked at the anguish in her eyes and I could see what I was leaving behind. She said have you got any money. Where are you going? She was just desperate to be with someone. I reached into my pocket and I had two or three dollars in change and I said here...take care of yourself. I have to admit there was a bit of an ego thing about it. I felt so virtuous. But at the same time I knew that I didn't want any part of that. Then I encountered her again about a week later at the bus stop and she said where are you going. I said I'm going home. The natural thing would have been to say come on...come with me. I said where are you going? She said I'm probably going to wander down to the Mount Royal Hotel and try to score off so-and-

so. I said well take care of yourself.

The other day I was waiting for a bus at the corner of Donald and Portage...the same corner I was just talking about and another old girl from before came by and said come on for a coffee. So I walked into Mickey's for a coffee. She says I'm staying in the Claredon Hotel, room 19, why don't you come up for awhile? Again I went through the same thing. I thought wouldn't that be nice I could go up and get off the barrel and blah blah blah. Then I looked at her and the thing that really changed my mind about her...I said where have you been the last ten years? I hadn't seen this kid in a while. I said have you left town in awhile? She said ya I went to Montreal. One time, she said, I walked from Montreal to Toronto. I thought how interesting. I said oh, and how long did that take you? She said oh about seven hours. Oh man, well when she said that I looked at this in a whole different perspective now. The whole perspective of her changed and I thought what a fucked up broad...what a fucked up person. I mean that's impossible. A horse couldn't do that. This broad's got a lot of problems. I thought now what good am I...how am I going to feel if I go up and take advantage of her...up to her room where she wants me to come? I'm going to feel horrible. In fact I'm going to feel worse than I'm feeling now without having the benefits of the opposite sex. I left and I said I got to go now.

So I guess it's not that I haven't had a few opportunities because I've had a few. But I'm having trouble talking to people. Well last night I finally talked to a girl at the Assinaboine A.A. Group and I know she wanted to talk to me because the night before she was staring at me all through the meeting. I'm not imagining it neither because everytime I looked at her she was looking at me. So I wondered what to attach to that...she's watching me and you go through a lot of egotistical reasoning. You hear a lot of things about relationships in A.A. especially from newcomers who say I just went through a terrible relationship...I should have listened to my sponsor...it was a terrible relationship. I should have listened to my sponsor...take a year and all this shit.

So last night I took my ashtray and my cup into the kitchen and she was at the sink doing the dishes. She didn't want me to leave and I said hello and she said hello. I was about to leave and as I was going out the door her voice rose and she started talking about something and so I turned around and I said look I'll give you a hand with them. I dried and she washed. We talked like two people. In fact I lost all sexual inneuendo and it was a human being

and I could see that she's serious about what she's doing. I could see the sincerity that she was really trying to change. I could feel that in her and I could identify with it. That doesn't mean that I wouldn't still be interested in... Whatever it was I could sense that she was on the same road as I was...with the same concerns. The dimension of her being a woman and me being a man changed somehow from the night before when she was looking at me and she was affecting my manhood. Not that she wouldn't still continue to affect me that way.

Sometimes I feel like the lonely guy in that movie The Jerk with Steve Martin...He's trying to make it out with chicks in the worst way...he's going to singles clubs. So he goes into this club...he takes up jogging...all the fashionable things to do in 1980 in hopes of meeting a woman in hopes of developing a relationship with a woman. He goes into this singles club and there's this ravishing redhead and they're having a drink and he says ya what I really want in my life is something durable, something lasting with a woman and he goes through this long speal and the woman looks at him and says gee that's too bad because all I'm looking for tonight is to get fucked. You know what I mean?

In that sense I guess I'm talking...if I could meet a woman who had that sense of herself and if I could develop that sense myself where I knew it was going to be a casual relationship...just keep it simple...no committments or that kind of crap where I've got to watch where you are and she's got to watch where I am any of that stuff I might be able to do it.

I know this about women. I know this from doing all my reading and exploring. A woman from the time she's about 12 years old and she's going through puberty her first priority is to make herself appealing. She's like a flower. She begins to put on all these alluring forms of make-up and eye shadow and it's all to attract a male. A woman in our society today...liberation for women in our society is young and I know that. What she's looking for is a mate forever. I don't give a shit what a woman would tell you right now. They're looking for a forever relationship. They say they're not since Gloria Steinem and all the advocates for women's rights and all that...they say they're not. Maybe those few people...the few heads of the feminist movement have been able to incorporate that way of being into their lives. Most women haven't though. Most women are still trained to put on a lot of make-up and start looking for the ideal mate. It's a biological function. What they're after here in the late twentieth century is that we're supposed to be beyond all that...beyond biology. Some of them will

achieve it certainly by the year 2000 there will be a strong freedom from those sorts of societal trappings. Some will be freed from all that. And men too and men of course whatever happens to men in the wake of all that...I don't know.

But right now in my life...I've developed a different perspective of it. Not that I'm not interested in casual sex but I couldn't do it now...I know that now...with someone that's not operating with a full deck or whatever it is. I can't take advantage. And it seems like the women I've known are still not all together...they're still humpety dumpety trying to put themselves together again.

I don't know what I'll do when I meet a really together woman. I'm particularly intimidated by women. There's one woman at the Assinaboine Group...her very presence intimidates me...she's so attractive. I can't put my finger on it but when she's around I want to leave. I can't be in the same room with her...she's that disturbing. I think she knows it. I think she's zeroed in on fact that she's got to me. I actually swear she does it to upset me because I actually walked out of there one night. She was part of the reason I left...I just couldn't take it. She had me all fucked up. It was just like I had a band across my chest constricting me. Very sexually disturbing to me. She might not do that to anyone else but she certainly got me in the corner...on the ropes.

Ya I'm glad we talked about this because when I get really manly about myself and the old ego returns I'm thinking gee am I ever half a man or less than even what I was and I guess that isn't true. The truth is I'm changing...and thank god I'm changing. Because somewhere...there's always a little voice in me that says...some day it's going to be ok...it's going to be good. I don't know when. All I can do is plug on right now with what I'm doing...school, meetings.

Do you think there has been any change in your relationship with your family?

Well, I don't go around there much. I only drop in on a very limited basis and I'm never there for long.

Is that different from before?

Ya I used to spend more time there because I drank with them...drank and fought with them and I don't do that because I'm not drinking. So when I go over there now it's just to sit and have coffee with them. I've rented movies

sometimes and gone over and watched them on their VCR. The three of us would get into it...my dad, my mom and me. They're alone now. They're old. I really felt good the last time I did that. The three of us got into two movies I selected and they were able to enjoy them. It was a fulfilling night. I left there and I felt good. I knew that I had done the right thing.

But I don't go to their parties. When they invite me to a birthday party and there's usually a lot of drinking going on when there's a birthday party for one of their nieces or nephews...I don't go.

I've got a brother and five sisters. I have one sister in the program and I don't drop over to her place too often because she's got a funny old man...a funny guy she's living with. He makes me feel very uncomfortable. He's quiet. He doesn't say anything. I don't know where he's coming from. I've gone over there and he's gone and locked himself in the bedroom. That's weird. He's not a very sociable guy. That's ok. I don't mind that.

But I have a good relationship with my sister. When I do talk to her she's happy to hear from me and because she's going to school...Adult Ed...she usually has some problem in English that she needs help with. So I help her with her English problems almost invariably when I phone her or go over there I help her clear up some small problem that she's having. She's only taking grade nine or ten. But that makes me feel good. That makes me feel like the big brother which I am. I am the oldest of the family. I was expected to be the leader. I was always the one that took the brunt of the punishment if something went wrong. But now I'm assuming the position again in a different way. That's ok. I resented that before...being the guy that always had to pay the price for something going wrong when we were kids.

Are your other sisters here in Winnipeg?

Ya, but one I don't speak with. I haven't talked to her since 1961. Last time I saw her was at another brother's funeral and all the family went over to her place after the funeral for drinks. I didn't go...it was against my principles...I thought I'm not going to talk to her now just because there's a funeral...just because there's a death I not going to break the silence. I refused to go because that's the position she took with the family and I wanted to remain that way. I don't even know that I would recognize her if she walked into this room...it's been that long since I saw her. I saw her at the funeral in 1977 but

I haven't talked to her since 1961.

I have another sister that just recently moved in from Brandon. Although I haven't seen her in the last couple of weeks I was going to see her on a fairly regular basis. I'd take her out for coffee or I'd take her to an A.A. meeting. The only time she'll go to an A.A. meeting is if my brother or I go down and take her out. She doesn't even have an alcohol problem it's just more of an outing for her.

The problem with her is that I still get very emotionally caught up about it. Also she looks like a bag lady...I have to admit this...she looks like a bag lady. It's a little...sometimes I've got a problem with ego and sometimes I feel a little ashamed when I take her into the Salisbury House or to a meeting...I sometimes think that somebody might be thinking that she's my date or something. There's no doubt in your mind when you look at her or talk to her for a minute that there's something wrong with her. So I have a problem with that. But still I go down there sometimes and I will take her to a restaurant and sit there and have two or three cups of coffee with her.

I keep trying to steer her life...sometimes I come on too strong. I try to get her into a life skills program. I try to encourage her to make herself appealing...more attractive...by doing her hair which she won't do. She won't get her hair curled or anything. She's only got about three teeth in her entire mouth and they're the front ones and they're yellow and stained. She's scared to get them out. And when she makes up her mind...by the way...she's like the Boulder Dam you ain't moving her. There's just nothing that'll move her. That's just the way she is. She's like a little girl...a little child when she makes up her mind that's it. I try to use other tactics with her. I try to appeal to any social side she might have. She'll make statements like I'll think I'll get married soon. She doesn't have a boyfriend but she just comes out with a statement like that. Well you know it's just rambling. So then I say well how to you expect to get married if you don't get your hair done and some false teeth...get those teeth removed and learn to work with false ones...stuff like that.

She just went through a big thing where she tried to fill out an income tax form. The first time in her life she's tried to fill out an income tax form. You've got to understand... she's been cared for by the state for 20 some years.

How she went like this...she was in the Portage Women's Jail when she was 17 and she hung herself. When

they finally cut her down...she'd cut the oxygen off to her brain for so long that it damaged her mental faculties. She was pregnant at the time. She was six months pregnant. It was one of those horror stories. She was only doing six months. Well that six months she ran it into over 20 years. They locked her up in the Brandon Mental Institution and they put her through shock treatment, insulin treatments...they experimented with chlorpromazine...all of this treatment. They finally turned her into a bag lady. She's as much retarded because of this state as she is because of her own actual problems. So she's like a little girl now.

She causes me a lot of problems because of the fact it's hard for me to cope with her. At the same time I love her. I feel for her...I'd like to help her. I know that nothing is ever going to help her. I know she's going to be that way for the rest of her life. It's an irreversible thing. She damaged part of her brain and there's no fixing it. She's really sad. She's even sad to be with because she gets maudlin. Like I'll walk her home...she lives in a half-way house for mentally ill people...and she'll get really worried and she'll say are you going to be ok...are you going to make it home ok? Somehow she thinks I'm a little boy and I'm not going to make it to the bus stop I might get jumped by a gang. She'll say ok phone me as soon as you get home so I'll know you made it there ok. I laugh when I get away from there...it's her that we worry about but she worries about us. So it's a hard thing in my life to deal with.

But right now I know my mother and father...both of them...are really for me in what I'm trying to do right now. Even him...he's still a drunk...still an alcoholic but he no longer encourages me to drink. He doesn't offer me a beer. He encourages me to do what I'm doing. He's the father again. Whereas ten years ago when I went over there it was here have a drink...a bottle of whiskey or a beer. Now when I go over there...he doesn't even want his friends around drinking when I'm there. Some nights I go there and he tries to separate that from me. Ya, things are working out ok. I know my mother is really for it. She worries about me.

That one night awhile ago...when I went to a party and I didn't come home...I ended up drinking that night...my mother was so worried she phoned that place I was at the next day just to find out what I was up to. I mean...here I am 40 years old and my mother was phoning there so I would get out of that environment. She was so concerned about me...I said mom I'm leaving right now please don't worry.

She knew I was drinking. Mothers somehow know. My mom knew when I went to that party that I was going to have a bad night. And I did. She said are you going to keep that appointment with the Student Aid. I said mom I'm on my way. I thought that was really neat. I thought here she is this old lady worried about me like I was ten years old again. That was an encouragement that day because I could have returned and continued what I started the night prior...and I didn't.

This last time I had that slip with a drug...same thing I went through a real hectic next day. I had an invitation to jump into something that would cost \$250. which I had...I had the money to be able to do that...to make the investment. The guarantee was that I would get my \$250. back, I would be able to get high and still make my money back. There'd be no loss. I really had to think about it. But I didn't do it. I damn near did. In fact what I did was...I went to the phone booth and I thought what should I do? Should I phone this guy or phone John (A.A.sponsor)? I ended up phoning John...and it passed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ayers, Douglas, 1980 Duguid, Stephen, Montague, Catherine and Wolowidny, Sonia. Effects of University of Victoria Program: A Post Release Study Report prepared for the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada: May 1.
- Bacon, Margaret H. 1969 The Quiet Rebels. New York: Basic Books.
- Blanchfield, Cecilia 1985 Crime and Punishment. Part 2 of 5. Ottawa: Correctional Services of Canada.
- Bogdan, Robert and Taylor, Steven J. 1975 Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods. Toronto: Wiley & Sons.
- Campbell, D.D. 1974 "Developing Continuing Education in the Correctional Institution: Some Principles and Practices." Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections. Vol.16:pp.17-132.
- Chalfont, Caroline 1972 The Lorton Prison College Project: Third Year Final Report. Washington D.C.: D.C. Department of Corrections.

- Cochran, A.W.
1965 "Is Education of Value to the Parolee?"
Journal of Correctional Education. 17
(July):pp. 22-24.
- Cohen, Harold L. and Filipczak, James
1971 A New Learning Environment. San
Francisco: Jessey-Bass.
- Colvin, Craig R.
1971 "The Role of Higher Education in the
Rehabilitation of the Public Offender."
Paper presented at the Canadian Congress
of Criminology and Corrections: Ottawa,
Canada, July, 22.
- Cosman, J.W.
1980 "Penitentiary Education in Canada."
Vol. 20 Education Canada:pp.42-47.
- Curry, William J.
1974 "Academic and Motivational Characteristics
of Prison Inmates Enrolled in the
Community College Program at North
Carolina's Correctional Institution: An
Exploratory Study". Unpublished Doctoral
Dissertation, Northern Illinois
University.
- Duguid, Steven
1979 "History and Moral Education in
Correctional Education." Canadian Journal
of Education: pp.83-84.
- Duguid, Steven
1987 Univeristy Prison Education in British
Columbia. University Press.
- Ekenrode, C.J.
1969 "Educational Contributions to Institution
Treatment Modules." Journal of
Correctional Education 21(2): pp.5-8.

- Ekstedt, John and Griffiths, Curt
1984 Corrections in Canada: Policy and Practice. Toronto; Butterworths.
- Elkin, Winifred A.
1957 The English Penal System. Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Gaucher, Robert
1975 Prisoner as Convict. M.A. Thesis: Carleton University.
- Gehring, Thom
1985 The History of Social Education. An Unpublished Paper.
- Gendreau, P. and Leipeiger, M.
1978 The Development of a Recidivism Measure and Its Application in Ontario. Canadian Journal of Criminology, 20, pp.3-17.
- Glaser, Daniel
1969 The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System. Abridged Edition. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Griffin, Douglas K.
1978 Ontario Institute for Studies in Education Review of Penitentiary Education and Training 1978-79. Phase 1: Report to Reviewers. Ottawa: Canadian Penitentiary Service.

- Halleck, Seymour L. and Witte, Anne D.
1977 "Is Rehabilitation Dead?" Crime and Delinquency. (October): pp.372-382.
- Jacobson, Frank and McGee, Eugene
1965 "Englewood Project: Re-education: A Radical Correctional Program for Incarcerated Delinquents." Englewood, (Mimeographed). Cited in Lipton, Douglas, Martinson, Robert and Wilks, Judith. The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment. New York: Praeger, 1975.
- Jenkins, W.O., Withersponn, A.D.; Devine, M.D.; DeValera, K;
1974 Barton, M.C. and McKee, J.M.
"The Post-prison analysis of Criminal Behaviour and Longintudinal Follow-up Evaluations of Institutional Treatment." (Processed) Cited in Greenberg, David. Corrections and Punishment. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977.
- Kelleher, James
1987 Notes for a Speech to the National Conference On Offender Literacy: Queen's Printer, Ottawa.
- Kovacs, Frank W.
1967 "Evaluation and Final Report of the New Start Demonstration Project." Colorado Department of Employment (Processed). Cited in Lipton, Douglas; Martinson, Robert and Wilks, Judith. The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment. New York: Praeger, 1975.
- Laird, C. Alton
1971 " A Study of the College Level Educational Program of Texas Department of Corrections". (Processed) Cited in Marsh, John. "Higher Education In American Prisons." in Crime and Delinquency Literature (March): pp.139-141.

- Leiberg, Leon
1973 "Project Challenge" Cited in Roberts,
Albert R. (ed.), Readings in Prison
Education. Springfield: Charles C.
Thomas.
- Lewis, Morgan V., Bumper, David C.; Meyer, Joan L.;
1973 Broughton, Andrew and Beamesderfer,
Alice. Prison Education and
Rehabilitation: Reality or Illusion?: A
Case Study of an Experimental Program.
Pennsylvania: Institute for Research on
Human Resources.
- Lipton, Douglas, Martinson, Robert and Wilks, Judith.
1975 The Effectiveness of Correctional
Treatment. New York: Praeger.
- Maltz, M.D. and McCleary, R.
1977 The Mathematics of Behavioural Change.
Evaluation Quarterly, 1, pp.421-438.
- Marsh, John J.
1973 "Higher Education in American Prisons."
Crime and Delinquency Literature (March):
pp.139-141.
- Martin, Kenneth T. "A Brief History of Prisoner Education"
1976 Cited in Reagen, Michael V. and Stoughton,
Donald M. School Behind Bars. The
Scarecrow Press, Inc.: Metuchen, N.J.
- Martinson, Robert "What Works? - Questions and Answers About
1974 Prison Reform" The Public Interest: pp.22-
54.

- McCarthy, Bill "The Nature of Education Within Canadian
1985 Federal Prisons" in Canadian Journal of
Criminology, Vol.27 No.4, pp.441-453.
- Morin, Lucien and Ferland, Mario
1983 "Educational Prisons...Why Not?" in
Canadian Journal of Criminology, Vol.25
No.3, pp.329-334.
- Natanson, Maurice Philosophy of the Social Sciences.
1963 New York: Random House.
- Nelson, J. and Hockema, H.
1981 "Kohlberg Concretized: The Practice of
Moral Development in the Prison
University" Proceedings of the 1st
National Conference on Prison Education.
Victoria, British Columbia,
Canada:University of Victoria. pp.305-320.
- Palmer, Ted
1976 "Martinson Revisited." in
Martinson, R.; Palmer, T. and Adams, S.
Rehabilitation, Recidivism and Research.
Hackensack, N.J.: National Council on
Crime and Delinquency.
- Parlett, M.
1980 Cited in Ayers, Douglas; Duguid, Stephen
and Montague, Catherine. Effects of
University of Victoria Program: A Post
Release Study. Report prepared for the
Ministry of the Solicitor General of
Canada, May 1.
- Patton, M. Q.
1975 Alternative Evaluation Research Paradigm.
Grand Forks: University of North Dakota
Press.

- Perry, L.A.
1982 An Evaluation of a Prison Education Program: M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba.
- Reagen, Michael V. and Stoughton, Donald M.
1976 School Behind Bars. Metuchen N.J.: The Scarecrow Press.
- Reker, Gary T. and Meissener, John
1977 "Life Skills in a Canadian Federal Penitentiary: An Experimental Evaluation." Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections 19 (July):pp.292-302.
- Rist, R. C.
1977 "On the relations among educational research paradigms: from disdain to detente." Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 8:pp.42-48.
- Roberts, Albert R.
1972 Sourcebook on Prison Education. Charles H. Thomas: Springfield, Illinois.
- Saden, S.J.
1962 "The Educational Treatment Program for Corrections at Jackson, Michigan." Journal of Correctional Education 15:pp.22-26.
- Schnur, Alfred C.
1948 "The Educational Treatment of Prisoners and Recidivism" American Journal of Sociology 54:pp.142-147.
- Seashore, Marjorie; Haberfield, Steven; Irwin, John and Baker, Keith
1976 Prisoner Education: Project Newgate and Other College Programs. New York: Praeger.

- Sechrest, Lee; White, Susan O. and Brown, Elizabeth D.
1979 The Rehabilitation of Criminal Offenders:
Problems and Prospects. Washington, D.C.:
National Academy of Sciences.
- Serrill, Michael S.
1975 "Is Rehabilitation Dead?" Corrections
Magazine (May/June): pp. 3-12.
- Sullivan, Clyde and Mandell, Wallace
1967 "Restoration of Youth Through Training: A
Final Report." Staten Island, N.Y.: Wakoff
Research Center (Processed). Cited in
Lipton, Douglas; Martinson, Robert and
Wilks, Judith. The Effectiveness of
Correctional Treatment. New York: Praeger,
1975.
- Weir, J.D.
1973 "History of Education in Canadian Federal
Corrections." In Roberts, A. R.(ed.)
Readings in Prison Education. Charles C.
Thomas: Springfield, Illinois: pp.39-47.
- Wilson, James Q.
1975 Thinking About Crime. New York: Basic
Books.
- Wines, E.C. and Dwight, Theodore W.
1867 Report on the Prisons and Reformatories of
the United States and Canada. Albany: Van
Benthuysen and Sons.
- Yahres, Herbert
1973 "The Re-education of Criminals."
Cited in Roberts, Albert, R. (ed.)
Readings in Prison Education.
Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.

- Zink, Theodor M.
1970 "A Study of the Effect of Prison Education on Societal Adjustment." Journal of Corrective Education 22, no.2: pp.18-20.
- Zivan, Morton
1966 "Youth in Trouble: A Vocational Approach." Dobbs Ferry, New York: Children's Village (Processed). Cited in Lipton, Douglas; Martinson, Robert and Wilks, Judith. The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment. New York: Praeger, 1975.