

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: AGAINST THE GRAIN: A STUDY OF NORTH
CAROLINA'S PLAN TO PROVIDE COLLEGE TO ITS
PRISON INMATES

Jeanne Bayer Contardo, Doctor of Philosophy, 2008

Dissertation directed by: Dr. Robert Waters (co-chair)
Professor Tom Weible (co-chair)

This study uses theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure to analyze the development and maintenance of postsecondary correctional education (PSCE) in North Carolina. The study uses bounded case study methodology to focus on the partnership between the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDOC) and the North Carolina Community College System (NCCCS) that provides PSCE to over one-third of all inmates in North Carolina. First, the study examines why North Carolina expanded access to PSCE at a time when other states restricted access. The findings indicate two reasons: (1) legislative (House Bill 50) and legal factors (*Small v. Martin*) mandated that the NCDOC and NCCCS work together to provide PSCE to the incarcerated population, and (2) the state's culture and values emphasize education for everyone, including inmates, helping to develop widespread support for PSCE.

Next the study explores how North Carolina currently provides access to PSCE using data acquired from interviews, document review, and direct observation. The two agencies demonstrated a pragmatic approach that emphasized vocational versus academic

PSCE, programs that could be completed within the amount of time remaining on a prison sentence, a funding structure that avoids burdensome legislative oversight, and an awareness of the balance between the local level units of the two agencies and the central system offices.

The study concludes with an analysis of North Carolina's PSCE using Coutu's (2003) theory of organizational resiliency and Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) theory of distributed structure and questions whether distributed structure contributes to a better understanding of organizational resiliency. Results indicate that the longevity and breadth of North Carolina's PSCE appear to be a case of organizational resiliency and that characteristics of distributed structure likely contributed to the resiliency of such programming, however the newness of such research indicates a need for further exploration.

This study has numerous research and policy implications, and offers guidance for states that would consider expanding their PSCE offerings. The study also identifies multiple directions for further research.

AGAINST THE GRAIN:
A STUDY OF NORTH CAROLINA'S PLAN TO PROVIDE COLLEGE TO ITS
PRISON INMATES

by

Jeanne Bayer Contardo

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2008

Advisory Committee:

Dr. Robert Waters, Co-Chair
Professor Thomas Weible, Co-Chair
Dr. Robert Berdahl, Professor Emeritus
Professor Peter Leone
Dr. Frank Schmidlein, Associate Professor Emeritus

©Copyright by

Jeanne Bayer Contardo

2008

Acknowledgements

Behind my completion lies a community that pushed, pulled, prodded, nudged, encouraged, nagged, and supported me during this journey. First to my family: Christian, thank you for being such an incredible person and a wonderful husband—for pushing me when I needed it, forcing me to rest when I was close to losing it, and somehow always knowing which one was appropriate for the moment. I can't wait for this next phase in our life together. My parents and brothers have earned much love and many thanks: my mom, who promised to never ask me how the dissertation was going and my dad and Mary, who always asked; Karen, who never failed to tell me she was proud of me; John, who took me to the driving range when I needed to whack something; and Daniel, who represents the future of higher education—I can't wait to see your path unfold.

This dissertation would never have been completed without my favorite writing partner, Grandma Margaret, who knew we couldn't do anything fun until I was finished writing so would tell me to get writing, already! All the Contardos offered limitless support: Nicole, Peter, and Auja; Chuck and Karen; Uncle Leonardo; and Rocci and Betty, who promised years ago that when I graduated they would come to DC.

As for the rest, if you start a story at the beginning, then Patricia Steele, Wendy Erisman and the folks at IHEP, and John Linton are chapter 1, for supporting this crazy interest I have in prisoner education. Stephanie Goodwin, Tish Hall, Clarissa Coughlin, Jeanie Yerby, and Andrea Gommans decided five years ago I was going to finish my PhD, and served as my advisors and champions every step of the way.

I took to calling my committee my dream team. Rob Waters, my chair and my friend, went above and beyond in pushing me to do my very best, even when I thought

good enough might be okay. Thank you for guiding me on this journey, Rob. Tom, Peter, and Frank, your attention to detail and your interest in my success pushed me to excel.

Finally Dr. B.— you have been my intellectual constant throughout these five years and deserve as much credit as anyone for shaping the thinker I am today. Many, many thanks.

I have often laughed over the past year and a half that misery loves company, and my dissertation writing group is comprised of my favorite miserable people in the world. Nadia Jamai, the day you came up with the idea to sit at my dining room table three days a week so we could write together was the day I realized I might actually finish. Dr. Pacchetti, your gentle spirit is always welcome in my house and I can't wait to celebrate your completion with you. No man left behind, Ed.

To my NDU family—Brenda Roth, Elizabeth McDaniel, Paulette Robinson, Mike Piller, Susan Studds, Patty Coopersmith , Cindy Kelly, and everyone else up and down the hallway who offered unwavering support—please know how special and how smart you made me feel. Your vision of who I could be convinced me to work a little harder.

I am grateful to those who helped with my research: Tracy McPherson and Arthur Clark, who both could have written this dissertation better than I, and Dr. Parker, Secretary Beck, and Dan Steineke, for helping open doors for me. Finally, to my many informants—I hope I captured all of your enthusiasm, passion, and commitment to postsecondary correctional education. You are the true heroes of this study.

Last but not least, Carol, Mike, and Dillon, my friends who are also my family, thanks for your belief in celebrating all the milestones. You always remind me to see the forest for the trees.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
List of Abbreviations and Terms	x
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Introduction	1
Overview of the Existing Research	3
Purpose of Study	8
Theoretical and Conceptual Framework	9
Method and Case Selection	12
Significance	15
Chapter 2: Literature Review	17
Introduction	17
Understanding Corrections	18
Characteristics of Prison Inmates	22
Gender and Age	23
Race and Ethnicity	24
Education	25
Socioeconomic Status	27
Impact of Prison	27
Social Repercussions	28
Financial Repercussions	30
Arguments Surrounding Postsecondary Correctional Education (PSCE)	31
Tension Between ABE and PSCE	31
Benefits of Higher Education	34
Recidivism	37
Employment	39
Taxpayer Dollars	40
Behavior While Incarcerated	42
Family Relationships	43
Current Status of PSCE	44
Theoretical and Conceptual Framework	51
Organizational Resilience: Coutu's Framework	52
Distributed Structure: Brafman and Beckstrom's Framework	55
Combining Organizational Resiliency and Distributed Structure	58
Summary	59
Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology	61
Introduction	61
Method Rationale	61
Case Selection	64

Linking Theory, Research Questions, and Data Sources	67
Data Sources and Collection Strategy	69
Direct Observation	70
Semistructured Interviews.....	71
Document Review	74
Data Analysis.....	75
Data Transcription.....	76
Data Exploration and Reduction	76
Validity	78
Triangulation	79
Member Checking.....	79
Thick Description.....	80
Generalizability and Transferability	80
Human Subjects' Protection	81
Political Considerations.....	83
Summary.....	84
Chapter 4: Results for RQ 1.....	85
Introduction	85
North Carolina Context	85
Postsecondary Education in North Carolina	89
North Carolina Corrections	92
North Carolina's Decision to Expand PSCE	95
Legislative and Legal Factors	97
Culture and Values	104
Summary.....	111
Chapter 5: Results for RQ 2.....	113
Introduction	113
How North Carolina Provides PSCE.....	113
PSCE Providers.....	113
Programming: Academic Versus Vocational.....	115
PSCE Enrollment in North Carolina	117
Organizational Components.....	119
The Interagency Committee.....	124
Matrix and Course Offering Decisions	125
Funding	129
Inmate Management and Course Enrollment.....	133
Autonomy Versus Central Authority	137
Programmatic Issues	141
Summary.....	145
Chapter 6: Results for RQ 3.....	146
Introduction	146
Developmental Influence of Organizational Resiliency and Distributed Structure in North Carolina	148

Developmental: Organizational Resiliency.....	148
Developmental: Distributed Structure.....	152
Current Influence of Organizational Resiliency and Distributed Structure in North Carolina.....	158
Current: Organizational Resiliency.....	158
Current: Distributed Structure.....	163
Summary.....	173
 Chapter 7: Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations	176
Introduction	176
Summary of Findings	177
RQ 1: Why Did North Carolina Expand Access to PSCE?	177
RQ 2: How Does North Carolina Provide Access to PSCE?	179
RQ 3: To What Extent Do Organizational Resiliency and Distributed Structure Explain PSCE in North Carolina?	181
Conclusions	185
Implications	190
Recommendations for Research.....	190
Recommendations for Policy and Practice	193
Limitations.....	196
Final Thoughts.....	198
 Appendix A: Research Design.....	200
 Appendix B: Researcher’s Time Frame.....	204
 Appendix C: E-Mail Granting Permission for Direct Observation	206
 Appendix D: Description of the Case Study.....	208
 Appendix E: Information and Consent Form for Direct Observation	209
 Appendix F: Sample Semistructured Interview Guide	213
 Appendix G: Information and Consent Form for Semistructured Interviews and Document Collection	216
 Appendix H: Questions to Determine Distributed Structure	220
 Appendix I: Stake’s Case Study Critique Checklist	221
 Appendix J: Map of North Carolina Community College System.....	222
 Appendix K: Map of the North Carolina Department of Correction Prisons.....	224
 Appendix L: 2002 Correctional Education Cooperative Agreement.....	225

Appendix M: Correctional Education Matrix	237
Appendix N: 2006–2007 Matrix Classification List.....	238
Appendix O: Partners in Correctional Education	240
References.....	243

List of Tables

Table 1: Sentencing Goals and Models	18
Table 2: Prison Systems with at least 1,000 Inmates Enrolled in Postsecondary Correctional Education, 2003-04.....	48
Table 3: Theories, Characteristics, and Data Source	68
Table 4: North Carolina Incarceration Rates by Length of Sentence, 1984 and 1994	94
Table 5: Community College System Enrollment in Postsecondary Correctional Education (PSCE) in North Carolina, Based on Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) ...	118
Table 6: Average Monthly Enrollment Reported by the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDOC), 2006	119
Table 7: Appropriations for FTE, 1997-2000.....	132
Table 8: NCDOC Certificate, Diplomas, and Degrees Awarded, 2005 and 2006.....	134
Table 9: PSCE Programs at Harnett Correctional Institution	140
Table 10: Theories, Characteristics, and Research Questions, Crosswalked	148
Table A1: Research Question 1: Why Did North Carolina Expand Access to Postsecondary Education for Its Prison Inmates Over a Period When Other States Were Restricting Access?.....	200
Table A2: Research Question 2: How Does North Carolina Provide Access to Postsecondary Education for Its Prison Inmates?	202
Table B1: Researcher's Time Frame	204
Table H1: Brafman and Beckstrom Analysis of Distributed Structure	220
Table M1: North Carolina Correctional Education Matrix.....	237
Table N1: 2006-2007 Prison Matrix Classification List.....	238
Table O1: Partners in Correctional Education	240

List of Figures

Figure 1: Array of Higher Education Benefits.....	36
Figure 2: Conceptual Framework	59
Figure 3: North Carolina State Prison Population, 1977–2007	95
Figure 4: Expenditure per Pupil in Fall Enrollment, United States and North Carolina, 1979–2004	107
Figure 5: U.S. and North Carolina Eighth-Grade Math Scores, 1990–2007	108
Figure 6: U.S. and North Carolina Eighth-Grade Reading Scores, 1998–2007	109
Figure 7: North Carolina’s Prisons’ Matrix Classifications	126
Figure 8: Brafman and Beckstrom Analysis of Distributed Structure	173
Figure J1: Map of the North Carolina Community College System	222
Figure K1: Map of the North Carolina Department of Correction Prisons	224

List of Abbreviations and Terms

Abbreviations

ABE: adult basic education

BJS: Bureau of Justice Statistics

CFO: chief financial officer

FTE: full-time equivalent

IAC: Interagency Committee of the NCCCS and the NCDOC

NCCCS: North Carolina Community College System

NCDOC: North Carolina Department of Correction

PSCE: postsecondary correctional education

State Board: North Carolina State Board of Community Colleges

UNC: University of North Carolina

Terms

full-time enrollment (FTE). Funding structure used by state legislatures to determine student enrollment funding for public colleges and universities. In North Carolina, 512 hours of curriculum instruction, equivalent to two 16-week semesters, generates an annual state allocation for one FTE, while 688 hours are required to generate one FTE for non-curriculum instruction, equivalent to two 16-week semesters and one 11-week summer semester.

get tough movement. A criminal justice policy movement of the 1980s and 1990s that sought to reduce crime rates by giving convicted criminals longer, harsher prison sentences. Also called *tough on crime*.

“nothing works.” The conclusion by Martinson (1974) that no prison rehabilitation programs reduced recidivism. This research widely influenced U.S. correctional policy and was the catch phrase for policy makers who sought to restrict services for inmates in the 1980s and early 1990s.

recidivism. The rearrest and/or reincarceration of individuals following a prior period of incarceration.

war on drugs. A set of laws and policies made by the United States designed to curtail the importation, sale, and consumption of illegal drugs. Fear over rising drug sales and consumption helped spur the war on drugs and the get tough movement of the 1980s.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

There are over 2 million prisoners in the United States at any given time, the majority of whom are African American men (Harrison & Beck, 2006a). In recent years, the prison population has grown exponentially: Between 1995 and 2005, the number of people held in state and federal prisons increased 34% (derived from data in Harrison & Beck, 2006a). As the incarcerated population has ballooned, state and federal policy makers have struggled to determine how best to manage the financial and social repercussions of such high incarceration rates (Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999). One solution, prison education programming, attempts to address the factors that contribute to incarceration and assist with the post-release transition to society by offering courses and counseling to inmates prior to release from prison. The purpose of this study was to examine one state's efforts to provide systemwide postsecondary education programming to its inmates. North Carolina was chosen as the study site because it represents the unique case by providing 11% of the nation's postsecondary correctional education (PSCE) enrollments in 2003–2004 (Erisman & Contardo, 2005).

Inmate education programs benefit individuals and society in numerous ways. While an initial societal reaction to convicted criminals may be to lock them up and throw away the key, practicality requires a more nuanced approach. Ninety-five percent of prison inmates, who tend to be poor, of ethnic or racial minority status, undereducated, male, and young, will eventually be released to rejoin society. Once released, these former inmates will either return to their criminal lifestyles or engage in new, socially responsible patterns of behavior (Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Freeman, 1996; Harlow, 2003; Harrison & Beck, 2006a; Petersilia, 2003). Moreover, research indicates that time

spent in prison may actually decrease one's ability to cope in traditional society, as the values needed to succeed in prison often directly conflict with societal norms (Goodstein, MacKenzie, & Shotland, 1984; MacKenzie & Souryal, 1995; Walters, 2003). Finally, simply having a prison record inhibits a former inmate's ability to find employment that pays a livable wage (Bushway, 1998; Western, Kling, & Weiman, 2001). Many former convicts return to criminal activities because they lack the educational and social skills necessary to function successfully in society.

One category of prison programming designed to address the issues facing inmates is education. Correctional education approaches include adult basic education (ABE) as well as academic and vocational postsecondary education (Solomon, Waul, VanNess, & Travis, 2004). General consensus is that education, and specifically college education, is necessary to get ahead in today's society (Bowen, 1997; Institute for Higher Education Policy, 2005). The majority of states have focused on ABE rather than PSCE for their incarcerated populations (Harlow, 2003). Reasons are this are both pragmatic, as administrators often believe that ABE will benefit the greatest number of inmates and state statute frequently mandates participation for the least educated inmates, as well as political, for few would argue against the benefits of possessing a high school level education. Despite this, PSCE has both research and policy supporters who argue that benefits accrue beyond high school education attainment as inmates become more educated (Batiuk, Lahm, McKeever, Wilcox, & Wilcox, 2005; Spangenberg, 2004). PSCE refers to any education taken for college credit that occurs after an inmate has received a general equivalency diploma (GED) or high school diploma. To a former inmate, such education represents the difference between returning to criminal activities

and possessing the skills and credentials necessary to find employment on release sufficient to reduce recidivism (Case & Fassenfest, 2004).

Despite the documented evidence of the benefits of postsecondary education for inmates, including decreased reincarceration rates and improved family relationships, few states offer PSCE to prisoners in significant numbers (Fine et al., 2001; MTC Institute, 2003; Steurer, Smith, & Tracy, 2001). One recent study found that less than 5% of prisoners are enrolled in PSCE across the United States (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Low PSCE enrollment may be linked partially to policy makers' reluctance to use taxpayer dollars to pay for the college education of convicted criminals (Cullen, Fisher, & Applegate, 2000; Zook, 1993). Alternately, many states choose to focus their limited correctional education budgets on Adult Basic Education (ABE), on the theory that the most poorly educated inmates will benefit the most from education (Spangenberg, 2004). In 1997, 25% of inmates were enrolled in some type of high school education (Harlow, 2003). However, a third possibility is that prison educators and policy makers do not know how to solve the logistical and political issues involved with providing PSCE. Experts agree that little comprehensive research exists on PSCE generally, and specifically on the characteristics of a successful PSCE program that could guide prison educators and policy makers through such a political and bureaucratic minefield (Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Lawrence, Mears, Dubin, & Travis, 2002; MacKenzie, 2006).

Overview of the Existing Research

At year end 2005, 2,320,359 inmates were incarcerated in jails and prisons in the United States (Harrison & Beck, 2006b). While the rate of female incarceration is increasing more rapidly than male incarceration, women still compose only 7% of all

prisoners. As a result, one out of every 109 men and one out of every 1,563 women in the United States is incarcerated in a state or federal prison (Harrison & Beck, 2005). This is the highest number and highest percentage of incarcerated individuals ever in U.S. history (Harrison & Beck, 2006a).

A typical prison inmate is poor, of ethnic or racial minority status, undereducated, young, and male (Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Freeman, 1996; Harlow, 2003; Harrison & Beck, 2006a). According to a 2003 report, 41% of inmates in state and federal prisons and local jails had not finished high school or received a GED, compared to 18% of the general population (Harlow, 2003). Erisman and Contardo (2005), while noting the low high school completion rate, pointed out that there is still a significant portion of college-eligible prison inmates who do not have access to higher education.

Equally as notable as low educational attainment rates is the high percentage of incarcerated ethnic and racial minorities. At year end 2004, African Americans constituted 41% of state and federal inmates with sentences over 1 year, a stark overrepresentation of the 13% of African Americans in the general population (Harrison & Beck, 2005; McKinnon, 2003). Hispanics are also overrepresented, though not as severely, composing 19% of the prison population, compared to 14% of the general population (Erisman & Contardo, 2005).

Much of the increase in prison incarceration rates is attributable to *get tough* policies of the 1980s and 1990s, which sought to remove dangerous criminals from the streets through harsher and longer sentences (Cullen, Fisher, & Applegate, 2000; Gehring, 1997; MacKenzie, 2001). Despite these policies, 95 percent of all inmates will eventually be released back to society to face a battery of new obstacles, including

difficulty finding employment, community stigmatism, and family problems (Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999; Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2001; J. P. Lynch & Sabol, 2004; Oliver, Sandefut, Jakubowski, & Yocom, 2005; Pager, 2003; Petersilia, 2003).

Providing access to a college education has long been seen as one possible solution to the transitional obstacles faced by prisoners (Buruma, 2005; Jablecki, 2005). Postsecondary education includes noncompulsory “academic, vocational, and continuing professional education programs” (National Center for Education Statistics, 2006, para. 2) that students can take after completing high school. While historically, the appearance of postsecondary education in state prisons can be traced to a few pioneering individuals, rather than coordinated state or federal efforts, by the early 1980s, 8% of all state inmates were enrolled in some type of postsecondary education during their prison sentences (Gehring, 1997). Authors universally attribute this to a widening of Pell grant criteria in 1972, which expanded its definition of low-income students to include prisoners (Gehring, 1997; MacKenzie, 2006).

In the late 1980s, however, as the country moved into the get tough era, PSCE fell out of favor. Federal and state policy makers and legislators, who once were supportive of PSCE because of its rehabilitative potential, no longer pushed for its funding. In part, a dearth of rigorous research documenting the benefits of postsecondary education for inmates contributed to this lack of enthusiasm. While many supporters were convinced of PSCE’s value, virtually no evidence suggested that higher education, or any other programming, for that matter, rehabilitated offenders (Farabee, 2005). During this time, the phrase *nothing works*, the broad conclusion of an article regarding prisoner rehabilitation written by prominent criminologist Robert Martinson (1974), was a popular

sentiment regarding prisoner rehabilitation (MacKenzie, 2006). Though later rebutted, the nothing-works thesis played a substantial role in guiding policy decisions during this time.

In 1994, after years of lobbying, Congress passed the Violent Crime Act, which amended the Higher Education Act to prohibit inmates from receiving Pell grants to fund their postsecondary education (Karpowitz & Kenner, n.d.). Though inmates had received less than 1% of all Pell grants, conservative policy makers had found their constituents generally disinclined to pay for the college tuition of convicted felons and successfully lobbied for the removal of such eligibility (Zook, 1994). Without its primary source of funding and without public support from state and federal policy makers, PSCE immediately declined across the country (Erisman & Contardo, 2005).

Today, the data show that participation in educational programs offered in state and federal prisons initially dropped markedly but eventually stabilized (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). The most recent data show that slightly less than 5% of inmates across the United States participate in PSCE (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Notably, however, recent research indicates a greater willingness from policy makers to consider programs that might help reduce the recidivism of inmates, particularly postsecondary education (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Fueled by ballooning corrections populations and correspondingly ballooning corrections budgets, and combined with studies reporting a weak link between incarceration and crime rates (King, Mauer, & Young, 2005), state policy makers are now questioning the role of harsher sentencing policy decisions that have contributed to a state prison population that grew from 294,000 in 1980 to nearly 1.25 million inmates in 2002 (U.S. Department of Justice, n.d.). Moreover, researchers

concerned with racial equity have questioned why African American men are so grossly overrepresented in prison populations and have sought ways to address this issue (Sentencing Project, 2000).

Some of this willingness to question the get tough movement is likely attributable to the growth of evidence documenting the value of postsecondary education for inmates. While the systematic removal of PSCE was occurring in the mid-1990s, proponents of prison higher education scrambled to prove the worth of such programs (Zook, 1993). Though many of the studies from this period are flawed as a result of faulty assumptions and methodological errors, both the strong and the weak studies generally tell the same story (MacKenzie, 2006): Rearrest and reincarceration (recidivism) rates of prison inmates who participate in PSCE are significantly lower than those who do not participate (Steurer et al., 2001), and are also lower when compared to inmates who participated in other types of correctional education (Batiuk et al., 2005). Subsequently, some have concluded that providing PSCE is more cost-effective than reincarcerating people (Aos, Miller, and Drake, 2006; Bazos & Hausman, 2004). For example, Bazos and Hausman found that it costs \$1,400 to educate an inmate for a year, compared to \$25,000 to incarcerate someone, and argued that correctional education programs pay for themselves if they reduce recidivism even marginally. Other studies have documented reduced infractions committed by those who had participated in PSCE versus those who did not as well as increased employment rates upon release (Case & Fasenfest, 2004; Gehring, 2000; Hull, Forrester, Brown, Jobe, & McCullen, 2000; Illinois Department of Corrections, 1997; Virginia Department of Corrections, 2003).

Today, though the evidence generally indicates the benefits of providing PSCE, the presence of such programming across the United States remains uneven. In the only recent study tracking nationwide PSCE enrollment rates, Erisman and Contardo (2005) found that 14 state prison systems and the Federal Bureau of Prisons enrolled 89% of all the inmates who participated in PSCE nationwide. Moreover, three systems—the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Texas, and North Carolina—were each responsible for enrolling more than 10% of the inmates enrolled in PSCE in 2003–2004. Erisman and Contardo (2005) wrote, “This finding indicates a need to pay special attention to these higher-enrollment prison systems since they are responsible for so much of the postsecondary correctional education currently taking place in the United States” (p. 14).

North Carolina, one of these three high-enrollment states, is particularly unusual because of the way it funds PSCE. For the most part, during the 1990s, states shifted the cost of providing higher education to prisoners themselves, mimicking patterns of college finance in the general population (Johnstone, 2005). For example, Texas instituted a student loan program for inmates, which funds part of the state’s recurring PSCE costs (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). In direct contrast, the state of North Carolina uses state funding to pay for PSCE, using the same full-time equivalent (FTE) head count formula it uses for traditional higher education, and provided such education to over 9,000 inmates in 2003–2004, bucking the national trends regarding PSCE.

Purpose of Study

This study explored how North Carolina maintained systemwide PSCE, despite a national policy environment that was tepid regarding postsecondary education for inmates. North Carolina’s PSCE is notable for both its scope and detail. While many

states have attempted to provide PSCE in some capacity, North Carolina is the second highest state provider in the country, following Texas (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Perhaps more important, the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDOC) and the North Carolina Community College System (NCCCS) have been partnering to provide PSCE since at least 1987, demonstrating a remarkable longevity for such a politically controversial type of program. Research on PSCE is both limited and dated (Lawrence et al., 2002); research on how such a comprehensive PSCE program has managed to thrive is even scarcer, although such research is vitally necessary to develop a greater understanding of PSCE (Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Gaes, Flanagan, Motiuk, & Stewart, 1999).

As the national policy climate seems to become more accepting of PSCE, the time was ripe for a study exploring this issue and providing specific information on how one state managed to provide access to PSCE because, according to Gaes et al. (1999), “the evidence suggests that carefully designed and administered education . . . programs can improve inmates’ institutional behavior, reduce recidivism, and promote involvement in prosocial activities after release” (p. 398). This study specifically focused on the partnership between the NCDOC and the NCCCS because of its systemic nature. While University of North Carolina and Shaw University both offer limited PSCE, neither provides the statewide programming of interest in this study.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

When North Carolina expanded higher education to prisoners while other states were restricting access, the state veered rather markedly from its peers by both developing and then maintaining a comprehensive higher education program for its

inmates. In seeking to understand how this occurred, this study is grounded in relevant resiliency and distributed structure theory. Specifically, the foundation guiding the analysis holds that organizations that thrive during periods of turbulence or crisis possess certain resilient characteristics that enable their success: an unflagging acceptance of reality; core values that remain stable through times of crisis; and *ritualized ingenuity*, the ability to make do with the resources at hand (Brafman & Beckstrom, 2006; Sutcliffe & Vogus, 2003). Distributed structure theory was then used to supplement organizational resiliency, analyzing where North Carolina fell on the centralized–decentralized spectrum in an attempt to determine how distributed structure might have contributed to the state’s ability to provide systemwide PSCE.

In the past half century, a great deal of research has focused on the different types of resiliency: psychological resiliency (Bonanno, 2005), ecological resiliency (Holling, 1973), resiliency in the materials sciences (Sheffi, 2005), and individual resiliency (Christianson, 2006). The study of organizational resiliency has evolved primarily in the wake of September 11, 2001, and is focused on the ways businesses have aligned themselves to remain economically sound during uncertain circumstances (Coutu, 2003). One of the most frequently cited examples of a resilient organization is Morgan Stanley, a global financial services firm. Thanks to well-practiced drills and contingency plans, Morgan Stanley, the largest tenant in the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, lost only seven employees and had three recovery sites, where business could continue should headquarters become unusable (Coutu, 2003).

Only in isolated instances has the framework of organizational resiliency been used to analyze nonprofit settings such as Witmer’s (2006) study of nonprofit health care

organizations. The analysis of the nonprofit education setting is even rarer. Despite the well-described problems facing the funding of nonprofit higher education, there is no published research to date that attempts to analyze the resilient characteristics of a program that provides postsecondary education. Sutcliffe and Vogus (2003) wrote that “resilience is often invoked in organization theory, but inadequately theorized” (p. 99). Some researchers have theorized about organizational resiliency but specifically discuss it in the face of particular threats (Sutcliffe & Vogus, 2003). In contrast, Coutu’s (2003) work is a helpful foundation for organizations that tend to exist in stressful environments and is one component of this study’s theoretical framework. Coutu argued that three characteristics are present in nearly all organizational resiliency literature: a firm acceptance of reality; core values that help guide decision-making processes in times of crisis; and ritualized ingenuity, an inventiveness through which organizational members can improvise solutions to problems. These three characteristics are expected to be present in North Carolina’s PSCE program.

Coutu’s (2003) organizational resiliency framework, however, is not sufficient for a nonprofit educational setting. At its core, organizational resiliency is about explaining how companies maintain profits in a time of crisis. Though money plays a role, the American public education system, including postsecondary education, does not seek to run strictly on tuition and fees. This is certainly the case with North Carolina’s PSCE program. Brafman and Beckstrom’s (2006) notions of distributed structure provide the missing piece to this puzzle.

Brafman and Beckstrom’s (2006) book *The Starfish and the Spider* argued that highly centralized organizations, spiders, will be disabled by a blow to central leadership.

In contrast, truly decentralized organizations, starfish, are not harmed by the removal of a component, and in fact, the lost limb can actually generate new organizations.

Organizations with what Brafman and Beckstrom called distributed structure are more adaptable to challenging situations. Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) described a series of criteria to test where organizations fall on the distributed structure spectrum, which will be utilized in this study. As I learned more about North Carolina's context throughout my data collection, these two theories complemented each other in analyzing the resiliency of PSCE in North Carolina and allowed me to contribute to the literature base of organizational resiliency theory.

On the basis of my understanding of the literature and the need for further research, this study seeks to answer three questions:

1. Why did North Carolina expand access to postsecondary education for its prison inmates over a period when other states were restricting access?
2. How does North Carolina provide access to postsecondary education for its inmates?
3. To what extent do the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure explain the ability of the NCCCS and the NCDOC to provide PSCE?

Method and Case Selection

Compared to the national average, North Carolina provides PSCE to a much higher proportion of its inmates. In 2003, nearly 22% of the 42,000 inmates who passed through the North Carolina state prison system participated in PSCE, approximately two-thirds of all inmates who had either a GED or high school diploma (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). In contrast, less than 5% of all inmates across the United States were enrolled in

PSCE in 2003–2004. Furthermore, limited research has shown that prisoners who participate in PSCE while incarcerated in North Carolina are over 50% less likely to be reincarcerated (Gardner, 2004).

Reasons for the program's success may be varied. Erisman and Contardo (2005) reported that the high PSCE enrollment in North Carolina may be attributable to a somewhat unique agreement between the NCDOC and the NCCCS, through which employees of the two agencies participate on an Interagency Committee (IAC) to design and deliver PSCE programming. Perhaps most notable about this interagency partnership is that it was founded in 1987, a time when the national climate toward prison postsecondary education was extremely unfavorable (Karpowitz & Kenner, n.d.).

This study has significant descriptive and explanatory aims that can only be met through a qualitative study. Although the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) has published a number of quantitative studies detailing the involvement of inmates in prison educational programming, the numbers alone cannot provide a detailed discussion of how and why one successful program evolved. This study will help explain the reasons behind the statistics.

A bounded case study was chosen for this approach because it offers the best opportunity to see groups or organizations through immersion in the setting (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Case studies are used extensively in social science research. While there are benefits and drawbacks to every type of methodology, the case study is unique in how it allows researchers to examine bounded cases and ask “how or why the program . . . worked” (Yin, 2003, p. 7). Yin wrote that “a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the

boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13). In the instance of North Carolina’s thriving postsecondary prison education program, the interplay between the NCDOC and the NCCCS seems to be a key component of such success.

North Carolina represents what Yin (2003) defined as the extreme or unique case, where the circumstance being investigated is so rare that it would be unreasonably difficult or impossible to replicate the study at multiple sites. The literature indicates that the unique partnership between the NCDOC and the NCCCS is a primary contributor to the ability of North Carolina to provide PSCE (T. Beck, Bennett, Boyette, & True, 2006). Subsequently, I began with this IAC as my unit of analysis and interviewed many of its members to gather the data necessary to answer my research questions. Specifically, I targeted my research questions to those involved with the design and implementation of the PSCE program; as the process unfolded, I broadened my unit of analysis to include individuals who were involved with PSCE but not necessarily a part of the IAC. Throughout this process, I heeded Stake’s (1995) reminder of the somewhat arbitrary nature of qualitative research and remained open to the possibility that my research might unfold in unanticipated directions.

My research strategy included multiple methods of collection, including interviews, document analysis, and observation that took place over 4 months. These varied data collection techniques allowed me to better answer my primary research questions: Why did North Carolina expand access to PSCE, how does North Carolina provide access to PSCE, and to what extent do organizational resiliency and distributed

structure explain its success? I triangulated my sources to ensure accuracy and used member checks to allow for corrections of fact (Mertens, 1998).

Significance

There are a number of reasons to undertake research on a successful PSCE program. First, little is known about correctional higher education, especially since Pell grant funding was revoked in 1994 (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). While some studies have attempted to document certain measures of individual success (MacKenzie, 2006), no recent studies have sought to understand how PSCE providers successfully navigate a turbulent or hostile environment.

Second, the sheer magnitude of corrections in the United States is rapidly becoming a significant policy problem. As incarceration rates continue to grow, governments require extra resources to provide for direct needs, such as building more prisons and hiring additional guards, to the detriment of other services funded by the state (Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999). Something must be done to reduce the high recidivism rates of offenders, which in turn would reduce incarceration rates. Postsecondary education on a large scale appears to be one possibility (MacKenzie, 2006).

Third, one of the many concerns critics have regarding the American prison system is the substantial overrepresentation of African American men (Sentencing Project, 2000). Because African Americans are overrepresented in North Carolina's general population, comprising 21.8% of the population, compared to 13% across the United States, we might expect a higher than average Black incarceration rate (McKinnon, 2003; U.S. Census Bureau, 2006); however, even the statewide overrepresentation does not logically explain that nearly two-thirds of the 37,880

prisoners in North Carolina are African American (North Carolina Department of Correction [NCDOC], 2006). When these individuals are released, their transition is affected by at least two factors: their prison record and their race. Thanks to the scope of the PSCE programming in North Carolina though, a substantial number of African American men are receiving PSCE during their incarceration and are thus removing the traditional third strike: low educational attainment. Subsequently, elements of this program could be part of a best practices review, to respond to some of the concerns about racial inequality within prisons. While providing PSCE will not change the inequality in sentencing, it will hopefully begin to address some of the factors that led inmates to become incarcerated in the first place, particularly, low educational achievement that hinders the ability to find gainful employment.

Fourth, although there is a growing body of literature in the business world on organizational resiliency, this framework has yet to be applied to higher education. Given higher education's eagerness to adopt business models (e.g., Birnbaum, 2000; Bok, 2003; Kirp, 2003), using this business theory to explain an educational phenomenon seems a worthwhile exercise. My addition of distributed structure theory concepts to this model adds to the knowledge on this topic.

Finally, the findings from this study have international significance. While the incarceration rate in the United States is 4 times the international average, many countries are beginning to experience some the same issues of ballooning prison populations and undereducated inmates (Manger, Eikeland, Asbjornsen, & Langelid, 2006; Walmsley, 2005). Findings from this study may help other countries develop programs that will prevent a repeat of what has happened in the United States.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter reviews the existing literature on corrections and PSCE in five sections and provides a discussion of the theoretical framework in the sixth section. The first section discusses the three predominant correctional models employed in the United States over the past 50 years and lays the groundwork for understanding the current prison population in the United States. The second section describes prison inmates today and outlines many of the inequalities present within this population. The third section discusses the impact of get tough policies on inmates and society, paying particular attention to the financial and social repercussions. The fourth section introduces arguments surrounding PSCE as a vehicle for mitigating prison impacts, while the fifth section provides an overview of the current status of PSCE in the United States, with particular attention to North Carolina, the study site. The final piece of this literature review outlines the organizational framework that guided the data collection and analysis. Together, these sections provide a road map of where we have been and where we are going regarding PSCE.

The purpose of this literature review is fourfold. First, this chapter is designed to orient the reader to the topics of corrections and correctional education. Second, this chapter explains current thinking in corrections and correctional education, which in turn informed my data collection and analysis. Third, by critically reviewing current literature, this review helps define the current holes in the literature and further justifies the need for the study. Fourth, this chapter provides a description of the theoretical framework, which

utilizes a lens that has not been used before when examining how and why postsecondary education is provided to prison inmates.

Understanding Corrections

Over the past 40 years, marked changes in correctional theory have contributed to the exponential growth in the American prison population. Specifically, there have been three distinct periods with associated sentencing goals: indeterminate sentencing, the justice model, and crime control (see Table 1). The most recent model, crime control, has predominated over the past 20 years and is arguably most responsible for the increased use of incarceration in the United States (Mauer & Chesney-Lind, 2002). This section reviews trends in correctional thinking and discusses cost–benefit literature on incarceration, laying the foundation for the coming review on the benefits of postsecondary education.

Table 1

Sentencing Goals and Models

Sentencing goals	Models
Rehabilitation	Indeterminate sentencing (1960–1975)
Retribution	Justice (1975 to mid-1980s)
Incapacitation	Crime control (1980s to present)
Deterrence	Crime control (1980s to present)

What reduces crime? MacKenzie (2006) outlined the dominant thinking regarding this question and pointed out that even within corrections, there is heated debate. She identified the four most common answers:

1. Incapacitate large number of offenders so they cannot commit crimes in the community.
2. Increase the severity of punishments so that inmates, using rational decision-making processes, will decrease their criminal activity.
3. Change the offender through rehabilitative programs and treatment.
4. Increase community supervision and duties, for example, drug testing, community service, and probation, to decrease the number of crimes individuals can commit.

Over the past 40 years, correctional policy reflects the ambivalence policy makers have regarding the best way to respond to growing crime rates. Indeterminate sentencing, the dominant corrections model in the United States from 1960 to 1975, at its core sought to rehabilitate individuals. It was based on a medical model, where offenders were released when they were so-called fixed, rather than after serving a predetermined sentence. Parole boards played a large role under this model in determining when inmates should be released back to society, and punishment and treatment were individualized (MacKenzie, 2001). In 1967, Johnson's Blue Ribbon Panel recommended reduced probation and parole caseloads, increased services for felons, more training of officers to provide interventions, small-unit correctional institutions, and upgrading of vocational and educational training (MacKenzie, 2006).

By the mid-1970s, the tenor of the country had shifted. MacKenzie (2001) wrote, "Belief in 'The Great Society' had given way to a despairing distrust of the state. The change had a dramatic effect on corrections and sentencing. Inherent in the rehabilitative ideal and indeterminate sentencing was a trust in criminal justice officials to reform

Offenders” (p. 302). Without this trust, rehabilitation was difficult to support. During the same period, Martinson (1974) published his article titled “What Works? Questions and Answers About Prison Reform,” in which he reviewed 231 correctional treatment programs and concluded, “With few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism” (p. 25). Correctional researchers have argued that this was one of the most influential policy pieces of the day (MacKenzie, 2006).

In place of indeterminate sentencing, the country moved toward a justice model grounded in the belief that rehabilitation should be voluntary, not coerced (MacKenzie, 2000). Sentencing and parole boards were believed to be easily swayed and not generally capable of making fair decisions and were subsequently stripped of their role in sentencing. The major sentencing goal of this era was retribution, and its effects included mandatory sentencing laws (MacKenzie, 2001).

The crime control model developed out of the justice model in the early 1980s. As the war on drugs became a major policy concern, policy makers and citizens, frightened by the seeming explosion of crime, promoted the get tough on crime movement, known as crime control (Mauer, 2002). The major sentencing goals of crime control were incapacitation and deterrence of criminals. Though there was limited empirical evidence to demonstrate that increased incarceration rates would reduce crime (Stemen, 2007), incarceration was widely embraced as the most effective way to increase public safety. An article published by the National Institute of Justice and authored by Edwin Zedlewski played a substantial part. Zedlewski’s (1987) article was based on his cost–benefit analysis of the relative benefits of incarceration versus the cost of crime for

society. He concluded that incapacitation saved taxpayers \$430,000 annually based on avoided costs of crime, while a year of incarceration only cost taxpayers \$25,000, resulting in a staggering 17:1 incarceration payoff.

Since its publication, Zedlewski's (1987) piece has been widely criticized. In his comprehensive literature review on the cost-effectiveness of incarceration, A. K. Lynch (1994) reviewed the many criticisms of Zedlewski's (1987) piece, including numerous factors leading to an exponentially inflated rate of criminal activity, multiple biases within the population providing his data, and failure to account for many of the secondary costs of incarceration, including social costs of removing the inmate from the taxpaying population. Today, scholars have widely concluded that Zedlewski's methodology was too flawed to provide accurate results (Piehl, Useem, & Dilulio, 1999). From a policy standpoint, however, the damage was already done by the time critics marshaled a defense. Zedlewski's (1987) article was used extensively by those who promoted incarceration as an effective strategy to incapacitate criminals (A. K. Lynch, 1994).

In recent years, the Sentencing Project, a nonprofit research and advocacy group that focuses on promoting sentencing reform, has published a number of reports examining whether increasing incarceration rates have reduced crime. Between 1984 and 1998, incarceration rates grew continuously; however, while one would expect that increasing incarceration rates would be in response to increasing crime rates, Gainsborough and Mauer (2000) found that crime rates actually decreased during the second half of this time frame. They argued, counter-intuitively, that states with lower incarceration rates showed a greater reduction in crime. Relatedly, in their analysis of the relationship between incarceration and crime rates, King, Mauer, and Young (2005) cited

research indicating that only 25% of the drop in violent crime can be attributed to increased incarceration. They pointed out that when the other costs of incarceration are taken into account, such low payoff may not be enough to justify the increasing incarceration rates, directly contradicting Zedlewski's (1987) argument.

Moreover, an increasing number of meticulously designed studies are beginning to demonstrate the benefit of providing rehabilitative services to inmates. In her publications, MacKenzie (2000, 2001, 2006) espoused the use of evidence to determine what works in reducing recidivism. On the basis of her reviews of numerous empirical studies, she listed a variety of treatment and rehabilitative programs that have been quantitatively proven to decrease recidivism, one of which is PSCE.

Today, we are seeing a number of emerging paradigms in corrections (MacKenzie, 2001). Restorative and community justice, treatment, specialized courts (family court, drug court, mental health), reintegration, and reentry are all models different states are adapting to serve their needs. Together, these models generally focus on tailoring services to the individual to better improve incarceration and transition outcomes. As states look for new models to address their large prison populations, PSCE may be one solution to adjust the direction corrections has taken over time. The following section outlines how the war on crime contributed to the ballooning prison population.

Characteristics of Prison Inmates

The BJS within the U.S. Department of Justice oversees the most widely used census of prison inmates in the United States, tasking the U.S. Census Bureau with the actual data collection. Many of the following data are taken from reports written by statisticians and policy analysts within BJS. Readers should note that some reports use

comprehensive federal, state, and local inmate data, while others use only portions of these data. The data source is identified throughout the discussion. Specifically, this section describes the gender, age, race and ethnicity, education, and socioeconomic status of incarcerated people in the United States, identifying some of the patterns of inequality that exist within the prison system.

Gender and age. At year end 2005, there were 2,320,359 inmates incarcerated in the United States (Harrison & Beck, 2006b). This is the highest number and percentage of incarcerated individuals ever in the history of the United States (Harrison & Beck, 2006a) and includes inmates held in state and federal prisons (1,446,269), local jails (747,529), juvenile facilities (96,655), military facilities (2,322), territorial prisons (15,735), facilities operated by the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (10,104), and jails in Indian country (1,745). In recent years, the rate of female incarceration has increased more rapidly than male incarceration, leading to an upsurge in targeted research about this subpopulation (Chesney-Lind, 2002; Ellis, 2006; Fine et al., 2001; Johnson, 2004; Zahn, Kruttschnitt, & Kubiak, 2006). Despite this, women still compose only 7% of all incarcerated people, and men are 14 times more likely to be incarcerated in a state or federal prison than women (Harrison & Beck, 2006b).

There are clear age trends represented by the incarcerated. At year end 2005, over half of all adult inmates in state or federal prison were under the age of 35 years (Harrison & Beck, 2006b); however, another important subpopulation currently on the rise is that of older prisoners, which, on the surface, is surprising as statistically, criminal activity decreases with age (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Since 1995, prisoners over the age of 40 years have accounted for 55% of the total growth in the prison population

(Erisman & Contardo, 2005). This is attributable to a number of factors, including longer sentences as a result of mandatory sentencing laws and higher ages when initially convicted.

Race and ethnicity. Racial and ethnic minorities are strikingly overrepresented in incarcerated populations throughout the United States. At year end 2005, 60% of state and federal inmates were African American or Hispanic (Harrison & Beck, 2006b). Moreover, 40% of state and federal inmates with sentences over 1 year were African American and 20% were Hispanic, stark overrepresentations of their presence in the U.S. population, at 13% and 14%, respectively (Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Harrison & Beck, 2005; McKinnon, 2003). In contrast, Whites have consistently composed about 34% of the incarcerated population over the past decade, an under-representation of their presence in the general population, at 68% (Erisman & Contardo, 2005).

The status of African American men in prison may be the most significant in terms of effect on larger society. To place this in perspective, according to Harrison and Beck (2006b), “about 8.1% of black males age 25 to 29 were in State or Federal prison, compared to 2.6% of Hispanic males and 1.1% of white males in the same age group” (p. 8). Harrison and Beck pointed out that this trend holds true with older Black prisoners as well: “Although incarceration rates drop with age, the percentage of black males age 45 to 54 in prison at year end 2005 was 3.1%—a rate higher than the highest rate among Hispanic males (2.6% for those age 25 to 29), and more than twice the highest rate among white males (1.2% for those age 30 to 34)” (p. 8). Black men are 5 times more likely to be incarcerated than enrolled in a 4-year college or university (Fine et al., 2001).

High incarceration rates also affect children. In 2000, African American children were 7 times more likely, and Hispanic children 3 times more likely, than White children to have a parent in prison (Mumola, 2000). With current incarceration rates, nearly 30% of African American men will serve a prison sentence at some point in their lives (Holzer et al., 2001).

Some have argued that this racial disparity is a result of specific prosecution and sentencing decisions made by criminal justice authorities throughout the arrest, incarceration, and release prison pipeline (Sentencing Project, 2000). Even controlling for criminal history and seriousness of offense, minority youth are more likely than their White counterparts to come into contact with the prison pipeline (Sentencing Project, 2000); however, the same authors pointed out that “providing inmate access to education will help decrease unwanted racial disparity in prisons” (p. 64). This statement recognizes that two sets of actions must be taken to address racial disparity in the prisons. First, policy changes must be implemented that ensure equity across race and ethnicity during initial sentencing decisions. Second, programs must be implemented to help those inmates who have already been caught in the sentencing net.

Education. In recent years, only two studies have comprehensively examined the educational attainment and literacy of inmates in the United States. Harlow (2003) used BJS data to determine that prison inmates are dramatically undereducated compared to their mainstream counterparts. As of 1997, 82% of mainstream America had either graduated from high school or received a GED, compared to 59% of those in state and federal prisons. College attainment rates demonstrate a similar pattern, as the general population is much more likely to have at least some postsecondary education compared

to the incarcerated population. As of 1997, nearly half of Americans had attended college at some point, with 22% earning some type of degree. In contrast, only 11% of state prisoners had at least some college, and only 2% were college graduates. While federal prisoners tended to fare better, only 24% had some college, and just 8% were college graduates (Harlow, 2003). Greenberg, Dunleavy, and Kutner's (2007) analysis of the National Assessment of Adult Literacy (NAAL) complimented Harlow's findings. Using a sample of 1,200 inmates in state and federal prison, the authors found that inmates scored lower than the general population on all three measures of literacy: prose, document, and quantitative.

Though Harlow's (2003) report demonstrated that there are racial inequalities represented in the education levels of inmates, with minorities less likely than Whites to have attended any type of postsecondary learning, Harlow generally concluded that "white, black, and Hispanic males ages 20 through 39 [are] markedly less educated than their counterparts in the general population" (p. 6) and noted that they are 4 times *less* likely to have participated in any postsecondary education than young men in the general population. Proponents of education in prison generally argue that the low education rates demonstrated by incarcerated people contribute to post-release difficulties. However, Greenberg, Dunleavy, and Kutner (2007) found that incarcerated African American and Hispanic adults had higher average scores on prose literacy than their non-incarcerated counterparts. This finding was especially pronounced with African Americans who had been incarcerated for a longer period of time, perhaps indicating longer term exposure to correctional education. This issue is further discussed in the section titled Arguments Surrounding PSCE.

Socioeconomic status. Prior to incarceration, inmates were much more likely to be impoverished than the general population. In their analysis, Erisman and Contardo (2005) discussed the socioeconomic status of inmates and reported that in 1997, and prior to arrest, inmates were 6 times more likely to be unemployed, 9 times more likely to be homeless, and twice as likely to receive public assistance. Moreover, 43% of inmates in 1997 made less than \$800 a month before arrest, placing them near the national poverty level of \$9,600 in annual income.

Though prisoners overall are more impoverished than non-inmates, there are additional disparities between White and African American prisoners, with African Americans more likely to be unemployed, receive federal assistance, and qualify as low income (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Harlow (2003) pointed out that socioeconomic status and education are intertwined, as those with less education are more likely to have lower incomes. Also notable, inmates are substantially more likely to have received a GED, rather than a high school diploma, which some argue demonstrates less merit in today's society (Harlow, 2003). This lower socioeconomic status, combined with a prison record, makes functioning within traditional society substantially more difficult for these individuals on release.

Impact of Prison

Proponents of the get tough on crime movement might be quick to cite the purported benefits of incarceration, specifically decreased crime rates (Gainsborough & Mauer, 2000), as dangerous criminals are removed from the streets; however, as discussed earlier, there is limited evidence that increasing incarceration rates actually decreases crime rates and serves to better protect society (A. K. Lynch, 1994). Moreover,

increased incarceration rates have a variety of short- and long-term effects on individuals and society that may end up costing everyone more in the long run. The following section reviews the literature on the impact of prison, considering the transitional issues for inmates post-release as well as the social and financial repercussions stemming from increasing incarceration costs.

While idealists might like to imagine that prisoners are given a clean slate on release, ex-convicts face a variety of obstacles, including social readjustment issues and employment problems (Mauer & Chesney-Lind, 2002). Moreover, the effects of such large incarceration rates spill over into general society, affecting taxes, community relations, and crime rates.

Social repercussions. Researchers have hypothesized that when inmates spend time in prison, there are social repercussions for both the individuals and their communities (Oliver et al., 2005). Individually, inmates experience estrangement from their families, especially those housed in prisons far from home. In 1999, over 60% of parents incarcerated in state prison were held more than 100 miles from their last place of residence (Mumola, 2000). Prisonization may also occur, which, according to Harer (1994), is the “process by which inmates become alienated from prison rules, staff, and the larger society” (p. 38). When this happens, inmates develop a subculture in response to the prison environment that is oriented toward criminal norms. Researchers have hypothesized that inmates who have experienced prisonization may have problems transitioning to regular society on release because of lengthy exposure to an alternate society (e.g., Harer, 1994). Finally, inmates face a number of other long-term effects, which Travis (2002) from the Urban Institute calls invisible punishments. These include

laws removing former inmates' right to vote in federal and state elections, forcing them to register with a variety of public sources, restricting their ability to be hired for certain types of jobs, and prohibiting inmates with drug convictions access to federal financial aid that would help cover the cost of postsecondary education. Taken together, these changes increase the difficulty inmates face in transitioning back to society on release (Hirsch et al., 2002).

Incarceration also produces numerous effects within the community. In 1999, an estimated 336,300 households with minor children were affected by the imprisonment of a resident parent (Mumola, 2000). Research has shown that children who grow up in homes with an incarcerated parent are less likely to graduate high school or have a GED (Harlow, 2003). As discussed previously, this in turn leads to an increased likelihood of incarceration.

Having a loved one in prison also places added stress on families. In his ethnographic study of Washington, D.C. prisons, Braman (2002) argued that one of the intangible effects of prison is the stress it places on the families of the incarcerated, who know their loved ones may be held in uncomfortable or even hostile conditions. Moreover, families may experience some financial pressure to provide incarcerated family members with money to spend on basic necessities, including toiletries and medical co-pays.

Finally, though the disenfranchisement of large numbers of Black men affects individual self-esteem, the larger social repercussions of disenfranchising a large group of traditionally democratic voters merits mention. Petersilia (2003) pointed out that

If just 15 percent of the nearly 900,000 disenfranchised felons of Florida—those unable to vote due to a felony conviction—had participated in the last presidential

election, Albert Gore would have prevailed in Florida, and President George W. Bush would not have been elected. (p. 9)

Financial repercussions. From a financial standpoint, there are a number of negative repercussions facing individuals and society as a result of incarceration. Individually, inmates who have criminal records are less likely to be considered for employment. In one study, 60% of employers in metropolitan areas indicated that they would preferably not, or definitely not, hire inmates with criminal backgrounds (Holzer et al., 2001). Because those with a prison record may have difficulty finding employment, many return to the illegal activities that led to their arrest in the first place and are frequently reincarcerated (Freeman, 1996). This cycle of release and reincarceration is called recidivism. Furthermore, ex-offenders often have lower education rates and shorter job histories as a result of their incarceration (Freeman, 2003), which makes it more difficult for them to find employment compared to the general population. In the end, illegitimate activities become a more viable way of paying for the cost of living than legitimate ones.

There are also larger financial costs of incarceration borne by taxpayers. In recent years, ballooning incarceration rates have led to enlarged corrections budgets. Between 1995 and 2000, the most recent years for which data are available, 204 new adult correctional facilities were added nationally, a 14% increase (Stephan & Karberg, 2003). Despite this increase in beds, at year end 2000, 22 states and the federal prison system reported operating at or above capacity (A. J. Beck & Harrison, 2001). Larger corrections populations equate to larger expenses all around. In 2001, states paid \$38.2 billion to maintain their correctional facilities. The annual operating cost at the state level, per inmate, was \$22,650. Between 1986 and 2001, state prison costs per U.S. resident more

than doubled (Stephan, 2004). Worth noting is that these numbers do not include the substantial indirect costs of incarceration, such as increased use of social services for children whose caretakers are incarcerated or increased costs of government overhead organizations such as the state auditor's office or the budget office (Colorado Criminal Justice Reform Coalition, 2004).

As more Americans are incarcerated, the impact of prison will continue to expand. The rate of incarceration in the United States shows no signs of decreasing in the future, unless some large-scale interventions are implemented. One option that offers to mitigate the effects of prison is education, especially postsecondary.

Arguments Surrounding Postsecondary Correctional Education (PSCE)

Given the variety and scope of the impacts of prison, postsecondary education offers one solution to mitigate many of the problems facing prisoners and society. While proponents of PSCE often see offering it as intuitive, given the variety of supposed benefits of PSCE, arguments fall on both sides of the fence. The following section provides many of the arguments both for and against PSCE.

Tension between ABE and PSCE. Some tension exists around what type of education is most appropriate for offenders. This tension is attributable, in part, to the limited funding available for correctional programming activities. Klein, Tolbert, Bugarin, Cataldi, and Tauschek (2004) found that 6% of correctional education budgets were dedicated to inmate programming, which would include anything from education to life skills to rehabilitative services. They were unable to further analyze how expenditures were distributed within that category, writing "there are currently no accurate statistics for federal or state expenditures for correctional education programs"

(p. 23). Though a paucity of data prevents us from being able to better understand ABE and PSCE funding streams, general consensus of the tension is that, on the one hand, some states use their limited education budgets on K–12 education, also called ABE, on the theory that the most poorly educated prisoners will benefit most from some education (Spangenberg, 2004). As mentioned previously, nearly half of all inmates possess neither a GED nor a high school diploma (Harlow, 2003). On the basis of her study of education in correctional facilities, Harlow made the valid point that “prison staff had concentrated educational services to those most in need of further learning” (p. 6), rather than focusing their resources on PSCE. Since 1990, there has been an increasing trend toward mandatory ABE, with special emphasis placed on GED attainment (McGlone, 2002). Specifically, in 2002, 22 states had mandatory education requirements, including North Carolina. Moreover, 68% of these states have mandatory education written into state law. According to McGlone (2002), “even in states where the program is voluntary there are many ‘mandatory’ aspects and incentives in the education program offerings. There are also many disincentives for non-participation” (p. 8). The most recent data indicates that over 25% of state prison inmates participated in high school level education (Harlow, 2003). As a result, PSCE is often the last in line for funding and must rely on alternate revenue streams.

On the other hand, some research has indicated that ABE may not be particularly effective in addressing post-release outcomes. Tyler and Kling (2004) analyzed the impact of GED attainment on post-release outcomes for inmates in the Florida Department of Corrections using multiple regression models and found limited post-release employment differences between control groups comprised of inmates who had

participated in, and completed, GED programming and inmates who had not. Batiuk et al. (2005) confirmed these findings in their empirical analysis analyzing the relative benefits of differing levels of education. Using a sample size of 972 prison inmates in Ohio, and a control group of nearly 400 non-education participants, the authors analyzed the “recidivism hazard” rate of study subjects who participated in GED, vocational, high school, and college level courses, concluding that “college education was the only educational program variable to significantly decrease recidivism hazard rates when compared to the “no education” group” (p. 67).

Today, many states are beginning to recognize that obtaining a college education is becoming increasingly important in today’s knowledge-based, global economy, as described by Braun, coauthor of *America’s Perfect Storm*:

The economy itself is experiencing seismic changes, resulting in new sources of wealth, new patterns of international trade, and a shift in the balance of capital over labor. These changes are causing a profound restructuring of the U.S. workplace, with a larger proportion of job growth occurring in higher-level occupations that require a college education, such as management, professional, technical, and executive-level sales. The wage gap is widening between the most- and least-skilled workers; men with bachelor’s degrees can expect to earn almost twice as much over their lifetimes as those without. (Education Testing Service, 2007, para. 7)

Subsequently, some states are making concerted efforts to expand their PSCE offerings in the belief that PSCE offers one of the best opportunities for inmates to live productive lives on release (Freeman, 2003).

Despite the tension between whether to offer ABE or PSCE, the growing emphasis on ABE might have actually increased the attention given to the benefits of PSCE. As more inmates receive their GEDs while incarcerated, and while they serve the longer sentences that result from mandatory sentencing policies, inmates are eager for

programming with which to fill their time. One study indicated that 26% of state inmates completed a GED while incarcerated, which would make them eligible to participate in PSCE in many states (Harlow, 2003); however, limited budgets sometimes dictate how many inmates may participate in non-mandatory activities such as PSCE. Thanks to this tension between ABE and PSCE, states' policy decisions regarding correctional education can seem at best comprehensive and at worst scattered and uneven. Despite this, there is a substantial group of correctional educators who argue that the benefits of higher education for inmates should be considered in addition to the benefits of ABE. These arguments are outlined in the following section.

Benefits of higher education. Proponents of PSCE have argued that the advantages that accrue from offering postsecondary educational opportunities to prisoners are similar to those gained by the general population (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Numerous researchers have explored the public and private benefits of higher education (Bowen, 1997; Perna, 2005). In a series of reports, the Institute for Higher Education Policy (1998, 2005) stressed the types of benefits provided by traditional higher education and developed a matrix that creates four categories: private economic benefits, public economic benefits, private social benefits, and public social benefits (see Figure 1). In all the categories presented in the matrix, it was shown that individuals who participate in higher education show higher returns than those with only a high school diploma.

The Institute for Higher Education Policy (1998) acknowledged that there is an increasing tendency to focus on the *private* economic gains of receiving a bachelor's degree; however, it argued that the *public* gains accrued from higher education are

equally important, for those who attend college tend to contribute more to the social good through greater tax revenue, greater productivity, increased consumption, greater workforce flexibility, decreased reliance on government financial support, reduced crime rates, increased charitable giving and community service, increased quality of civic life (e.g., voting), social cohesion and appreciation of diversity, and improved ability to adapt to and use technology (Institute for Higher Education Policy, 2004, 2005). A recent study reported that “failure to invest in college access for all students not only results in diminished personal economic opportunities, but also weakens the fabric of society and

	Public	Private
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increased tax revenues ▪ Greater productivity ▪ Increased consumption ▪ Increased workforce flexibility ▪ Decreased reliance on government financial support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Higher salaries and benefits ▪ Employment ▪ Higher savings levels ▪ Improved working conditions ▪ Personal/professional mobility
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reduced crime rates ▪ Increased charitable giving/community service ▪ Increased quality of life ▪ Social cohesion/appreciation of diversity ▪ Improved ability to adapt to and use technology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Improved health/life expectancy ▪ Improved quality of life for offspring ▪ Better consumer decision making ▪ Increased personal status ▪ More hobbies, leisure activities

Figure 1. Array of higher education benefits. From Reaping the Benefits: Defining the Public and Private Value of Going to College, by the Institute for Higher Education Policy, 1998, Washington, DC: Author, p. 20.

risks costing the nation more in the long term” (Institute for Higher Education Policy, 2004, p. 7). This argument holds particular relevance in light of the discussion on higher education for inmates, for inmates arguably cost society more than average citizens, both economically and socially.

Not surprisingly, research has shown that many of the same benefits are experienced by those incarcerated who participated in higher education programs (Fine et al., 2001; Steurer et al., 2001). Moreover, in addition to the commonly cited benefits of postsecondary education, inmates, as a result of their unique circumstances, benefit in specific other ways from higher education. As early as 1775, the famous Italian

philosopher and politician Beccaria (1983) mused, “The most certain method of preventing crimes is, to perfect the system of education” (p. 93). The most commonly cited benefit of PSCE is the reduction of recidivism.

Recidivism. There are a number of studies that have attempted to compare the recidivism rates of those who participate in PSCE versus those who do not (Chappell, 2004; Illinois Department of Corrections, 1997; Steurer et al., 2001; P. Wilson, 1994). The most common criticism of these studies is that they do not control for inmate motivation. Researchers argue that inmates who choose to participate in PSCE are less likely to recidivate even without PSCE (Erisman & Contardo, 2005); however, Pelissier et al. (2000), from the BJS, pointed to five other problems, in addition to the lack of random assignment, with criminal justice research: (a) incongruent follow-up periods, (b) use of dropouts as comparison subjects, (c) failure to use appropriate statistical controls, (d) failure to account for aftercare selection bias, and (e) poor follow-up rates for interviews. Farabee (2005), while agreeing with Pelissier et al. (2000), added two additional problems when attempting to understand whether prison programming works. First, funding-related biases prevent quality research from being conducted because organizations do not want to fund such research. Second, publication bias prevents articles that may not have found significant results from being published in the top journals, where people might read about them. As a result of these methodological problems, there are very few studies, published or otherwise, concretely demonstrating that participation in PSCE prevents recidivism.

Despite this limitation, a few researchers have managed to conduct methodologically sound, compelling research regarding the recidivism rates of inmates

who participated in correctional education. One of the most methodologically sound studies, conducted by Steurer et al. (2001), used data tested on over 500 variables collected from 3,200 inmates released from prisons in Minnesota, Ohio, and Maryland in 1997 and 1998. Using participation in correctional education as the independent variable, the study employed a quasi-experimental design with an equivalent control group specifically tested for selection bias and concluded that motivation levels to participate in correctional education were equivalent for the two groups. This is possible because in prison settings, education can be a limited resource, preventing everyone who wants to participate from doing so (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). As a result, the group that did not participate in correctional education was found to be identical in motivation levels as the group that did participate in correctional education. The researchers collected data on this cohort for 3 years and concluded that inmates who participated in education programming while incarcerated had statistically significant lower levels of rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration. Taken collectively, this study concluded that correctional education does reduce recidivism, showing a 29% reduction for reincarceration among correctional education participants (Steurer et al., 2001); however, a weakness of this study is that data were not available on the extent of educational involvement, so nothing is known about the hours spent per week in education or the duration over months or years. Moreover, the study failed to differentiate educational levels, so no light is shed on whether higher education specifically reduces recidivism.

Other researchers have attempted to answer this question. In her meta-analysis of PSCE and recidivism, Chappell (2004) analyzed 15 different studies of PSCE and determined that participating in college classes reduced recidivism by 46%; however, in

her analysis, Chappell did not include the use of a control group as a criterion for her study selection. One likely reason for this is the small number of studies that would have been available for her meta-analysis if she had insisted on a control group. Nevertheless, because she did not include that, her results run into the same criticisms as other criminal justice research on this topic.

Despite these problems with recidivism research, the few methodologically sound studies all point in the same direction. MacKenzie (2006), a prominent criminal justice researcher who asked the question, What works in reducing recidivism? concluded that “post-secondary education is also effective. . . . Significant differences between participants in college programs and controls were found in studies. . . . In addition, although several of the studies did not provide tests of significance, for most of the studies the treatment group had lower rates of recidivism” (p. 16). Taken together, while there are numerous problems with recidivism research, evidence seems to indicate that participating in PSCE does reduce recidivism. One reason for this may be that better educated inmates have a greater ability to find employment and do not need to return to criminal activities to pay costs of living (Case & Fasenfest, 2004).

Employment. The question of employment for recently released inmates is a vital one. In 1998, Texas reported a 30% unemployment rate for inmates released from prison in the past year, compared to a 4.8% state average (Fabelo, 2000). As discussed previously, inmates face greater difficulty finding suitable employment on release. The Sentencing Project (2002) wrote, “The decreasing emphasis on prison programs intended to provide skills training and counseling for prisoners for their eventual reentry into the community is leaving released inmates largely unprepared to successfully reintegrate into

society” (para. 1). Others agree with this assessment, arguing that inmates already have difficulty finding employment and engaging in so-called socially positive behavior on release. The fact that they are often undereducated and have minimal work experience exacerbates the problem (Coley & Barton, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2002). Thus developing methods that will enable inmates to rejoin society on release is vital to reducing recidivism.

For many inmates, having a college degree provides transitional opportunities postrelease that they otherwise might not have (Case & Fassenfest, 2004). In the state of Texas, Fabelo (2000) found that “in general, the higher the education achievement, the higher the average percent employed and average wages earned in the first year following release” (p. 16). Surprisingly, and in contradiction of these arguments, Stuerer et al. (2001) found that in the raw data, participants in correctional education actually had lower rates of employment than nonparticipants. The authors themselves were puzzled by this finding and pointed out that it was not statistically significant. Furthermore, their study did not disaggregate level of education, so it is impossible to judge the effectiveness of PSCE specifically in changing rates of employment based on these findings.

Taxpayer dollars. While the growing prison population causes concern on many fronts, politicians and taxpayers are increasingly fretful about the huge cost being borne by society to fund incarceration. When considering this issue, researchers (Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006; Bazos & Hausman, 2004; Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Fine et al., 2001; Steurer et al., 2001) have generally presented a cost–benefit analysis framework to argue for expansion of prisoner postsecondary education programs. Many have argued that

providing a college education that decreases recidivism will save taxpayers money by decreasing the overall cost of corrections (Fine et al., 2001; Karpowitz & Kenner, n.d.). These studies all demonstrated that prisoners who participate in higher education have lower recidivism rates than those who do not have access to higher education while incarcerated (Fine et al., 2001; Steurer et al., 2001; Tolbert, 2002). Furthermore, the cost of higher education, estimated at about \$3,000 annually per inmate by Erisman and Contardo (2005), is substantially less than the cost of incarceration, totaling over \$22,000 annually per state inmate (Stephan, 2004).

Numerous authors have developed cost-effectiveness studies in an attempt to quantify the benefits of PSCE for inmates and society. Specifically, the following five studies compose the most commonly cited. In one of the most rigorous studies using a cost-benefit framework, Aos et al. (2006) analyzed numerous studies on correctional programming outcomes and concluded that participation in vocational education in Washington state prisons would reduce crime outcomes by 9%, resulting in a \$13,738 benefit per participant, accounting for both individual and societal gains. Notably, this was the highest benefit for any intervention in the state's adult prison system. The authors further concluded that participation in general education in prison, including both basic and postsecondary education, would reduce crime outcomes by 7%, resulting in a \$10,669 benefit per participant. In sum, the authors argued that implementing interventions that would save tax payer dollars would also help the state avoid building more prisons to manage the incarcerated prison population.

Other authors have utilized similar thinking when arguing for the value of PSCE. In Fine et al.'s (2001) study, the researchers demonstrated that prisoners who were

enrolled in college had a recidivism rate of 7.7%, compared to the general prison population's rate of 29.9%. On the basis of these percentages, the same authors calculated the costs of providing higher education versus incarceration and concluded that the state annually incurs an extra \$300,000 in costs per 100 inmates by withholding higher education. Other research indicated that spending on education for prisoners saves taxpayers \$2 for every \$1 spent (Steurer et al., 2001). Erisman and Contardo (2005), in their discussion of inmates in Texas, argued that PSCE programs tend to pay for themselves within 3 years. Bazos and Hausman (2004), in their comparison of the cost-effectiveness of building more prisons versus providing correctional education, found that "correctional education is almost twice as cost effective as incarceration" (p. 9). In fact, on calculating the effect size, they found that correctional education needed to reduce recidivism by only 6% to cover the costs of the program.

Behavior while incarcerated. There is some indication that providing PSCE improves behavior while incarcerated. Within the Virginia Department of Corrections (2003), researchers found a significantly lower number of infractions committed after participation in educational programming. Unfortunately, small sample size prevented college education from being analyzed in this research. Fine et al.'s (2001) findings, however, support this trend. They found that women who participated in PSCE were more likely to walk away from fights, especially if participation in college classes was jeopardized, and they concluded that "college creates a more peaceful and manageable prison environment" (p. 21). Gaes et al. (1999) concurred, writing, "Despite methodological shortcomings and challenges, the evidence suggests that carefully

designed and administered education . . . programs can improve inmates' institutional behavior" (p. 398). This is an area in need of further research.

Family relationships. Proponents of PSCE have also argued that PSCE helps strengthen family relationships (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Recent research indicates that 81% of incarcerated men with children possessed a high school diploma or less at the birth of their children (Bendheim-Thoman Center for Research on Child Wellbeing, 2002; Fine et al., 2001). Moreover, men with a criminal record demonstrate less supportive behaviors toward their children. According to the Fragile Families Survey (Bendheim-Thoman Center for Research on Child Wellbeing, 2002), "fathers who have been incarcerated are less likely to compromise and are less encouraging than non-incarcerated fathers. Incarcerated fathers are also more than twice as likely to abuse alcohol or drugs" (p. 2). In Fine et al.'s (2001) study of incarcerated mothers and their children, the authors found that incarcerated mothers who experienced PSCE felt a growing sense of responsibility for the crimes they had committed, the people they had hurt, and their children. Moreover, for some of the children whose mothers were enrolled in PSCE, their mothers served as one of the only individuals they knew who had attended college. Subsequently, children felt pride in their mothers' accomplishments, and their mothers were able to serve as positive role models and educational resources.

As discussed in this section, from a societal standpoint PSCE may help to strengthen external communities while prisoners serve their sentences. Though there are numerous documented reasons to potentially provide PSCE, offerings are uneven across the United States. The following section discusses the current status of PSCE.

Current Status of PSCE

Historically, the appearance of postsecondary education in state prisons can be traced to a few pioneering individuals, rather than coordinated state or federal efforts. Postsecondary education includes noncompulsory “academic, vocational, and continuing professional education programs” (National Center for Education Statistics, 2006, p. 2) that students can take after completing high school. The first documented PSCE programs were recorded in the 1920s: Columbia University offered correspondence classes for inmates at Sing Sing Prison, and the Massachusetts Department of Education offered extension courses to 40 inmates in Charlestown (Silva, 1994). Primary and secondary prison education was more prevalent during the first half of the 20th century, a logical circumstance given that the majority of Americans had no expectation of receiving a college education (Cohen, 1998).

Though ABE programs have long been seen as a vehicle for rehabilitation of prisoners, the understanding of postsecondary education as a form of rehabilitation for prison inmates is a more recent development. The same foundations that increased access for marginalized groups in traditional higher education positively influenced the development of PSCE programs. Wright (2001) argued that in the second half of the 20th century, three key factors helped influence the expansion of postsecondary educational opportunities for inmates. First, the rise of open-access community colleges led directly to increased educational resources for inmates. Wright (2001) documented that the seven states with mature community college systems in the 1970s—California, Florida, Illinois, New York, Ohio, Michigan, and Washington—also demonstrated much of the early growth of prisoner postsecondary education. Second, Wright argued that the

predominantly liberal arts curriculum has allowed low-cost course offerings, thus explaining their ready availability. Finally, the 1972 amendments to the Higher Education Act provided Pell grants for low-income students who wanted to receive a higher education, a category under which many prison inmates fell. Silva (1994) concurred, writing that Pell grants were the most important influence on the growth of prison higher education throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

In the late 1980s, however, as the country began to get tough on crime, and subsequently, on criminals, PSCE felt the effects. Policy makers who once were supportive of postsecondary education for inmates because of its rehabilitative potential no longer pushed for its funding (Zook, 1993). In 1994, after years of lobbying from conservative policy makers, the passage of the Violent Crime Act successfully amended the Higher Education Act to prohibit inmates from receiving Pell grants to fund their postsecondary education (Karpowitz & Kenner, n.d.). Though inmates had received less than 1% of all Pell grants, the removal of inmate eligibility served to effectively dismantle prison higher education programs. Without their primary source of funding, and without the other types of support from state and federal policy makers, PSCE offerings immediately declined across the United States (Erisman & Contardo, 2005).

Today, the data show that participation in educational programs offered in state and federal prisons dropped markedly after passage of the Violent Crime Act but eventually stabilized, and then somewhat rebounded, with slightly less than 5% of inmates participating in PSCE across the United States (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). While access to PSCE has expanded slightly over recent years, inmates are increasingly responsible for providing their own tuition. According to Petersilia (2003), starting in

2000, the Federal Bureau of Prisons decided to make inmates responsible for their own college tuition costs. Similarly, students at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility pay the equivalent of one month's salary for each semester of instruction (Fine et al., 2001). One study of seven states reported that students tend to pay for their education with wages earned working or with personal savings (Lawrence et al., 2002). Although some states have programs that solicit donations to cover tuition and supply costs, many of these grants last only a short time (Schmidt, 2002). The effect of asking prisoners who earn approximately \$30 a month in most prison industries to fund their college courses must be considered. Though some argue that this allows inmates to possess ownership over their education, Erisman and Contardo (2005) responded that inmates are increasingly asked to pay for a variety of so-called amenities while incarcerated, including toothpaste and soap. College tuition may be the last item on a long list of priorities for inmates, despite the short- and long-term benefits of PSCE.

Notably, however, recent research seems to indicate more interest in providing programs that might help reduce the recidivism of inmates (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Fueled by ballooning corrections populations and, subsequently, ballooning corrections budgets, state policy makers are beginning to question which decisions have led them to where they are today, with a state prison population that has grown from 294,000 in 1980 to nearly 1.25 million in 2002 (U.S. Department of Justice, n.d.). Perhaps more important, researchers concerned with racial equity have questioned why African American men are so grossly overrepresented in prison populations and have sought ways to address this issue (Sentencing Project, 2000). In their work for the Open Society Institute, Peter D. Hart Research Associates Inc. (2002) concluded that "the public now

endorses a balanced, multi-faceted solution that focuses on prevention and rehabilitation”

(p. 1). They based this conclusion on three findings of public opinion polls:

(1) more than in the past, the public believes we should be addressing the underlying causes of crime rather than the symptoms of crime; (2) Americans now see prevention as their top priority for fighting crime, far ahead of punishment or enforcement; and (3) Americans are reconsidering the wisdom of harsh prison sentences as the centerpiece of the nation’s crime strategy. (p. 1)

Finally, even the popular media is beginning to weigh in. On April 15, 2007, the television show *60 Minutes* aired a favorable segment about a PSCE program in New York (Simon, 2007). For these reasons, it seems the time might be ripe for considering ways to expand PSCE to inmates. This study aimed to describe one state’s program in such a way that other states could determine whether North Carolina would be a transferable model for them.

In their 50-state analysis of PSCE, Erisman and Contardo (2005) discovered two notable trends regarding the providers of PSCE. First, the vast majority of institutions providing PSCE (68%) were community colleges. This finding is consistent with Wright’s (2001) earlier finding that states with mature community college systems were more likely than other states to provide PSCE. Second, while nationally higher education for prisoners seemed to be on the rise, only 14 states plus the Federal Bureau of Prisons enrolled more than 1,000 inmates during 2003–2004 (see Table 2). Those 15 prison systems were responsible for 89% of all enrollments in PSCE. Erisman and Contardo (2005) concluded that those states providing access were doing something different from the other states and pointed to the need for further research on this topic.

Table 2

Prison Systems with at least 1,000 Inmates Enrolled in Postsecondary Correctional Education, 2003-04

Prison System	Number of Inmates Enrolled	Percentage of Inmates Enrolled
Federal Bureau of Prisons	14,780	17%
Texas	9,694	11%
North Carolina	9,220	11%
Washington	6,967	8%
Illinois	5,775	7%
California	4,247	5%
Colorado	4,200	5%
Indiana	3,353	4%
Ohio	3,176	4%
Wisconsin	3,000	4%
Alabama	3,000	4%
Minnesota	2,881	3%
Louisiana	2,100	2%
Arizona	1,666	2%
New Jersey	1,630	2%
All lower enrollment prison systems	9,802	11%
Total Enrollment	85,491	100%

NOTE: Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, New Hampshire, and New York did not respond to the survey. South Dakota and Vermont have no postsecondary correctional education programs. Idaho and Michigan could not provide enrollment numbers.

Note. Data are from *Learning to Reduce Recidivism: A 50-State Analysis of Postsecondary Correctional Education Policy*, by W. Erisman and J.B. Contardo, 2005, Washington, DC: Institute for Higher Education Policy.

The two states with the highest enrollment in PSCE in 2003–2004 were Texas and North Carolina. While Texas’s program has been in place since the late 1960s, North Carolina’s spike in PSCE enrollment occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s, exactly when the rest of the country was decreasing access to postsecondary education. Compared to the national average, North Carolina provides PSCE to a much higher

proportion of its inmates. In 2003, nearly 22% of the 42,000 inmates who passed through the North Carolina state prison system participated in PSCE, almost two-thirds of all inmates who had either a GED or a high school diploma (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). In contrast, less than 5% of all inmates across the United States were enrolled in PSCE in 2003–2004.

Reasons for this may be varied. Erisman and Contardo (2005) reported that the high PSCE enrollment in North Carolina may be attributable to a somewhat unique IAC formed by the NCDOC and the NCCCS. Perhaps most notable about this interagency partnership is that it was founded in 1987, a time when the national climate toward prison postsecondary education was extremely uncomplimentary (Karpowitz & Kenner, n.d.).

Another reason for the high participation rate in PSCE may be related to North Carolina's permissive General Statutes. For example, section 148-22.1 reads, "The State Department of Correction is authorized to take advantage of aid available from any source in establishing facilities and developing programs to provide inmates of the State prison system with such academic and vocational and technical education as seems most likely to facilitate the rehabilitation of those inmates" ("State Prison System," 2006), a law in place since 1985. Furthermore, the State Board of Community Colleges, "in order to make instruction as accessible as possible to all citizens," is authorized and encouraged to offer "the teaching of curricular courses and of non-curricular extension courses at convenient locations away from institution campuses as well as on campuses" ("Administration of Institutions," 2006, p. 2). It seems plausible that because of facilitating state laws, innovative partnerships may be allowed to thrive.

A third possibility explaining the success of PSCE in North Carolina might be related to funding structures set in place by state legislators. Chapter 115D-5(b) of the General Statutes allows for the State Board of Community Colleges to “provide by general and uniform regulations for waiver of tuition and registration fees for . . . prison inmates” (“Administration of Institutions,” 2006). Moreover, there are specific stipulations for how community colleges are to report correctional education credit hours. This may imply a permissiveness on the part of the state-level policy to fund PSCE that is not replicated in many states.

Finally, there is some limited research indicating that PSCE in North Carolina reduces recidivism. In his dissertation, Gardner (2004) examined 305 inmates who participated in two vocational programs offered by community colleges in North Carolina and concluded that there was a statistically significant difference in recidivism between program participants and nonparticipants. In North Carolina, the overall recidivism rate in 2004 was 65%. In Gardner’s study, inmates who participated but did not complete a diploma program had a 32% recidivism rate, while inmates who did receive a diploma had a 15% recidivism rate. While his sample size was small, Gardner found that the results were statistically significant to the .01 level. Unfortunately, Gardner made no attempt to create a comparison group of inmates who did not participate in PSCE, using instead the overall recidivism rate for North Carolina. As a result, his research falls prey to one of the standard criticisms of recidivism research, that there was bias in the original sample that prevents us from being able to fully trust the findings.

The lack of information about how PSCE is provided in North Carolina demonstrated the need for further research on this topic. In 2003–2004, North Carolina

provided PSCE to 11% of all inmates enrolled in PSCE in the United States. Yet little is known about this program, including why policy makers decided to support it at a time when the rest of the country was cutting PSCE programs and how they actually designed and implemented the program. As many states begin to consider expanding PSCE programs, there is a clear need for understanding how a successful program is designed and executed. The following section builds on the notion that North Carolina is a site worth studying and outlines the theoretical framework for the study.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Nationally, correctional education programming has generally focused on ABE and left prisoners to receive postsecondary education through self-funded correspondence classes. There are numerous reasons for this. First, an unfriendly policy environment and burgeoning prison costs have made states and their policy makers unwilling to spend tax dollars on college for prisoners. Second, correspondence classes are logistically less trouble for prisons, as they can avoid the security concerns present when bringing outsiders into prisons. Third, many believe that education programming should be targeted toward those with the greatest need and that ABE is more appropriate than college education for inmates. Finally, and relatedly, many states have mandated ABE for those inmates who test below the high school level, which reduces available resources for postsecondary education.

Despite these numerous reasons to shy away from providing PSCE, North Carolina has managed to develop and sustain a PSCE program that serves a substantial portion of its inmates. While national policy trends may seem to have indicated an inhospitable national climate for such programming, two organizational theories may

help to explain why higher education could be provided to North Carolina's inmates. The following section outlines the characteristics of the two theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure, which together created the conceptual framework for my study.

Organizational resilience: Coutu's framework. As a theoretical framework, organizational resiliency is still relatively unknown, in part because its newness has prevented it from being adequately theorized (Sutcliffe & Vogus, 2003). In general, resiliency is defined as "the capacity of individuals, organizations and nations to survive and thrive amidst ongoing change, disruption, and adversity" (Ganswindt, n.d., p. 1). Sutcliffe and Vogus (2003) wrote that in organizational resiliency theory, "resilience (sometimes resiliency) often has been used to refer to a characteristic or capacity of individuals or organizations, or more specifically the ability to absorb strain and persevere (or improve) functioning despite the presence of adversity" (p. 98).

Organizational resiliency, sometimes called enterprise resiliency, is used predominantly in business organizational literature to describe how businesses respond to disruptions that would change the ordinary unfolding of daily operations. While businesses that succeed are often labeled "resilient," only seldom do researchers identify the characteristics that made these organizations so highly adaptable in the face of unpredictability. On the surface, North Carolina seems to have a resilient PSCE program, both in terms of longevity and the number of students served, all in the face of a national policy environment hostile toward prison programming and rehabilitative services. This study examined whether North Carolina's PSCE programming possesses the characteristics of a resilient organization.

Bell (2002) argued that there are five principles of organizational resiliency: leadership, culture, people, systems, and settings. Because of its breadth, this model is potentially a useful framework to use when examining an organization's resiliency; however, its benefit is also its drawback, in that it becomes too easy to label an organization "resilient" under this framework. Pulley's (1997) framework possesses a similar problem. She wrote that resilient organizations must have all of the following: organizational learning, corporate mission, corporate culture, partnering and strategic alliances, staffing elasticity, and compensation tied to organizational performance.

Coutu's (2003) framework is much more tightly defined and is therefore more useful. She argued that three characteristics are present in nearly all organizational resiliency literature. First, a resilient organization must possess an unflinching acceptance of reality. Such an acceptance allows organizations to face hard truths about encroaching threats and respond to them accordingly. Second, according to Coutu, resilient organizations possess core values that remain stable through times of crisis and allow organizations to make meaning of an ever shifting world. Third, a resilient organization possesses ritualized ingenuity, or the ability to make do with the resources at hand. Coutu explains this through the term *bricolage*, which means "an ability to improvise a solution to a problem without proper or obvious tools or materials" (p. 14). On the surface, North Carolina's use of community colleges implies an inherent adoption of bricolage, as community colleges are often recognized for their adaptive characteristics (Dougherty, 1994).

While organizational resiliency theory seems useful for my study, research on organizational resiliency theory in relation to nonprofit organizations is limited. In her

dissertation, Witmer (2006) sought to test Coutu's (2003) theory by comparing the organizational characteristics of two nonprofit hospitals to Coutu's three characteristics of organizational resiliency. Using a survey instrument, she discovered that the majority surveyed agreed that their successful organization possessed all three of Coutu's characteristics. One notable hole in her study is that she did not indicate whether unsuccessful nonprofit hospitals also possess Coutu's three characteristics. As a result, researchers cannot convincingly conclude that organizations with these three characteristics are in fact resilient. As mentioned earlier, the newness of this theory provides room for further research.

Those who study organizational resiliency have generally been vitally concerned with how organizations respond to adversity that would threaten their financial existence; subsequently, Witmer's (2006) study, though focused on nonprofits, fits within the business literature rather neatly, as she focused specifically on how two hospitals responded to funding adversity. A corporate structure remains important in this view of the world because clear chains of command directly channel the money to the appropriate sources.

In contrast, America's views on education tend to move away from strict profit margins, as evidenced by our mandatory K-12 education for all children. Views of higher education are even more convoluted, particularly in relation to prisoner education. Funding issues become muddied with personal views. As we might expect, then, providers of PSCE in North Carolina have responded to much greater issues than restricted funding. Policy decisions being made, and laws being written, often move beyond restricted funding and into personal views about the way people see the world

and the rights of prisoners. Subsequently, Coutu's (2003) model of organizational resiliency is insufficient on its own to explain North Carolina's ability to provide PSCE. The addition of Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) theory of distributed structure appears to provide the missing element to organizational resiliency and hopefully provides better explanation of why PSCE was able to expand so successfully in North Carolina.

Distributed structure: Brafman and Beckstrom's framework. Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) book *The Starfish and the Spider* makes a very clear argument. Highly centralized organizations, spiders, are easily crippled: a blow to central leadership will disable an organization. In contrast, truly decentralized organizations, starfish, are not crippled by the removal of a component, and in fact, the lost limb can actually regenerate entirely new organizations. While Brafman and Beckstrom wrote their book to help explain the proliferation of terrorist organizations, distributed structure adds another dimension to North Carolina's success in providing PSCE.

Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) argued that very few organizations are completely starfish or completely spider; rather, most organizations are hybrids, possessing a blend of the characteristics that define distributed structure. Brafman and Beckstrom wrote that organizations need to find the decentralized sweet spot, "the point along the centralized-decentralized continuum that yields the best competitive position" (p. 189). Generally, Brafman and Beckstrom argued that decentralization allows for creativity, while structure and control ensures consistency. Using the benefits of each type of structure allows an organization to better position itself for survival and success.

At first blush, North Carolina providers of PSCE appear to have discovered the decentralized sweet spot. The vast majority of PSCE is provided by community colleges

(T. Beck et al., 2006). While much is notable about community colleges, for the purposes of this study, the most marked component of each North Carolina community college is its ability to act on behalf of a common purpose, while also serving its own interests. In the context of PSCE, even if one community college were to cease offering its services to prisoners, other community colleges could continue functioning in a business-as-usual manner.

Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) argued that a truly decentralized organization stands on five legs:

1. *Circles*. Membership circles are notable for two characteristics. First, multiple independent and autonomous membership circles compose an organization, as is the case with Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), Craigslist, and the Apache. Second, membership circles possess neither hierarchy nor structure, allowing those who belong to interact as equals. With the introduction of virtual technologies, membership in these circles has become highly fluid.
2. *The catalyst*. The catalyst helps to initiate the development of organizations and then steps back and “transfers ownership and responsibility to the circle” (Brafman & Beckstrom, 2006, p. 93). Catalysts serve as inspirational figures, who help to architect the development of an organization.
3. *Ideology*. Shared common beliefs help create community and develop a sense of responsibility within membership circles. Specific examples of decentralized organizations with strong ideologies include AA and Wikipedia.
4. *The preexisting network*. Developing decentralized organizations from the ground up can require too many resources; however, as was the case with

tapping into the Quakers to support the abolitionist movement, using previously existing resources can help establish an organization without starting from scratch.

5. *The champion*. The champion is relentless in promoting a new idea and is often the front person for an organization. Generally charismatic, he or she will use charm and persuasion to convince others of the value of his or her cause.

Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) wrote, “A decentralized organization stands on five legs. As with the starfish, it can lose a leg or two and still survive. But when you have all the legs working together, a decentralized organization can really take off” (p. 87). A primary goal of my research was to determine whether Brafman and Beckstrom’s conceptualization of the foundation of a decentralized organization helped explain the expansion of North Carolina’s access to PSCE programming despite the inhospitable national climate.

In addition to the five legs, Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) provided a series of characteristics that can be analyzed to determine where an organization falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum. Specifically, the ten characteristics are: leadership, headquarters, decentralization, division of roles, effect of downsizing, nature of knowledge, flexibility, number of employees, funding, and communication. When trying to understand the ability of an organization to thrive in adverse circumstances, this framework allows researchers to discover where the organization currently falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum and helps to better explain the phenomena being observed. Another goal of this research is to identify where North Carolina falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum.

Combining organizational resiliency and distributed structure. There are many reasons why higher education is provided in society, but a profit margin is not generally part of the equation. Indeed, higher education functions despite the fact that states must consistently subsidize providers to cover the unmet costs of providing education to students (Johnstone, 2005). Aside from proprietary colleges, higher education institutions are not profit-seeking ventures, and higher education for prisoners in North Carolina is provided by public community colleges. While Coutu's (2003) organizational resiliency framework provides some explanation for how PSCE functions in North Carolina, her model is designed to answer questions about resource scarcity and profit margins. Subsequently, using only an organizational resiliency model would ignore the question of why a program confined by governmental restrictions and regulations and an unfavorable public opinion of PSCE managed to survive and retain public funding. Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) notion of distributed structure helps explain how two nonprofit government departments function as a resilient organization.

In the context of my study, neither the NCDOC nor the NCCCS served as the unit of analysis on its own; rather, I believe the interactions between the two organizations created a third body overseen by the IAC of the NCDOC and the NCCCS that utilizes characteristics of organizational resiliency as defined by Coutu (2003) *and* distributed structure as defined by Brafman and Beckstrom (2006; see Figure 2). Subsequently, I sought to answer whether the distributed structure of the providers of PSCE became a vital criterion that must be present to guarantee the resiliency of a PSCE program. Worth noting is that the link between organizational resiliency and distributed structure is in no way artificial. In fact, Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) wrote, "The more chaotic [an

organization] seems, the more resilient it is” (p. 6). In pushing the boundaries of organizational resiliency theory, I hope to add a new dimension that would be particularly relevant in non-business settings.

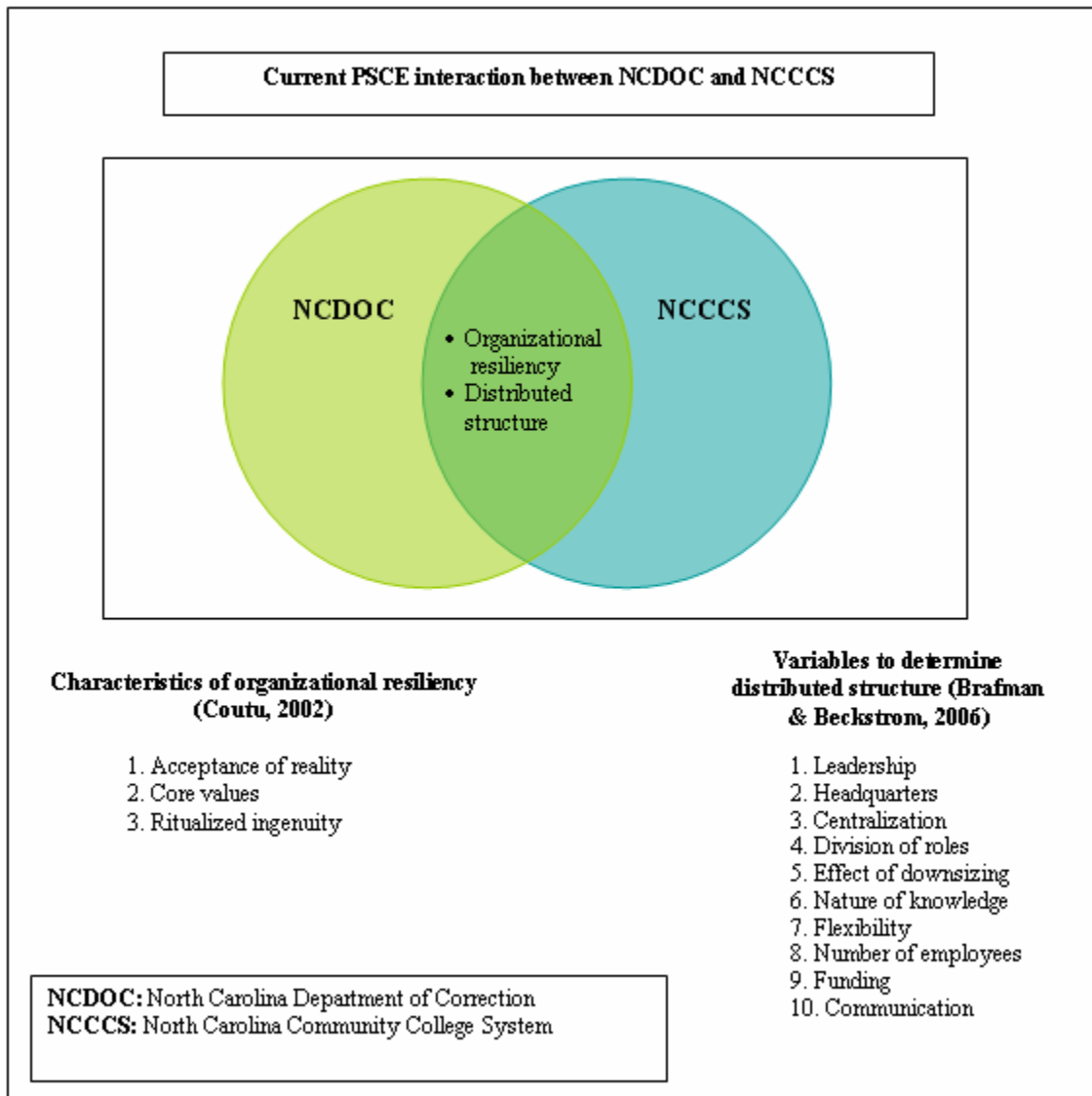


Figure 2. Conceptual framework.

Summary

This chapter sought to outline the existing research on PSCE and lay the groundwork for my study. Society is beginning to grapple with the effects of correctional

policy from the 1980s and is realizing that the cost–benefit analyses espousing the effectiveness of incarcerating large numbers of inmates were fundamentally flawed. Although PSCE seems to help mitigate many of the challenges faced by current and former inmates, their families, and society, little is known about how to effectively provide PSCE. Subsequently, states likely find it difficult to implement comprehensive programs. With a changing national political climate toward PSCE, the time was ripe to show how one state justified and maintained a college program for inmates, by testing the boundaries of organizational resiliency theory and understanding the role of decentralization in successful nonprofit ventures. The purpose of this study was to plug the holes present in the current literature, by asking the following research questions:

1. Why did North Carolina expand access to postsecondary education for its prison inmates over a period when other states were restricting access?
2. How does North Carolina provide access to postsecondary education for its inmates?
3. To what extent do the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure explain the ability of the NCCCS and the NCDOC to provide PSCE?

With this framework in place to guide my study, I turn to my research design and methodology chapter to elaborate on the design of my study as well as my data collection and analysis procedures.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

The research design and methodology chapter of a dissertation outlines the investigator's research design and methodology, or how he or she aligned her theory with her data collection and analysis. Quantitative research is rooted in the positivist paradigm, which holds that "the social world can be studied in the same way as the natural world" (Mertens, 1998, p. 7) and causal explanations can be developed. In contrast, qualitative research usually falls under an interpretive paradigm, which calls for an interactive link between the researcher and study participants. Reality is socially constructed and interpreted differently by participants (Mertens, 1998; Shank, 2002). This chapter outlines my qualitative method rationale and strategy, my case selection, and my procedures used for data collection. I also include a section on data analysis and conclude with a discussion on validity, generalizability and transferability, human subjects' protection, and potential political concerns. Throughout the chapter, readers are reminded of Mertens's (1998) caution that in qualitative research, "the researcher needs to present a plan that includes a description of methods yet makes clear that changes will occur as the study progresses" (p. 174). Though a clear plan of action is outlined, the research plan allowed for some flexibility when unexpectedly rich data arose.

Method Rationale

Traditionally, most research about prison populations and correctional interventions has arisen from sociology and criminology and employs quantitative analysis. The BJS is tasked with collecting quantitative data on prison inmates in federal-, state-, and local-level custody and periodically releases large data sets to the public

domain. These data are useful for testing specific hypotheses and developing generalizations about large populations (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996).

However, quantitative data offer four main limitations for researchers. First, much of the data may be held internally for years before release to the public. For example, the only comprehensive data set on state and federal prison inmates currently available was collected in 1997. As a result, important trends of the past decade are not captured in these data, making the information too stale to answer certain types of research and policy questions. Second, quantitative data rely on prior knowledge of all the variables to be collected. Subsequently, researchers using secondary data will find that their research questions are limited by the original questions asked. Third, if the original researchers did not follow strict data collection protocol, the information contained within the data set is not reliable. While generally BJS has not been faulted for gross methodological errors, there are always limitations present in research about incarcerated populations, as discussed in chapter 2. One meta-analysis of treatment effectiveness found that study methods accounted for nearly as much variability in results as characteristics of the interventions (D. B. Wilson & Lipsey, 2001). Finally, quantitative data are designed to test particular knowledge claims but are less useful if researchers want to ask how and why questions (Mertens, 1998). For the purpose of this study, the research questions require more in depth analysis of events and their contexts than BJS quantitative data allow.

There is relatively little known about PSCE in the United States, particularly over the past decade. The most recent research, using quantitative data, indicates that North Carolina provides PSCE to a large number of inmates, but only hinted at some of the

possible reasons (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). This study sought to explore this issue, with the research questions asking the following:

1. Why did North Carolina expand access to postsecondary education for its prison inmates over a period when other states were restricting access?
2. How does North Carolina provide access to postsecondary education for its inmates?
3. To what extent do the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure explain the ability of the NCCCS and the NCDOC to provide PSCE?

This study, which sought to better understand PSCE in North Carolina has significant descriptive aims that can only be met through a qualitative study. Marshall and Rossman (1999) wrote that “qualitative researchers are intrigued with the complexity of social interactions as expressed in daily life and with the meanings participants themselves attribute to these interactions” (p. 2). Specifically, qualitative research occurs outside the laboratory. Called fieldwork, the researcher goes to the setting where the phenomenon occurs to collect data (Merriam, 1998).

Case studies, generally characterized as a type of qualitative research, are used extensively in social science research. While there are benefits and drawbacks to every type of methodology, the case study is unique in how it allows researchers to examine bounded cases and ask “how or why the program . . . worked” (Yin, 2003, p. 7). I chose to use a bounded case study methodology for my study because it offers the best opportunity to see groups or organizations through immersion in the setting (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Yin (2003) observed that “case studies typically involve investigation of a phenomenon for which the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not

clearly evident” (p. 13); however, when defining the bounded case, researchers attempt to develop boundaries around the thing being studied, to better know limits of the case (Merriam, 1998). Gall et al. (1996) argued that case studies have certain characteristics, including the study of certain phenomena; an in-depth study of each case; the study of the phenomena in its natural context; and the study of the participants’ viewpoints. This study is designed in such a way as to ensure that each characteristic is present.

As conceptualized, case studies are usually considered a qualitative methodology. Merriam (1998) wrote that the product of qualitative research, the written report, should be richly descriptive, with the researcher using words and pictures, rather than numbers, to convey what he or she has learned; however, Yin (2003) disagreed that case studies must avoid numeric data and argued that they can incorporate both qualitative and quantitative data. Though numeric data should not be used in a qualitative study to statistically test hypotheses, they can be serve to increase the depth and richness of the report by adding to the context of the case.

Case Selection

Methodologists have engaged in a healthy debate about the definition of the case in case study research (Creswell, 1998; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003). Yin (2003) offered one of the most stringent definitions and warned researchers to beware of case studies about “decisions, programs, the implementation process and organizational change” (p. 23) because of difficulty in identifying the unit of analysis. Merriam (1998) was less strict in her guidelines and wrote that “the case can be as varied as a second-grade classroom, a systemwide model science program, or a patient education clinic at a local hospital” (p. 65). Stake (1995) wrote that not everything can be a case and emphasized

potential cases as people and programs, rather than events and processes. For the purposes of this research, Yin's (2003) warnings were overly severe and Merriam's (1998) too lenient; I lean instead toward Stake's (1995) conceptualization. Within this study, PSCE in North Carolina is the bounded case and the object of the data collection and analysis. The unit of analysis for data collection is the individuals involved in providing systemwide PSCE through the partnership between the NCCCS and the NCDOC.

My interest and knowledge of North Carolina's PSCE programming is linked to my previous research on this topic. In 2005, I co-authored a study indicating that the state of North Carolina contains one of the most comprehensive PSCE programs in the country. In 2003–2004, more than 9,000 inmates participated in PSCE, representing nearly 22% of the incarcerated population in the state (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). In contrast, less than 5% of all inmates across the United States were enrolled in PSCE in 2003–2004. Moreover, limited research indicated that participation in this program reduces reincarceration rates in North Carolina by 50% (Gardner, 2004).

As a result of my previous research, I concluded that North Carolina represents what Yin (2003) defined as the extreme or unique case, where the circumstance being investigated is so rare that it would be unreasonably difficult or impossible to replicate the study at multiple sites. Yin argued for multiple case sites whenever possible to be able to use replication logic, where two or more cases are either similar or different, as predicted by theory, during the analysis. While recognizing the theoretical merit to this approach, Gall et al. (1996) wrote that replication logic is seldom used in practice. For the purposes of this study, North Carolina is the only state that relies on a legislatively

mandated partnership between its Department of Correction and the community college system to provide PSCE to its inmates in such quantity. Texas, the only other state to offer PSCE to inmates in large numbers, relies on a school system within its Department of Correction to provide the service (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). While Texas's program is worth studying under a different context, North Carolina PSCE provides a much stronger study site to test my theoretical framework regarding organizational resiliency and distributed structure. Moreover, thanks to my previous research on this issue I was at least superficially familiar with some of the circumstances leading to the expansion and maintenance of PSCE in North Carolina. Specifically, I was aware of enabling legislation that, in 1987, tasked the NCDOC and the NCCCS with collaborating to provide correctional education in the state ("An Act to Develop a Program," 1987). By 1992, the NCDOC and the NCCCS had established an IAC, which "plans and monitors correctional education programming in the state [of North Carolina]" (Splawn, 1997, p. 42). Today, this committee meets biannually to inform policy and respond to legislative initiatives that require collaboration (T. Beck et al., 2006). Many of the individuals who work for the NCDOC or the NCCCS are active on this IAC, though there are numerous people at the local level who do not participate for geographical reasons.

Prior research indicates some potential tension regarding this IAC. In Erisman and Contardo's (2005) study, this committee was credited with contributing to the success of PSCE in North Carolina. In contrast, Ellis's (2006) dissertation based on women's prisons in North Carolina pointed to a number of problems within North Carolina that hindered PSCE. Notably, Ellis identified poor coordination between the NCCCS and the

NCDOC. Thus a vital task of this study is to better understand the role of the IAC in how North Carolina provides PSCE today.

Linking Theory, Research Questions, and Data Sources

The research design of a study outlines the logic behind the study. According to Maxwell (2005), “A good design, one in which the components work harmoniously together, promotes efficient and successful functioning” (p. 2). Maxwell argues that a strong research design possesses five components: (a) goals, (b) conceptual framework, (c) research questions, (d) methods, and (e) validity. This study’s goals, research questions, and theoretical framework are identified in chapter 2, while the methods and validity are discussed later in this chapter. During the design phase of this research, the determination was made that while Coutu’s (2003) theory in its entirety would be applicable to all of the research questions, different components of Brafman and Beckstrom’s (2006) theory lent themselves to different research questions. Specifically, the notion of the five legs of distributed structure in conjunction with Coutu’s characteristics of organizational resiliency was appropriate to inform RQ 1: Why did North Carolina expand access to postsecondary education for its inmates over a period when other states were restricting access? Subsequently, Brafman and Beckstrom’s (2006) ten characteristics to determine placement of the centralized-decentralized spectrum were used in conjunction with Coutu’s (2003) theory to analyze RQ 2: How does North Carolina provide access to postsecondary education for its inmates? (see Table 3)

Table 3

Theories, Characteristics, and Data Source

Framework	RQ1: Why did NC expand access to PSCE?		RQ2: How does NC provide access to PSCE?	
	Characteristics	Data Source	Characteristics	Data Source
Coutu (2003)	Acceptance of Reality	I	Acceptance of Reality	D, I, DO
	Core Values	D, I, DO	Core Values	D, I, DO
	Ritualized Ingenuity	I, DO	Ritualized Ingenuity	D, I, DO
Brafman and Beckstrom (2006)	Circles	D, DO	Leadership	D, I, DO
	The catalyst	D, I	Headquarters	D, DO
	Ideology	D, I, DO	Centralization	D, I, DO
	The pre-existing network	D, DO	Division of Roles	D, I, DO
	The champion	D, I, DO	Effect of Downsizing	I
			Nature of Knowledge	D, I, DO
			Flexibility	D, I, DO
		Number of Employees	D, I, DO	
		Funding	D, I	
		Communication	D, I, DO	

I=Interviews; D=Documents; DO=Direct Observation

Using the theories of Coutu (2003) and Brafman and Beckstrom (2003) and under the guidance of my committee, I identified for each of my research questions which characteristics I sought; whether I would use direct observation, documents, and/or interviews to determine whether the characteristic was present; and which interview question(s) would address the characteristic during my semi-structured interviews. As a result of this process, I knew which characteristics would require me to collect additional documentation and rely on my direct observations. I also knew before the interviews when I would need to elicit information from informants in order to determine the status of a variable. This comprehensive research design is provided in Appendix A. As a result of this design, I identified 34 interview questions that would help me determine the status of each variable, and during the data collection process, I ensured that each question was asked of at least one informant (e.g., see Appendix F for sample interview protocol). This

theoretical framework mapping behind my research design was invaluable for the data collection and analysis.

Data Sources and Collection Strategy

Because the study's unit of analysis was individuals involved with providing PSCE through the partnership of the NCCCS and the NCDOC, initially, the data collection strategy specifically targeted employees from these two organizations, who have been responsible for the design and implementation of PSCE in North Carolina over the past 20 years. On the advice of my committee, however, interviewing others involved with the PSCE process became a vital source of information, including former prison inmates, those involved with the legislative process, and agency employees from both the central system offices and the local levels. Throughout this process, I remained open to the possibility that my research would unfold in unanticipated directions; as a result, I attended numerous unanticipated site visits and spoke with a number of individuals I could not have anticipated interviewing. As I went through the data collection process, I always sought to bind my study by heeding the research aims of my study questions.

My data collection strategy began with my positive relationship with my gatekeeper. A gatekeeper provides access to the research site (Creswell, 1998). Two years ago, I coauthored a report on the current status of PSCE in the United States (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Thanks to this experience, my contacts in North Carolina were receptive to my collecting data on their PSCE programming. Specifically, the primary liaison from the NCCCS to the NCDOC, and the coordinator of the next IAC meeting, was supportive of my research and asked me to present the findings from the Erisman and Contardo (2005) study as well as introduce the current study at the IAC

meeting on May 15, 2007. Following this meeting, I initiated multiple methods of collection, including interviews, document analysis, and observation, that took place over 4 months (see Appendix B for Researcher's Time Frame). The goal of my research was to collect enough data to provide thick descriptions and to analyze multiple resources when drawing conclusions, called triangulation. Mertens (1998) argued that these two qualities should be present in all qualitative research. While I did not specifically seek to conduct quantitative analyses, some of the data I collected were numerical and allowed me to present descriptive statistics about the incarcerated population in North Carolina.

Marshall and Rossman (1999) observed that a case study research design must “preserve the design flexibility that is a hallmark of qualitative methods” (p. 55). Because qualitative researchers are interested in people's perceptions and experiences, accurately predicting every nuance of the research domain is unlikely. The following pages outline my initial data collection plan and explain the changes that occurred throughout the data collection process.

Direct observation. Direct observation occurs through a field visit to a site and can consist of either formal or casual data collection activities. According to Yin (2003), “observational evidence is often useful in providing additional information about the topic being studied” (p. 93). Within my study, the direct observation served as an initial data collection point that helped guide my future data collection activities. The 19 members of the IAC of the NCDOC and the NCCCS were observed during their semiannual meeting that took place on May 15, 2007. One of the IAC coordinators gave me permission to attend this meeting, speak to participants and introduce my research (see Appendix C), and begin my data collection. Prior to the meeting, she distributed my

Description of the Case Study (Appendix D) and my Information and Direct Observation Informed Consent Form (Appendix E) to all members of the IAC via e-mail. Data were collected in the form of field notes, and no direct identifying information has been provided in the written analysis.

Following my initial observation of the IAC meeting, a number of individuals invited me to attend other meetings to conduct direct observations. Over the next few months, I attended several meetings and site visits to collect data, including the following:

- A NCCCS senior leadership meeting, with the system president and his cabinet; at this hour-long meeting, I made a brief presentation about my research and then sat to the side and took field notes
- A NCCCS Lunch and Learn session, hosted by the system president
- A visit from the U.S. Department of Education to audit federally funded transitional programs in North Carolina
- A meeting of the State Board of Community Colleges, including the program review committee; lunch was served by inmates from the NCDOC, and a presentation was jointly made by the NCDOC and NCCCS on PSCE
- A site visit to Harnett Correctional Institution, where I toured the education facilities and met with both NCDOC and NCCCS employees based at the prison

At all of these meetings and visits, I took hand-written field notes and collected whatever documentation was provided, and I used this information in my written analysis.

Semistructured interviews. Within qualitative research, according to Stake (1995), “the interview is the main road to multiple realities” (p. 64). Part of developing what

Creswell (1998) called a thick description of the case relies on the multiple perspectives offered by different informants. As a key component of my data collection, I conducted semistructured interviews using individualized interview guides (e.g., see Appendix F) or lists of questions I intended to ask during the interview that were taken from my research design table (Appendix A; Merriam, 1998). Before beginning my interviews, I used my theoretical framework to guide the types of questions I would ask during the interviews (see Appendix A). Using this list of questions paired with my theoretical framework ensured that I would collect data that would help me answer my research questions.

During the course of my research, I formally interviewed 22 people, including (a) 4 NCCCS administrators, (b) 3 NCDOC administrators, (c) 3 former North Carolina prison inmates who participated in PSCE, (d) 1 prison superintendent, (e) 1 prison director of academic programming, (f) 1 community college employee based at a local prison, (g) 1 community college provost, (h) 1 human resources manager for a company that hires former convicts in North Carolina, (i) 3 former NCDOC employees, (j) 3 former NCCCS employees, and (k) 1 former legislative fiscal analyst. I also spoke informally to a number of individuals involved with PSCE in North Carolina during direct observations. While my committee had suggested that I interview Fox Butterfield, a noted journalist who wrote on the topic of prisoners for the *New York Times*, local contacts were unable to provide correct contact information for him, and the repeated requests for information made to the *New York Times* went unanswered. Though unable to interview Butterfield directly, I did read his Pulitzer Prize–winning book, *All God's Children*, about one family's tradition of violence and interactions with the American prison system, as well as many of his articles. I also attempted to interview the current fiscal analyst for the

NCDOC, but a tight legislative calendar prevented him from being able to make time to meet for an interview either in person or by phone.

Informants were asked to participate in my study because of their role in PSCE in North Carolina. They were promised anonymity and asked to provide an alias for me to use throughout my case report on their interview consent forms (Appendix G). Many informants declined to provide an alias and gave me permission to use their names. In the case report, I eventually decided not to use aliases or real names, and instead called those I interviewed informants.

If these individuals had not provided enough data to reach saturation, I was prepared to use purposeful sampling to interview other employees within the NCDOC and the NCCCS who influence PSCE in North Carolina. This was not necessary, however, as I knew I had reached saturation when I began hearing the same stories repeatedly (Mertens, 1998). My interviews were scheduled over the course of five visits to North Carolina. On each trip, I would interview three or four informants, all individually, except in two instances. Following informant approval, interviews were digitally recorded, and I took written notes.

I began my interview process with my primary gatekeeper from the NCCCS following my initial direct observation of the May 15 IAC meeting. Once I had conducted the majority of my interviews, I conducted a second interview with my gatekeeper to answer many of the questions that had been raised during the data collection process.

Case study interviews should be open ended in nature and are designed to elicit facts as well as learn informants' opinions (Yin, 2003). Within my study, interviews were

designed to elicit a variety of information from respondents such as their perceptions on why North Carolina expanded access to PSCE. Moreover, I sought to determine where North Carolina's PSCE partnership between the NCDOC and NCCCS falls on Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) distributed structure spectrum. In their book, Brafman and Beckstrom identify 10 questions to determine the extent to which an organization is decentralized (see Appendix H). While I was able to answer some of these questions from documentation and observation, others required information directly from informants. My semistructured interview guide was designed to elicit this information.

Document review. According to Yin (2003), "documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic" (p. 85). As anticipated, this was particularly true with my case because the formal partnership of the IAC was created by written mandate from the North Carolina General Assembly. During my data collection period, I gained access to a rich variety of written policies, meeting minutes, announcements, e-mails, and other historical documents related to PSCE in North Carolina. I also utilized data made available through the NCDOC's Office of Research and Planning as well as publicly available numeric data available on the NCDOC Web site to provide context on the prisoner population.

My document collection occurred in three phases. Prior to my first trip to North Carolina, I collected all the publicly available documentation I could find, including legislation and policy documents and newspaper articles, and read the material thoroughly. As I read the material, I made notes of references to other documents I thought would provide useful information. My second phase of document collection began on May 15, with my first visit to North Carolina. I asked my gatekeeper and her

NCDOC counterpart to provide me with any documentation they believed would be useful to my study, including authorizing legislation, IAC planning documents and meeting minutes, and other internal documents. I also asked specifically for some of the documents I had identified as potentially useful during my first phase of document review. Third, I concluded every interview by asking participants to provide documentation that they believed might be pertinent to my research. Virtually every informant provided me with some written documentation, and I eventually used over 150 documents to conduct my unobtrusive and nonreactive content analysis (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006).

Data Analysis

In qualitative research, data analysis begins simultaneously with data collection, as the researcher makes decisions from the information collected about how future research should unfold (Stake, 1995). My questions specifically sought to understand how informants explained North Carolina's expanded access to PSCE as well as how the program functions today, analyzing both using theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure. As I conducted my direct observations and semistructured interviews, I continuously reviewed and evaluated the information to ensure that I had enough data to answer my research questions. As I was interviewing my last informants from the NCDOC and NCCCS, the information I heard was virtually all repeated from previous interviews, indicating to me that I had reached saturation.

Methodologists differ in their criteria for so-called good data analysis. In their book, Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) provided some guidelines but wrote that "you should not get the idea that qualitative analysis proceeds in a cookbook fashion. There is

no one right way to go about analysis” (p. 344). Despite this, an order for qualitative analysis generally exists. Specifically, my data analysis involved data transcription and data exploration and reduction.

Data transcription. Following participant approval, I digitally recorded every interview, using a tape recorder as a backup. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) argued for the value of the researcher transcribing interviews himself or herself, urging that

transcribing research data is interactive and engages the reader in the process of deep listening, analysis and interpretation. Transcription is not a passive act, but instead provides the researcher with a valuable opportunity to engage with his or her research material right from the beginning of data collection. (p. 347)

Though I found this argument compelling, my initial attempts at transcription quickly revealed that the amount of time it would take to transcribe each interview prevented reasonable progress. I immediately hired a professional transcriber and, following each day of interviewing, e-mailed her the digital files, and she would return the transcripts to me within a week.

To begin engaging with the material immediately, I would then check each transcript while listening to the recording. This served multiple purposes, including ensuring the accuracy of the transcript as well as giving me time to reflect on what I learned and determine how I needed to adjust my future interview questions to better answer my research questions.

By using this review process as a data analysis tool, I was able to adjust my data collection process as necessary, depending on the results of my ongoing interviews. Following transcription, I coded the data within the transcripts.

Data exploration and reduction. Coding data involves beginning to categorize themes within the notes and transcribed interviews to answer each of my research

questions. Shank (2002) reported that there are five elements of a good code: a label; a definition of the theme; a description of how to know when the theme occurs; a description of any qualifications or exclusions to the identification of the theme; and examples, both positive and negative, to eliminate possible confusion when looking for the theme. I began my data exploration by returning to my research design table that I had conducted prior to beginning data collection (Appendix A). This tightly designed mapping ensured that I knew which themes I needed to address to answer my research questions. I numbered each research question and then created a flash card with each question written on it, writing on the flash card which research question and which characteristic the question had been designed to elicit data about. Following this, I read through my transcripts. As I did, I numbered the interview questions on the transcripts so I would be able to flip through each transcript and easily identify who had addressed which questions. In turn, this allowed me to know who had discussed the characteristics in my theoretical frameworks.

Following my coding, I began developing generalizations based on my data and analyzed these generalizations in light of my theoretical framework (Mertens, 1998). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) called this the interpretation process and argued that there are no set boundaries between data collection, analysis, and interpretation; rather, these three events will occur simultaneously and affect each other throughout the course of the study. However, as the data collection concludes, the analysis and interpretation will take center stage. Throughout my analysis, I searched for patterns, or correspondence, in the data, which allowed me to identify important meanings through their repeated appearance (Stake, 1995). I found that as I worked through this process, the most effective way to

organize my thoughts was to have separate pages of notes for each characteristic. When I was finished, I had 8 pages of notes identifying aspects of the 8 characteristics I was using to analyze my first research question and 13 pages of notes identifying aspects of the 13 characteristics I was using to analyze my second research question. I then used this information to answer my third research question (chapter 6): To what extent do the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure explain the ability of the NCCCS and the NCDOC to provide PSCE? As I wrote my case study, I kept in mind Stake's (1995) 20-item checklist to attempt to ensure that I developed a high-quality case study (see Appendix I).

Validity

Within qualitative research, a primary concern is how the researcher portrays the phenomenon being studied. Because the researcher is both the instrument of data collection and the analyst, Stake (1995) argued that the case researcher must act as an interpreter of what he or she has seen and been told. The notion of validity in qualitative research has been criticized as being linked too closely to the positivist paradigm used by quantitative researchers (Creswell, 2003). Many have suggested calling it by other terms, including credibility and verification, to distinguish the different procedures used during the data collection and analysis. Though terminology may differ, the general purpose of validity is to ask "if there is a correspondence between the way the respondents actually perceive social constructs and the way the researcher portrays their viewpoints" (Mertens, 1998, p. 181). This section identifies strategies used to increase validity within my analysis.

Though there are numerous methods to ensure validity, utilizing every possible tool to ensure verification of the information collected is both cumbersome and unnecessary. Creswell (1998) listed eight possible procedures to ensure validity and recommended engaging in at least two of them in any given study: (a) prolonged engagement and persistent observation, (b) triangulation, (c) peer review or debriefing, (d) negative case analysis, (e) clarifying researcher bias, (f) member checks, (g) rich, thick description, and (h) external audits. In this study, I used triangulation, member checks, and thick description.

Triangulation. Triangulation, the use of multiple sources of evidence, is the most frequently used procedure to ensure validity within a case study (Shank, 2002). By triangulating the data, “the events or facts of the case study have been supported by more than a single source of evidence” (Yin, 2003, p. 99). Triangulation is one way to ensure readers that the data collection and analysis have been careful and nuanced and that sweeping conclusions have not been drawn from trivial comments. During data collection, I participated in direct observation, conducted semistructured interviews, and analyzed documents. In conjunction, these three sources should contribute to reader confidence regarding the validity of the data. Moreover, the same questions were asked of multiple informants to ensure the accuracy of facts. When accounts seemed to contradict each other, I would search for evidence in the written record and follow up with informants for member checks.

Member checking. Despite the researcher’s best intentions, one possible problem in qualitative research is misinterpreting the meaning of an informant’s words or deeds. Furthermore, sometimes certain errors of fact can occur by even the most rigorous

researcher. In the process of member checking, “the actor is asked to examine rough drafts of writing where the actions or words of the actor are featured . . . for accuracy and palatability” (Stake, 1995, p. 115). In addition to ensuring that the case report is an accurate document, participants who know prior to an interview that they will be asked to review their words for accuracy may answer questions with greater candor. Gaining the approval of the individuals studied may help with the dissemination of research results and increases the validity of my study. I was in contact with a number of informants as I analyzed my data to confirm matters of fact. Though my informants did not express interest in reviewing the entire dissertation prior to completion, they did ask to see an executive summary once the dissertation was finished. This will be written following the filing of the dissertation and sent to all informants.

Thick description. Providing a rich or thick description of the case is a vital component of any case report. Creswell (1998) wrote that “a rich, thick description allows the reader to make decisions regarding transferability” (p. 203), discussed further in the section Generalizability and Transferability; however, more generally, providing a rich, thick description helps my readers better understand the case and increases the confidence they have in the thoroughness of my research.

Generalizability and Transferability

Generalizability, the ability of the researcher to apply the findings from one study to another set of circumstances, is less feasible in qualitative research than in quantitative research. Stake (1995) wrote, “We do not choose case study designs to optimize productions of generalizations . . . the real business of case study is particularization. . . . We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different

from others but what it is, what it does” (p. 8). Within my study, the primary purpose is to understand the set of circumstances that allowed North Carolina to expand and maintain access to PSCE, not to understand whether North Carolina was representative of other state policy environments.

A secondary goal of this research is transferability, through which readers will have the ability to make parallels between this study and other states. For this to occur, the study must contain thick descriptions that allow outside readers to determine for themselves whether the findings are transferable to their situations, and specifically whether they could adopt North Carolina’s model of PSCE in their own contexts. Transferability is determined by the reader, not the researcher, though the researcher can increase the likelihood of transferability by creating a well-written and thorough case report.

Human Subjects’ Protection

Protecting the informants must be a component in any study using human subjects (Mertens, 1998). At the University of Maryland, College Park, all researchers must complete and have approved an Institutional Research Board (IRB) application prior to beginning data collection. The IRB application was completed and approved prior to the first visit to North Carolina for data collection. Following my successful proposal defense and IRB approval, I also had to submit an application to the NCDOC Human Subjects Review Committee. This committee reviewed my documentation, including IRB approval, and determined that this study was exempt, meaning that it did not meet their definition of human subjects’ research.

On the basis of my study design, all my informants were promised confidentiality and anonymity. Prior to data collection, informants were asked to complete information and consent forms (Appendices E and G) that outlined their rights and the purpose of the study. These signed forms have been kept in a locked file cabinet in my house, with an alias for the informant written on the form. All electronic interview files are filed on my computer and backed up on my external hard drive under the informant's alias. One year after successful dissertation defense, these consent forms will be shredded and the electronic versions of the transcribed interviews permanently erased. Any hard copies of the transcribed interviews will be shredded within 1 year of successful dissertation defense. My field notes are stored in the same locked file cabinet and will be shredded 1 year after successful dissertation defense. Electronic versions of interviews were stored temporarily on a digital recorder and immediately transferred to my password-protected computer and backed up on an external hard drive. After this data transfer, the digital recorder was erased.

Documents I received that are public record are stored in a file cabinet and will be recycled 1 year after successful dissertation defense. I have not had access to any data that identify specific prison inmates based on their participation in PSCE. Sensitive documents, including internal memos, e-mails, meeting minutes, and anything else not from the public record, are stored in a locked file cabinet in my house and will be shredded 1 year after successful dissertation defense.

All electronic versions of transcripts, documents, and so on, are stored on my password-protected computer, to which only I have access. All dissertation-related

information is stored on my computer hard drive in a folder labeled “dissertation” and backed up on an external hard drive that is stored in a locked file cabinet in my home.

This study was not designed to be deceptive in any way. Participants in the direct observation were e-mailed a consent form and a case study description ahead of time, outlining the purpose of this study and their rights as participants (Appendices D and E). Prior to participating in the one-on-one interviews, study informants were to read a description of the case study (Appendix D) and then read and sign the informed consent form (Appendix G). Subjects were informed of their rights, including the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty and have their information returned to them. All subjects were over the age of 18 years, and no one under state supervision (in prison, on probation, or on parole) was asked or allowed to participate in this research.

Political Considerations

Within any research study, there are certain considerations that the researcher must address. There are specific political considerations for my study. North Carolina is one of few states to develop a state-funded, large-scale PSCE program (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Subsequently, my research aims to highlight the characteristics of such a phenomenon so that other states could replicate the program if they wished; however, some programs have attempted to avoid notice from policy makers, politicians, and the news media. One risk of highlighting the program in North Carolina is that critics of PSCE may become aware of the program and take steps to dismantle it; however, I believe PSCE is well enough established in North Carolina that this potential risk is mitigated. Furthermore, there is growing public support for prisoner rehabilitation programs (Peter D. Hart Research Associates Inc., 2002; Simon, 2007).

Possible benefits are more likely to arise from this research. Many postsecondary correctional educators are rather isolated in their policy-making processes and are likely not aware of North Carolina's successes (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). A study outlining the state's efforts and calling attention to the number of inmates served may establish North Carolina as a leader in PSCE and give the programming more credibility. Furthermore, other states may be able to learn from and replicate North Carolina's PSCE model, which would allow the benefits of postsecondary education to accrue across the nation.

Summary

This chapter outlined my method rationale, my case selection, my research design, my data collection procedures, and my procedures for data analysis and report drafting. As this chapter repeatedly discussed, there is no one way to conduct a qualitative study; rather, interpretation and analysis are evolving processes that take shape both during and after data collection and are determined in part by what the researcher encounters in the field. Subsequently, my data collection strategies changed some as various connections and resources were made available. The following chapters describe my findings.

Chapter 4: Results for RQ 1

Introduction

This chapter and the two that follow describe the research findings in response to the three research questions. Data were collected through document review, direct observation, and interviews, primarily one-on-one. Chapters 4 and 5 are organized around the study's first two research questions: First, why did North Carolina expand access to postsecondary education for its prison inmates over a period when other states were restricting access? Second, how does North Carolina provide access to postsecondary education for its prison inmates? Chapter 6 answers the third research question, To what extent to the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure explain the ability of the NCCCS and the NCDOC to provide PSCE?

Chapter 4 begins by providing information on North Carolina in general, including a discussion of state demographics, education within the state, and background information on the NCDOC. The next section answers the first research question, explaining the nuances behind North Carolina's expanded access to PSCE while other states restricted access. Chapter 5 addresses the second research question, reviewing how North Carolina's program is structured and discussing in detail the role of the IAC and significant components of the partnership between the NCDOC and the NCCCS, while chapter 6 analyzes the findings in light of the study's theoretical framework.

North Carolina Context

This section describes the North Carolina context and lays the foundation for understanding how and why North Carolina expanded access to PSCE. Specifically

discussed are state demographics, voting patterns and gubernatorial leadership, postsecondary education, crime patterns, and criminal justice policy and corrections.

North Carolina has a rapidly expanding resident population, which increased over 10% between 2000 and 2006, reaching 8,856,000 people (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006). In 2006, education levels of North Carolina's citizens were slightly lower than average education rates across the United States, with 82% of the population age 25 years and older having completed a high school degree, compared to the 84.1% national average. The same pattern was true for college completion in 2006, when 24.8% of North Carolina's population age 25 years or higher had a bachelor's degree or more compared to the national average of 27% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006).

Research demonstrates that individuals with higher education levels earn more income over their lifetimes than their less educated counterparts (Baum & Payea, 2004). North Carolina citizens demonstrate this, with a 2006 median household income of \$42,625, compared to the national average of \$48,451 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006). Notably, though, the 2006 North Carolina homeownership rate of 68.1% is slightly higher than the national average of 67.3%. This is likely attributable to two factors. First, home ownership costs less in North Carolina, with a 2006 median value of owner-occupied properties of \$137,200, compared to the national average of \$185,200. Second, North Carolina, though ranked 33rd in the nation in terms of labor participation for those aged 16 years and older, has a slightly higher percentage of the population actively participating in the labor force: 65.1%, compared to the 65% national average (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006). Together, these two factors increase the likelihood that North Carolina citizens can own their own homes. North Carolina citizens' commutes are 6%

shorter than the national average. Though this does not necessarily indicate that they are geographically working closer to home, they are able to spend more time at home before they must leave for their employment and may experience closer ties to their communities.

North Carolina's racial demographics reflect the historically greater predominance of African Americans in the southern United States. Over 20% of North Carolina's residents are African American (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006), compared to the U.S. average of 13%, and there is a correspondingly higher percentage of Black-owned businesses in North Carolina. Asians and Hispanics are underrepresented compared to their presence across the United States. Relatedly, North Carolina has a much lower rate of non-English spoken in the home than the national average (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006).

The majority of registered voters in North Carolina, 45%, are Democrats. The next largest group of voters are Republicans at 35%, and unaffiliated voters compose the other 20%. For the past 30 years, voting rates during presidential election years have hovered around 64%; in nonpresidential election years, the percentage drops to about 45% (North Carolina State Board of Elections, 2007).

Over the past three decades, North Carolina has had only four governors, creating unprecedented gubernatorial stability in the history of the state. Governor James Baxter Hunt Jr., a Democrat, served two terms from 1977 to 1985, then served another two gubernatorial terms, from 1993 to 2001 (State Library of North Carolina, 2004). He is the only governor of North Carolina to manage such a feat and was known as the "Education Governor." Governor Hunt's (2001) book *First in America: An Education Governor*

Challenges North Carolina outlined his general education philosophy. Though the book specifically focused on K–12, Governor Hunt included occasional comments about postsecondary education, including the idea that all students who graduate high school should be able to receive at least 2 years of college or technical training. His commitment to postsecondary education is further demonstrated by his recent participation on the Spellings Commission on the Future of Higher Education and his current position as a board member for the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education.

During the 8 years between Governor Hunt’s two 4-year terms, North Carolina was governed by James Martin, the state’s second elected Republican governor in the 20th century. A noted environmentalist in the 1970s as well as a college chemistry professor prior to entering elected office, Governor Martin made education and expansion of the biotechnology industry priorities during his tenure. Following Governor Hunt’s second two terms, Governor Easley, a Democrat, entered office in 2001 and remains governor today.

Traditionally, North Carolina has been heavily agriculturally based and a leading supplier of tobacco for the United States. Tobacco still plays a central role in the economy of North Carolina, though manufacturing of furniture and textiles has surpassed the agriculture industry. The recent downturn of the nation’s economy has caused some significant layoffs in North Carolina and has created greater emphasis for the NCCCS to provide workforce development. In the past decade, biotechnology and other industries have moved their operations to North Carolina, and state leaders have deliberately worked to make North Carolina a hospitable state for such vehicles of economic growth (Spivey, 2007). As a result, many of the cities are growing at a rapid rate, with leaders

emphasizing the need for retraining and reeducation for the citizens of North Carolina (Lancaster, 2002). North Carolina's colleges and universities, and especially its 2-year sector, are expected to step into this role.

Postsecondary education in North Carolina. There are 116 institutions of higher education in North Carolina. The majority of them, 74, are public institutions. Of those, 58 are community and technical colleges, which compose the NCCCS, and the other 16 are part of the University of North Carolina (UNC) system. In fall 2006, there were 202,381 students enrolled in 4-year postsecondary education programs in North Carolina. An additional 192,774 students were enrolled in colleges making up the NCCCS (Wang, 2007). Nationally, the majority of students attending community college are not enrolled in programming that would lead to transfer to a 4-year institution, and the trend is mirrored in North Carolina, where only 23.3% of community college students were considered college transfer students seeking an associate of arts degree, an associate of fine arts degree, or an associate of science degree (Wang, 2007).

The NCCCS is notable for its sheer size, with 58 community colleges spread across 100 counties. According to one informant, "you can't throw in a rock in this state without hitting a community college or its satellite" (see Appendix J). As was the case with many states, North Carolina's community college system expanded rapidly following World War II. In its *Fact Book*, the NCCCS attributes this growth to a changing economy that forced awareness that degrees besides the traditional 4-year bachelor's degree would be necessary (Lancaster, 2007). In his well-reasoned dissertation, Westcott (2005) concurred with this, though he emphasized that there were some tensions along the way. For example, though a 1952 study proposed a plan for the

development of a state-supported community college system, it was only 5 years later, in 1957, that the North Carolina General Assembly began appropriating money for community colleges. Moreover, a flaw in the legislation made tuition at these junior colleges higher than tuition at the public universities in North Carolina, resulting in the charter of only two 2-year colleges by 1962. Wescott attributed this slow progress in part to the issue of segregation, which hampered new educational ventures, as state leaders struggled with the aftermath of *Brown v. Board*.

This changed in 1961, when North Carolina governor Sanford appointed the Governor's Commission on Education Beyond the High School to examine and provide recommendations for the educational future of the state (Wescott, 2005). The following year, a report titled *Community Colleges for North Carolina: A Study of Need, Location, and Service Areas* suggested that community colleges would be the most economic solution to the growing shortage of postsecondary education in North Carolina. The commission formally adopted this recommendation, unleashing a process that concluded in 1964 with 11 community colleges, 12 technical institutes, 6 industrial education centers, and 5 extension units, laying the foundation for the system that currently exists today. Wescott described this development in detail, and though he queried his informants as to whether the system was developed to promote segregation, all of them emphatically insisted that the community college system had never been segregated and, in fact, had helped integrate the rest of the state. Whether this is true or not, Wescott was unable to find conclusive evidence linking the development of the NCCCS to segregationist efforts; rather, he indicated that the development of the NCCCS was stalled until the most vocal segregationist tendencies had been quieted.

Once the door opened for the development of a 2-year college education sector, the number of community colleges in North Carolina continued to expand rapidly. According to the NCCCS public history, “by 1966, there were 43 institutions with 28,250 full time equivalent (FTE) student enrollments. In 1969, there were 54 institutions with 59,329 FTE” (North Carolina Community College System [NCCCS], n.d., para. 6). Growth continued, albeit more slowly, and in 1978, the Department of Community Colleges added its final institution, Brunswick Community College, bringing the total number of community colleges in North Carolina to 58 (NCCCS, n.d.).

Today, all 58 community colleges are assigned a service area by the central NCCCS office, ensuring that no portion of the state is without access to postsecondary education (Lancaster, 2007). In the past decade, the NCCCS has become more coordinated by its central office. Budget requests are now submitted after consensus has been reached by the individual community colleges, ensuring that all colleges sing with one voice to the General Assembly. In 2000, the General Assembly passed the largest higher education bond measure in the history of the state, providing the NCCCS with \$600 million for construction, repair, and renovations of community college facilities. Senior leadership at the system office attribute the passage of this bond to consensus budgeting and the greater coordination it fostered.

The NCCCS is the primary provider of PSCE to North Carolina’s incarcerated population. To ensure that this continues, system employees coordinate very carefully with the NCDOC, as described in this and the following chapters. Though the focus of this study is the formal partnership between the NCDOC and the NCCCS that began in the 1980s, the long-standing interactions between the two agencies are worth noting.

According to Wescott's (2005) interview transcripts, from the very beginning, community colleges had an entrepreneurial nature and sought enrollments wherever they could find them, including prisons. In searching for a written history of correctional education in North Carolina, Ellis (2006) found that none existed, though her informants agreed that some prisons had offered correctional education since at least 1974. The NCDOC's Education Services Office concurs, claiming in its annual report that the partnership between the NCDOC and NCCCS has existed for over 30 years (T. Beck, Bennett, Boyette, & True, 2007). There is an important distinction, however, between the early PSCE offerings and the later ones. Specifically, the early offerings were episodic and localized, depending on the initiative of individual community leaders, rather than support from central system offices. In contrast, the central leadership teams from both the NCDOC and the NCCCS were involved in the creation and maintenance of the later partnership.

North Carolina corrections. The history of North Carolina corrections begins in 1884 with the finished construction of Central Prison, still in use today. In 1925, the North Carolina General Assembly changed oversight of the state's three prisons and eight road camps from a corporation into a department of state government (NCDOC, n.d.). The next decades were marked with the development of numerous prison industries, including concrete pipe pouring, farming operations, and tailoring operations, designed to help the state benefit from incarcerated labor as well as reduce inmate idleness.

According to the NCDOC's published history, "in 1957, North Carolina became the first state to initiate a work release program that allowed inmates to work in private employment during the day and return to confinement at night" (NCDOC, n.d., para. 11).

Eight years later, North Carolina desegregated all prisons in North Carolina and established mental health services in the prisons. Structurally, the NCDOC that exists today was established in 1974, placing under one roof the Division of Prisons and the Division of Adult Probation and Parole (“NCDOC Marks 50 Years,” 2007).

Like many states, North Carolina was hard hit by the crime wave that swept the United States in the 1980s and 1990s. Between 1984 and 1994, North Carolina’s reported crime index rate increased 39.6%, substantially higher than the average increase in the nation and the South (North Carolina Department of Crime Control and Public Safety, n.d.). During the same period, North Carolina’s incarceration rate grew 33.9%, straining the criminal justice system at all levels. In the mid-1990s, the crime rate and the incarceration rate began to level out, and by 2006, the crime index rate had dropped to 4,623/100,000 persons, compared to the 1994 rate of 5,591/100,000 (North Carolina Department of Justice, 2007). While today, North Carolina’s crime rates are lower, the Division of Prisons within the NCDOC is still feeling the effects of the stricter sentencing philosophies of the 1990s, which led to longer average sentences for inmates. According to the North Carolina Department of Crime Control and Public Safety, between 1984 and 1994, the percentage of inmates who received sentences in the 10 years to life category nearly doubled, while the percentage of the population who received sentences of 6 months or less dropped by more than 75% (see Table 4).

Today, the NCDOC is one of the largest state agencies in North Carolina, with a \$1 billion annual budget and over 20,000 employees. The agency is responsible for the oversight of incarcerated people in North Carolina as well as those on probation or parole, currently totaling about 125,000 individuals. The NCDOC has four major

Table 4

North Carolina Incarceration Rates by Length of Sentence, 1984 and 1994

Length of sentence	Percentage of incarcerated population	
	1984	1994
6 months or less	18.1	4.1
6 months to 1 year	17.7	9.4
1–2 years	21.5	22
2–5 years	24.3	28.2
5–10 years	9.6	22.9
10 years to life	7.7	12.3

Note. Data are from *Crime and Justice in North Carolina: An Examination of 1984–1994*

Data and Trends, by North Carolina Department of Crime Control and Public Safety, n.d., retrieved December 4, 2007, from <http://www.gcc.state.nc.us/trends.htm>

subdivisions: the Division of Prisons, the Division of Community Corrections, the Division of Alcohol and Chemical Dependency Programs, and Correction Enterprises (NCDOC, 2007c). All operations are overseen by the secretary of corrections, currently Mr. Theodis Beck, who has three deputy secretaries to assist him.

North Carolina has 79 correctional institutions supervising nearly 39,000 men and women (NCDOC, 2007a; see Figure 3). The prisons are distributed across the state and are labeled minimum-, medium-, or close-level security, depending on the confinement level of the inmates. Nearly half of the facilities are minimum-level security, and only 14 are close-level security, the highest security level. Ninety-three percent of inmates are men, and 58% are African American (see Appendix K).

Within the Bureau of Prisons resides Education Services, a 14-person central NCDOC office dedicated to providing educational services to inmates to help them manage their incarceration and become productive citizens on release. The individuals in this office liaise with all NCDOC facilities and coordinate education services at all levels,

from ABE through bachelor's degrees. Moreover, the employees within this office are the primary contacts with the NCCCS central office and some of the primary proponents of PSCE.

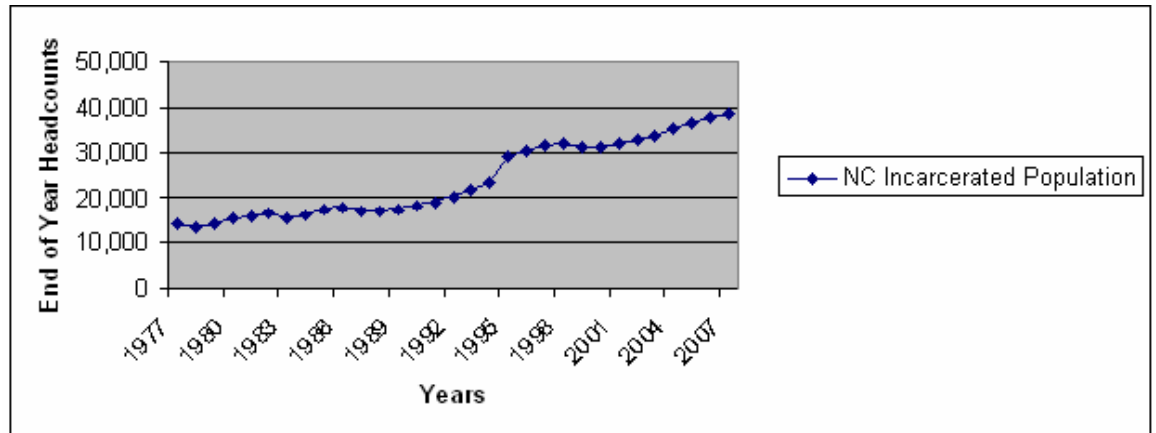


Figure 3. North Carolina state prison population, 1977–2007. Data are from *Sentenced Prisoners Under State or Federal Jurisdiction*, by G. Hill and P. Harrison, 2005, Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics; and *Report of Prison Population*, by North Carolina Department of Correction, 2007d, Raleigh: Author.

Having provided an overview of North Carolina, the following section seeks to answer the study's first research question: Why did North Carolina expand access to postsecondary education for its prison inmates over a period when other states were restricting access?

North Carolina's Decision to Expand PSCE

Informants and documents both indicate that prisons within the NCDOC and community colleges within the NCCCS have worked together to provide PSCE since at least 1974; however, there is an important distinction between the early localized PSCE offerings in North Carolina and the coordinated statewide effort that officially began with

the General Assembly's passage of House Bill 50 in 1987. Prior to House Bill 50, PSCE offerings were localized efforts spearheaded purely by prison and community college officials in the community. As a result, efforts to provide PSCE were uneven across the state, with some communities providing active programming and others without any type of correctional education services, except those provided by the NCDOC. One informant who began working at the NCDOC in the mid-1980s reported that at the beginning,

there were few programs like this [that would offer a vocational diploma or certificate]. . . . There was one at Piedmont Correctional in Salisbury that had a variety of educational opportunities and there were educational opportunities at the youth prison in Morgantown. But it wasn't widespread. Not all prisons even had GED programs.

North Carolina's efforts to expand PSCE began in the mid-1980s and coincided with national criminal justice policy trends. In the 1980s and the early 1990s, the majority of states in the United States implemented get tough policies, enacting mandatory sentencing, zero tolerance, and three-strike laws with the intent of deterring crime through harsher punishments and fewer programming options for the incarcerated (Ditton & Wilson, 1999). Like its colleagues, North Carolina also implemented structured sentencing with the passage of the Structured Sentencing Act of 1994. Notably different, however, was the collaboration taking place concurrently between employees of the NCDOC and the NCCCS, who worked together to develop a comprehensive program that helped inmates gain access to postsecondary education. The following section discusses the factors that influenced the development of this partnership in order to answer my research question, Why did North Carolina expand access to postsecondary education for its prison inmates over a period when other states were restricting access? The answer to this question is complex. On the basis of documentation, interviews, and

direct observation, research indicates two categories of motivation: legal and legislative factors and the culture and values of the citizens of North Carolina. While individually, one of these motivations might have been enough to develop North Carolina's PSCE programming, when the two were combined, they played off each other to ensure the marriage of pragmatism and idealism that lies beneath North Carolina's PSCE programming.

Legislative and legal factors. The pragmatic streak running through PSCE policy in North Carolina is evident in virtually every interaction, document, and decision made by the NCDOC and NCCCS. This may have developed, in part, because of the very realistic confluence of factors that led North Carolina to begin expanding its PSCE offerings. Specifically, a series of legislative and legal factors that occurred in the mid-1980s helped ensure that the NCDOC and the NCCCS would work together to provide PSCE.

The first legislative factor leading to expanded PSCE access came about in the mid-1980s. The North Carolina Department of Community Colleges, renamed the North Carolina Community College System a few years later, was under scrutiny from the General Assembly for the way correctional education was being managed by each college. The close examination began when the chief fiscal analyst for the legislative staff, who was in charge of the community college budget, began analyzing how FTE enrollments were generated through prison programming. As she told it,

I was surprised about the proportion it represented at different college budgets. . . . In some cases maybe a third or more of their total budget was generated by prison education and it didn't make sense to me. . . . I wanted to know why the colleges were running these programs and whether or not they were [using them] as a mill to generate monies to operate other parts of their college.

To answer her question, she began looking at each college's budget to determine whether there was any correlation between the location of the prisons and the size of the service area. If a prison was the primary client of a local community college, that might explain such high enrollments. When this failed to provide an explanation for her findings, she began to meet with community college officials, both at the colleges and within the central office, to find out why this was occurring.

During her investigatory phase, this fiscal analyst received mixed information regarding the role of correctional education within the community colleges. By her account, some of the college presidents justified their actions by arguing that providing PSCE would reduce recidivism rates and that offering such programming was a key component of the community college's mission. Others, however, were defensive and pointed to general under-funding as a motivation for using correctional education FTEs to supplement their general operating budgets. Eventually, the fiscal analyst made a report to the community college presidents about the issue and told them,

I've been to the community colleges where they got this [high percentage of prison FTEs] issue, I met with them and I've been to the prison education programs and I have determined that they're using this to generate FTE. This is not about prison education, this is about an easy way to generate money, because they're not spending the money they generate and putting it back into prison education. They don't have anything in place to determine whether or not they have a quality program of prison education, they don't have any measures about whether or not these people who get out of prison are able to get jobs and use those skills.

She eventually convinced the NCCCS central administration to recognize that this was a problem and that community colleges would be vulnerable to legislative criticism if they continued to use prison FTEs to fund non-prison programming. This entire review and discussion process culminated in North Carolina House Bill 50, arguably the most

significant PSCE legislation in North Carolina history. In its entirety, this one-page bill mandated that the NCDOC and the NCCCS work together to

Jointly develop and submit to the Special Committee on Prisons no later than April, 1988, a comprehensive plan for academic, remedial, vocational, and technical education to adult inmates. This plan shall specify for the system as a whole and each prison unit the programs to be offered; mechanisms for approval, funding, and oversight of programs; divisions of responsibility in delivering programs; mechanisms for ongoing evaluation of programs; provisions for appropriate referral and assignment of inmates to programs; facility, equipment, and staffing needs for implementing the plan; and a schedule of implementation. (“An Act to Develop a Program,” 1987, §1)

Though the two agencies had a history of working together to provide PSCE, the passage of House Bill 50 both cemented and made more transparent their relationship, including formalizing the role of the IAC of the NCDOC and the NCCCS, further discussed in the next chapter. The first significant task for this committee was to draft, by February 1988, the “Preliminary Report of a Joint Correctional Education Plan.” This report contained six sections. Specifically, it (a) defined the correctional education that the NCCCS would provide, (b) identified the approval mechanism for course and program offerings, (c) determined the audit process for correctional education programming, (d) clarified the funding procedures for correctional education, (e) assigned responsibility of program delivery by appropriate provider, and (f) delineated administrative tasks necessary for program support. House Bill 50 and the subsequent preliminary report laid the foundation for all future interactions between the NCDOC and the NCCCS, and many of its stipulations remain unchallenged today.

According to one informant, the legislative purpose behind House Bill 50 was to help the community colleges generate student FTEs. While this seems to contradict the chief fiscal analyst’s conclusion that using prison FTE to help boost resources was

inappropriate, the difference between the programming before and after House Bill 50 became clear as the General Assembly mandated that the IAC identify a series of rules and regulations regarding the way PSCE would be provided in North Carolina. Essentially, House Bill 50 ensured that the days of each community college and prison running its own program according to its own rules were over. At the same time, it recognized that many of the community colleges in North Carolina were located in small communities that did not contain a critical mass to offer certain types of programming. Providing correctional education allowed the colleges to boost their enrollment and revenues, and in turn gave them greater freedom in using the resources to provide education to both prisoners and the general community, as long as they followed the guidelines. By mandating that the NCDOC and NCCCS work together to develop detailed PSCE policies and procedures, the General Assembly answered the primary concern of the chief fiscal analyst that PSCE be of justifiable, and measurable, quality to warrant the use of taxpayer funding.

While the actions of the General Assembly in cementing the PSCE relationship clearly benefited the NCCCS, on the surface, the rewards for the NCDOC were less clear. Inviting outsiders into a correctional facility opens the door for rule breaking, both by inmates and visitors. The possibility of visitors smuggling in contraband, treating inmates unfairly, and failing to understand the rules and priorities behind correctional policy represent very real threats to the day-to-day functioning of a prison. Likewise, inmates might take advantage of the visitors' unfamiliarity with prison routine to break any number of rules. During the same period that House Bill 50 was passed, however, other

events unfolded in North Carolina that provided significant motivation for the NCDOC to work closely with the NCCCS.

The *Small v. Martin* lawsuit served as the second factor that led to the expansion of PSCE in North Carolina, providing significant impetus for the NCDOC to partner with the NCCCS in providing PSCE. In the 1980s, North Carolina began to face many of the same criminal justice issues as other states across the country. Certain policy components of the get tough movement, such as mandatory sentencing, directly contributed to overcrowding within prisons, with the number of individuals convicted and incarcerated reaching previously unseen rates. Though North Carolina experimented with some temporary measures, including outsourcing to private prisons and shuffling inmates around on buses to keep the daily head counts at prisons below requirements, these were not permanent solutions. In 1985, inmate James Lenard Small and several other prisoners from North Carolina filed a class action lawsuit against Governor Martin, the secretary of the Department of Correction, and the director of the Division of Prisons, on behalf of inmates at 49 minimum- and medium-security prisons, claiming that the overcrowded living conditions within North Carolina prisons constituted cruel and unusual punishment. Following a lengthy hearing, and rather than risk intervention from the federal government, the state entered into a 1988 settlement of the *Small v. Martin* lawsuit.

The settlement of the *Small v. Martin* case contained a number of provisions that directly influenced correctional policy in North Carolina. Specifically, and of greatest import to postsecondary correctional educators, was the sixth settlement requirement, labeled “Programs,” that read,

The Division of Prisons remains committed to providing program opportunities for inmates as evidenced by the plan developed by the Department of Correction and the Department of Community Colleges. . . . The Division will strive to provide program and work opportunities for all inmates except where health, new admission, or custody status preclude participation. (Small v. Martin, 1988, p. 7)

According to informants, both parties took the intent behind this provision to mean that inmates eligible for education programming based on their custody status should be provided opportunities to participate whenever feasible.

When considering why the NCDOC and the NCCCS began to work together, one NCCCS informant replied matter-of-factly,

We got the [NCDOC] to do business with the community colleges [because of the settlement]. They were under the court order and the community college was under the legislative gun for funding. . . . It was a kind of shotgun wedding. The primary reason they [the NCDOC] made it work was because they had to.

Since the passage of House Bill 50 and the *Small v. Martin* settlement, the legislature has remained an influential presence in North Carolina correctional education. In 1993, Senate Bill 27 made two provisions regarding correctional education. First, “correctional education programs shall report full-time equivalent (FTE) student hours on the basis of contact hours rather than student membership hours” (p. 93). This particular provision was to address the problem of inmates’ removal from programming prior to completion. According to informants, sometimes as many as two-thirds of inmate-students would be removed from classrooms for various reasons, greatly compromising the educational quality. Using contact hours instead of student membership hours meant that community colleges would only receive funding if students were actually in attendance. Community colleges that did not receive FTE would stop providing educational services, which would force the prisons to find other, more costly, ways to prevent inmate idleness. Subsequently, the contact hour reporting gave community

colleges a way to ensure that the NCDOC would work with them to ensure course completions. The second provision of Senate Bill 27 placed the State Board of Community Colleges (State Board) in charge of developing a plan for how correctional education would be provided. Specifically, the bill mandated that “this plan shall address the length and type of course, taking into consideration the mobility of the prison population” (pp. 93-94). This was the first legislation to specifically involve the State Board of Community Colleges, and it clearly articulated the legislative intent that the NCCCS would be the primary correctional education provider in North Carolina.

Following the passage of Senate Bill 27, the State Board convened a statewide Prison Education Task Force, which successfully recommended in 1994 that the State Board adopt “A Plan for Appropriate Community College Education in North Carolina’s Correctional Facilities.” In this plan, the State Board endorsed the definition of correctional education that the NCDOC and the NCCCS had hashed out in their 1992 cooperative agreement. This definition reads,

Correctional education provided through the NCCCS shall be for the purpose of providing appropriate basic skills, occupational continuing education, and vocational, technical and post-secondary academic education that enables inmates to enhance and maintain their personal growth and development in order that they function effectively in prison and upon returning to the community. All courses and programs provided through the NCCCS shall be appropriate to these purposes and shall not be designed for population control, therapy, recreation, production processes of the enterprise operations of the correctional facility, or other purposes which may be legitimate objectives of DOC program efforts. (North Carolina Prison Education Task Force, 1994, p.3)

According to informants, the distinction between what is and what is not correctional education was very intentional. From a policy standpoint, the strict delineation lies behind the way the NCCCS is reimbursed for the students it instructs. Specifically, the community college does not earn its FTE for courses

that are the responsibility of the Division of Prisons. According to one community college informant, “It’s not that the Division of Prisons wouldn’t have it at all, it’s that we would not earn FTE for it.” Given that revenue generation was a primary reason for the partnership between the NCDOC and the NCCCS, if the local community college could not earn FTE for a course, it would not offer it within the local prison.

While circumstances dictated that the NCCCS and the NCDOC work together to provide PSCE, there were no guarantees that the so-called shotgun wedding was going to be successful. Though the General Assembly required collaboration between the NCDOC and the NCCCS, there were no exact guidelines for the subsequent plan the two agencies developed, as one NCCCS informant pointed out: “The law says we’ll teach them—it doesn’t say when or how.” When considering why North Carolina chose to expand PSCE and model the program the way it did, factors beyond legal requirements and legislative intent came into play. Specifically, the culture within North Carolina and the values of the individuals responsible for implementing PSCE played a substantial role in shaping the growth of college-level programming for inmates and ensuring continuation of the partnership, even when legislative attention was focused elsewhere.

Culture and values. The individuals working for the NCDOC and the NCCCS to provide PSCE recognize the seeming ambivalence the state has toward corrections policy. On one hand, with the implementation of the Structured Sentencing Act in 1994, North Carolina signaled to its citizens and the rest of the United States that it was going to get tough on crime by punishing convicted offenders with lengthier sentences. On the other hand, the state was simultaneously expanding its prison programming to address the

very issues that led to incarceration in the first place, a condition that one informant called “schizophrenic.” When articulating the reasons that led North Carolina policy makers to expand access to PSCE when other states across the country were restricting it, informants recognized that pragmatism played only a part. Though there were legal and legislative mandates forcing the partnership, the enthusiasm and dedication demonstrated by individuals within each agency speaks to a core set of values and culture that played a significant part in helping to shape the way North Carolina would expand access to PSCE. Specifically, attitudes about culture and values provided three reasons for providing PSCE: (a) PSCE saves taxpayer dollars by lowering recidivism, (b) North Carolina is the education state, and (c) PSCE is “the right thing to do.” The following section outlines these three components of North Carolina culture and values, helping to explain why the partnership embraced the legislative and legal requirements and expanded PSCE to such a large segment of the incarcerated population.

For some, expanding access to PSCE was a rationale choice that would save the state money by reducing recidivism. One former NCDOC employee characterized it as “pay now or pay later” and, as an aside, mentioned that “the cost of [PSCE] is just not that significant.” According to one former administrator for the NCCCS, “We save the state money every time somebody didn’t go back to prison because they had an education.” While for many, the bottom line was dollars saved, others talked about expanding access to PSCE to keep people out of prison so that they can rejoin society. One high-level NCDOC official reported that many North Carolina administrators and legislators have generally argued that “education is important. If people are not going to come back to prison, if they’re going to have an opportunity to work in gainful

employment and become citizens and part of us, they have to have skills.” This strong belief that education would provide a vehicle for transition from prison to society was echoed throughout the interviews.

Many of the informants interviewed mentioned the potential to save money by offering PSCE through decreased recidivism, and the former chief financial officer for the NCCCS explained, “The whole thing was [based on] if they have an education when they come out they’ll be more likely not to go back”; however, he continued by pointing to the lack of data on this topic, specifically in North Carolina:

Whether that’s true or not I never did see the results of that totally, but I do believe that if you taught someone a skill or taught them to read and write the likelihood of them being able to get a job increased.

The willingness to believe in the value of education without hard data to back up the assumption speaks to the overall tenor of the education state.

Many informants, when queried as to why North Carolina provided PSCE to inmates, mentioned Governor Hunt, the “education governor.” While Governor Hunt likely did help to steer the educational culture and values of the state, it is worth mentioning that until 1996, North Carolina did not allow its governors to veto legislation, making it tied for last as the weakest state chief executive office in the nation (“Last Governor,” 1995). Perhaps more important is the sentiment that “it’s part of the [state] culture that we believe in education.” This message was reinforced throughout the interviews with great pride. One NCDOC employee said,

There’s the whole aura of education being important to people, being important to moving ahead, being important to being players in the future, and our two most recent governors . . . have been very strong education supporters and both have seen education as a vehicle to promote the state’s economy and growth.

The history of pride in education is demonstrated by a quick review of the K–12 system in North Carolina. Of the children enrolled in public school, 56.7% are White and 31.4% are Black. Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians make up the additional 12% of enrollment (Lee & Atkinson, 2006). In 2004–2005, North Carolina spent over \$11 billion educating 1,395,810 students in the public K–12 sector, with a per pupil expenditure of \$7,159, excluding enrollment in charter schools (Lee & Atkinson, 2006; U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). This spending however is lower than the national average of \$8,701 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). Moreover, spending per pupil in North Carolina has not kept up with the national rate of growth (see Figure 4).

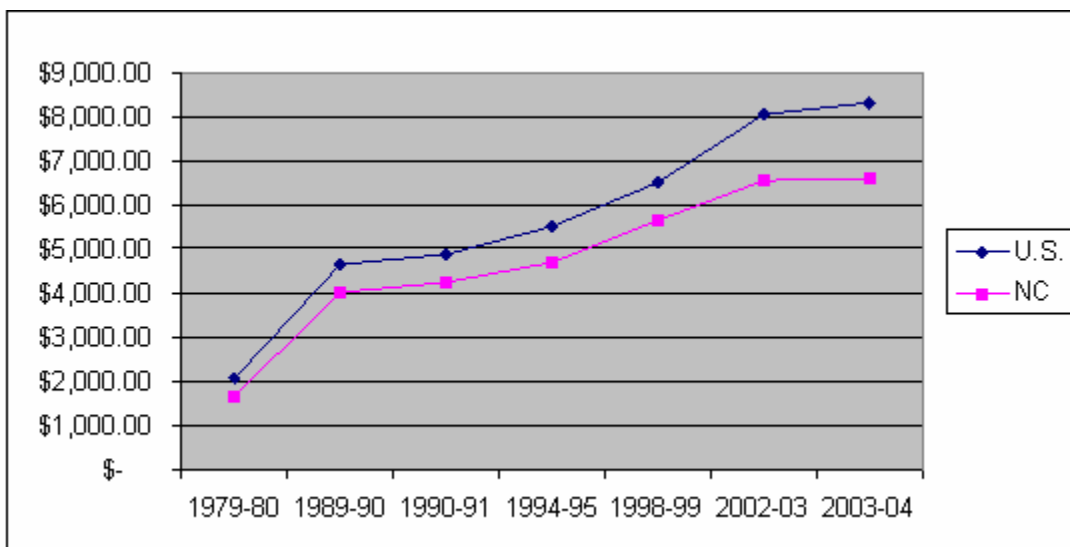


Figure 4. Expenditure per pupil in fall enrollment, United States and North Carolina, 1979–2004. Data are from *Digest of Education Statistics 2006*, by T. D. Snyder, S. A. Dillow, and C. M. Hoffman, 2007, Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education.

Between 1989 and 1990, spending per pupil increased 62% in North Carolina, compared to 79% nationally. Despite the lower funding per pupil, North Carolina has

embarked on an ambitious program to strengthen K–12 education in the state. Beginning in the mid-1980s, and spurred in part by the publication from the National Commission on Excellence in Education of “A Nation at Risk,” which argued that the American educational system was suffering the effects of mediocrity, North Carolina’s Governor Hunt began spearheading education reform (Ward, 2001). Subsequently, widespread reform began in 1985, when the General Assembly directed the State Board of Education to develop a Basic Education Plan, which was designed to greatly improve the quality of K–12 education in North Carolina.

Data provided by the U.S. Department of Education National Assessment of Educational Progress reveal a substantial increase in eighth-grade math test scores that coincides with North Carolina’s K–12 educational reform efforts. During this 17-year period, North Carolina’s average eighth-grade math score increased over 30 points and surpassed the national average by a narrow margin (see Figure 5).

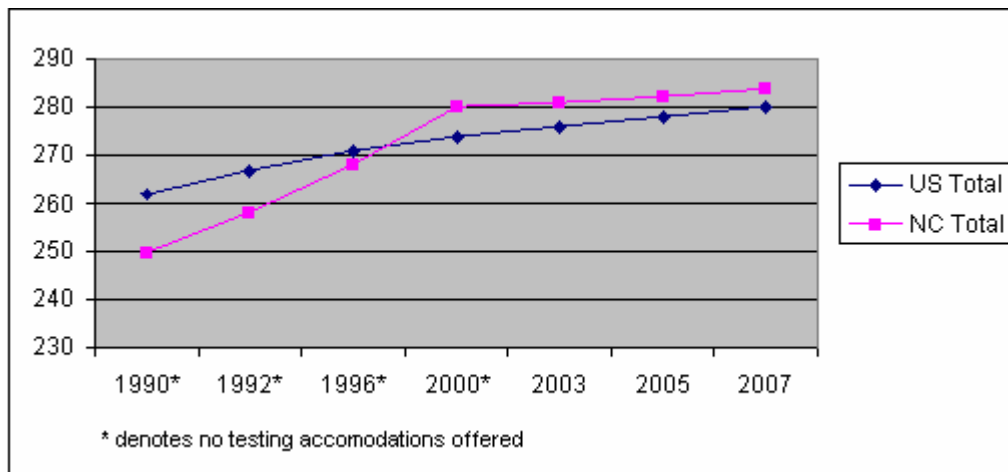


Figure 5. U.S. and North Carolina eighth-grade math scores, 1990–2007.

In contrast, over the past 10 years, the average eighth-grade reading score has declined in North Carolina, dropping five points and falling slightly below the national

average (see Figure 6). This might be attributable to the rapidly changing education policies in North Carolina. In 1995, the General Assembly required the State Board of Education to develop a plan to reorganize public education, and the following decade saw the implementation of that plan. A key component was the accountability plan, called the *ABCs of public education* (Ward, 2001). This plan sought to do three things: (a) strengthen local school accountability, (b) emphasize mastery of basic subjects, and (c) provide as much local decision making as possible (North Carolina State Board of Education, 2007). Whether one agrees with this type of accountability movement, these efforts illustrate the intense focus North Carolina places on education and a general effort to measure the value of education.

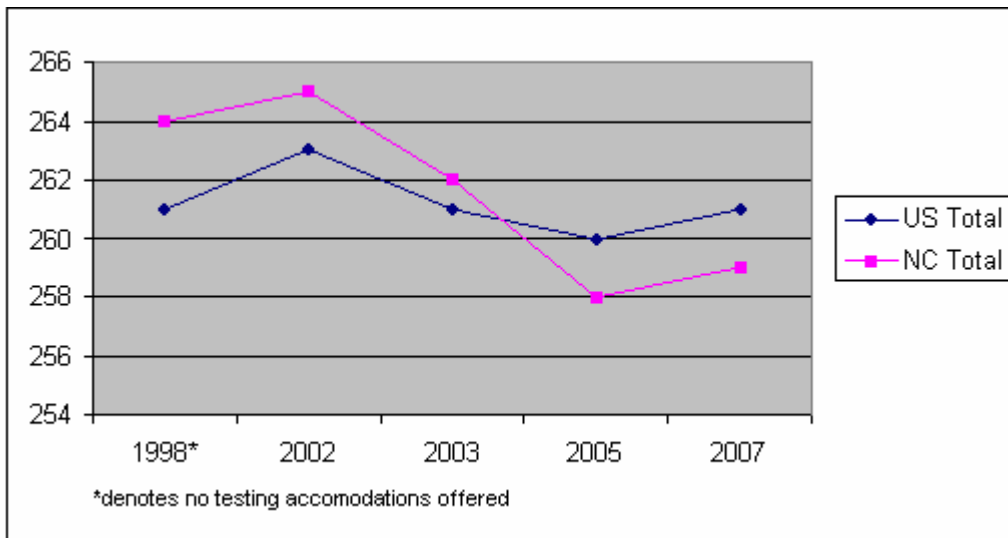


Figure 6. U.S. and North Carolina eighth-grade reading scores, 1998–2007.

The statewide attitude about the value of education transfers to inmates as well.

One informant mused,

North Carolina is a traditional state. . . . It's also basically an agrarian state. It's very much committed to Hebraic-Christian values but it believes in small towns,

it believes in family and church, and I think the values that undergird all those value systems of course include what you do for the incarcerated.

The community responsibility toward each other, even for the incarcerated, was mentioned repeatedly by those interviewed; however, just as notable is the awareness mentioned by informants that by supporting each other's enterprises, small-town community colleges and correctional institutions ensure community stability.

Another influential factor in explaining the shaping of North Carolina values is the state constitution, which explicitly includes a section titled "Benefits of Public Institutions of Higher Education" and commits the resources of the General Assembly to providing state citizens access to public institutions of higher education, as much as practicable, free of charge (Article IX, Sec. 9). Officials in both the NCDOC and the NCCCS have interpreted this article to include inmates and strive to ensure that inmates continue to receive access. One current community college administrator reflected that after living away from North Carolina for a period of years, "one of the first things that I recognized when I came back was its commitment to correctional education."

One indicator of the value the state placed on correctional education in the 1980s and 1990s was its lack of reaction to the federal government's removal of inmate eligibility for Pell grants. According to informants, the state already had committed to providing FTE funding to community colleges that educated inmates, and the majority of correctional education was provided by community colleges. Though inmates would have used Pell grants to take courses at institutions outside the NCCCS, funding was unnecessary for inmates taking courses through the NCCCS because the state was already responsible for those incurred costs. Subsequently, while other states were scrambling to find alternate sources of funding for their PSCE programming, North Carolina was

relatively unaffected by the removal of federal funding educational opportunities for inmates.

Finally, a number of informants reflected that providing PSCE seems like the right thing to do. One employee of Educational Services within the NCDOC spoke heatedly on this topic, arguing, “I know that when my boys were growing up they knew they were going to have food on the table, they knew that their parents gave them unconditional love . . . and a lot of these folks [inmates] don’t.” Another former NCDOC employee reflected,

There are people on the fringes of society barely making it all the time and most of us in the middle class cannot even envision what folks living that lifestyle are actually going through. And I just tend to believe in giving extra opportunities because you never know what a person went through growing up, you never know what caused them to end up having the struggles they have that results in prison or not working or whatever the issue might be. . . . I think that people who are struggling in life to barely get by—it takes these intermittent interventions with different people along the way to help them stand up enough so they can move forward on their own.

Both NCDOC and NCCCS administrators spoke passionately when rationalizing why providing PSCE is the right thing to do. According to a former NCDOC employee,

People need to feel like they have some sense of accomplishment. I mean really, if all it is, is a form of therapy so to speak, than that’s fine too. I think that there are so many reasons to do it.

On the NCCCS side, a current member of the senior leadership team spoke vividly:

I believe we [the NCDOC and NCCCS] hold a common value in terms of what education can do for a person. . . . I just think people believe that education can change a person’s life and they want to give that inmate a second chance.

Summary

The research demonstrated that the path to expanding PSCE began in the 1980s, nearly a decade before the federal government removed Pell grant eligibility from

inmates. When examining why North Carolina chose to expand access to PSCE at a time when other states were restricting access, findings reveal that two factors led to such an event. First, legislative and legal action ensured that the NCDOC and the NCCCS entered into a so-called shotgun wedding that was mutually beneficial. Second, state culture and values emphasizing the importance of education created a climate where education was seen as a positive opportunity for all.

Both the legal realities and the cultural landscape of North Carolina are key components when explaining why North Carolina chose to expand PSCE while other states were restricting access. While the legal mandates were clear, the entrenchment of the belief in the value of education ensured that the required partnership ended up as more than a marriage of convenience lasting only as long as the court order. After 20 years, the partnership of the NCDOC and the NCCCS remains vibrant, with widespread support throughout the two government agencies and the local communities within which so many of their employees reside. The following chapter describes how the partnership functions today to provide PSCE to North Carolina's prisoners.

Chapter 5: Results for RQ 2

Introduction

While the previous chapter outlined why North Carolina expanded access to PSCE at a time when other states were restricting access, this chapter addresses my second research question: How does North Carolina provide access to postsecondary education for its prison inmates?

How North Carolina Provides PSCE

The legal requirements and state culture that led North Carolina to expand its PSCE in the 1980s formalized a relationship between the NCDOC and the NCCCS that remains comprehensive and vibrant today. The following section describes how North Carolina currently provides postsecondary education to its inmates. Specifically discussed are the providers of PSCE, academic versus vocational education, PSCE enrollment in North Carolina, the NCCCS and NCDOC organizational components that provide staffing for PSCE, the functioning of the IAC, the matrix system, funding, enrollment and inmate management, central authority versus local autonomy, and programmatic issues.

PSCE providers. There are three sources of adult PSCE in North Carolina: the NCCCS, the University of North Carolina (UNC), and Shaw University. By legislative intent, the NCCCS is the primary provider of both ABE and PSCE, and each of the 79 correctional institutions that compose the NCDOC receives some kind of educational programming from the community college in its region. The NCCCS offers postsecondary certificates, diplomas, and associate's degrees to incarcerated individuals.

Though this study focuses specifically on the relationship between the NCCCS and the NCDOC, there are two other sources of PSCE in North Carolina in addition to the NCCCS that offer limited access. Through a contract with the NCDOC, the UNC offers on-site instruction to inmates at six facilities; another three facilities allow inmates to take courses from UNC through North Carolina's Information Highway, a videoconferencing and Web conferencing service. Finally, over 100 of UNC's correspondence courses are available to inmates across the state who meet the academic and eligibility requirements; 650 inmates enrolled in correspondence courses in 2005 (T. Beck et al., 2006). Eligibility for the UNC correspondence courses is tightly restricted, and the state uses both Education Welfare funds and funding from the Incarcerated Youth Offender Grant to cover the costs.

Shaw University, the third provider of PSCE, is a private, historically black, 4-year institution in Raleigh that offers associate's and bachelor's degrees at two correctional facilities. Shaw University assumes all financial responsibility for the funding of this program (T. Beck et al., 2006). This program has strict eligibility requirements and limited enrollment, with 29 graduates in 2005.

Though UNC and Shaw University are worth noting as PSCE providers, by legislative and legal intent, the vast majority of North Carolina's correctional education is provided by the NCCCS. Because this study specifically seeks to understand how North Carolina provides statewide access to postsecondary education for its inmates, the remainder of this chapter focuses on the relationship between the NCDOC and the NCCCS to understand how inmates in all 79 correctional facilities gain access to PSCE.

Programming: Academic versus vocational. PSCE can be either academic or vocational in nature. While both are designed to help inmates transition back to society postrelease, vocational education tends to be tightly focused on the trades and culminates in a certificate or diploma, while academic education provides the first 2 years of a college education and culminates in an associate's degree or, in rare cases, a bachelor's degree. Those interviewed in North Carolina took an extremely pragmatic approach to PSCE, arguing that prisoners ultimately need to participate in programming that will lead to employment on release. One current NCDOC employee spoke passionately on the subject, arguing,

If we want an ex-inmate to have any responsible chance of going out and securing employment, we should be providing the type of training that will enable them to do that. . . . There's no magic bullet to this, this is common sense. Those fields are in the trades. They're in the technical fields. It doesn't mean that there aren't thinking skills . . . but clearly opportunities in business in the traditional areas—certainly in human services, sales to some extent—are severely limited.

The two former inmates interviewed also spoke eloquently about the issue. When asked whether vocational or academic PSCE made the most sense, one former inmate mused, "I'm going to say a vocational degree, simply because a lot of jobs that you can get through vocational degrees have less stigma [attached to them]." This individual went on to explain that in her opinion, even if an inmate had a 4-year degree from Shaw or UNC when released from prison, no one would hire the ex-inmate because of his or her record of incarceration. She discussed the need to manage her own expectations on release: "This is a very humbling process. . . . I just can't expect to be a professional, be an inmate for a period of time, and then go back and say I want the same thing as before." In this individual's case, she already possessed a bachelor's degree when incarcerated,

but a vocational degree represented an opportunity to transition into a law-abiding lifestyle on release.

The NCDOC organizes correctional education into three categories: academic programs, vocational programs, and life skills. The NCCCS provides both vocational and academic coursework, while by agreement the NCDOC is responsible for providing life skills education (North Carolina Prison Education Task Force, 1994). The academic programs offered by the NCCCS include ABE, GED preparation, and college-level academic courses and degrees. Vocational programs include one-semester curriculum programs, two-semester diploma programs, and the shorter occupational extension courses. Life skills courses provided by the NCDOC include employability training, interpersonal communication, family life, and character education.

Informants most familiar with the workings of correctional education in North Carolina observed that there are some definitional problems between how the NCDOC and the NCCCS measure certificate completion rates. Specifically, the NCDOC does not distinguish between postsecondary certificates and vocational certificates, so enrollment data attempting to separate the two is difficult to find. In contrast, the NCCCS divides PSCE into curriculum courses and continuing education courses, where curriculum courses include all courses offered for college credit and continuing education includes courses and programs that do provide college credit. Notably, however, regardless of whether a GED or high school diploma is an enrollment prerequisite, officials within the NCDOC and the NCCCS consider the majority of this education post-high school. One informant explained,

The reason we would consider it post–high school is that we’re charged with serving adults, and even though every adult in the state doesn’t have a high school diploma . . . everything we do is post–high school.

Nevertheless, because of the definitional problems, delineating those who participated in academic versus vocational PSCE is difficult. Moreover, the data will differ depending on which agency provided them.

Subsequently, the data in the Erisman and Contardo (2005) publication reporting North Carolina’s high participation in PSCE were likely inflated. While Erisman and Contardo had requested data omitting noncredit vocational education, this research indicates that the NCDOC included noncredit vocational certificate data with the postsecondary vocational certificate data. From the NCCCS standpoint, the system receives FTE head count funding regardless of whether inmates participated in vocational or academic programming at the postsecondary level. As a result, there is no economic motivation to enforce definitional purity among all the branches of the NCDOC and NCCCS purely for the sake of data collection. While the data were likely less delineated than Erisman and Contardo might have wanted, it is likely that other states had similar definitional issues when responding to the researchers’ questions. As a result, Erisman and Contardo’s understanding of enrollment in academic versus vocational PSCE may have been less clear than initially determined.

PSCE enrollment in North Carolina. Although there are some definitional issues when measuring enrollment in PSCE in North Carolina, the data from the NCCCS and the NCDOC generally tell the same story. According to NCCCS data, the majority of inmates who participate in PSCE are enrolled in continuing education, which includes vocational education courses that do not require a GED or high school diploma as an

enrollment prerequisite. For the most recent 5-year period, 2001–2006, both the duplicated head count and the FTE have remained relatively stable in both categories of education, with 30% of enrollment coming from curriculum education and the other 70% in continuing education (see Table 5).

Table 5

Community College System Enrollment in Postsecondary Correctional Education (PSCE) in North Carolina, Based on Full-Time Equivalent (FTE)

	2001–2002	2002–2003	2003–2004	2004–2005	2005–2006
	Continuing education				
Head count (duplicated)	47,557	43,864	43,332	42,716	44,349
FTE	4,371	4,241	4,175	4,340	4,283
	Curriculum				
Head count (duplicated)	21,192	18,624	19,747	20,133	20,541
FTE	2,803	2,386	2,633	2,746	2,783

Note. Data are from *A Matter of Facts: The North Carolina Community College System*

Fact Book, by H. M. Lancaster, 2007, Raleigh: North Carolina Community College System.

The NCDOC reported an average monthly enrollment for PSCE of 10,516 inmates in 2006 (see Table 6). Over one-third of this education is life skills, which by law is not provided by the NCCCS. Students assigned to educational programming full-time are split evenly between academic and vocational education, while about 80% of part-time students are enrolled in academic programming. The most likely explanation for the part-time imbalance is that vocational programs tend to require more hours per day for education, which would require inmates to forego work opportunities that would provide them with income. In contrast, inmates could participate in both work programs and part-time academic programming.

Table 6

Average Monthly Enrollment Reported by the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDOC), 2006

Program	Enrollment	
	Full-time	Part-time
Academic programs (includes adult basic education, general education development preparation, selected associate's degree programs)	2,023	2,079
Vocational programs (includes curriculum certificates, diplomas, and occupational extension)	2,131	607
Life skills (includes employability training, interpersonal communications, family life, character education; does not include substance abuse education)	157	3,519
Total average monthly enrollment	10,516	

Note. Data are from *Educational Services Annual Report, Calendar Year 2005*, by T.

Beck, B. Bennett, B. Boyette, and R. True, 2006, Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Correction Education Services.

Though previous research indicated that North Carolina enrolled over 9,000 inmates in PSCE in 2003–2004 (Erisman & Contardo, 2005), deeper probing indicates that this number is inflated as a result of definitional problems. Moreover, it seems likely that data from other states probably have similar issues, compromising one assumption of this study, that North Carolina is a leader in PSCE because of the number of inmates it serves compared to other states. Despite this issue, we can be certain that the NCDOC partners with the NCCCS to provide correctional education to one-third of all incarcerated individuals and that the providers consider the education that they are providing to be postsecondary in nature. Furthermore, the longevity of such high enrollment numbers ensures that this state remains a case of interest and worthy of study.

Organizational components. While the NCCCS and the NCDOC coordinate to provide PSCE, a 1993 mandate from the General Assembly assigned responsibility for

the design of PSCE to the State Board, which serves as the governing authority for the NCCCS. As a result, the State Board must approve any policy changes in the way PSCE is provided in North Carolina. Informants for both the NCDOC and the NCCCS made clear that their agencies implement the PSCE policy that the State Board creates. The State Board meets once a month, and virtually every time, they review something related to correctional education. When queried as to whether she was bothered by the State Board role in PSCE, one NCDOC official replied, “I like the fact that there is this board that somewhat governs the educational programming, and so I feel like it is more consistent statewide.” Moreover, the same contact emphasized that she never felt as though the State Board favored the NCCCS over the NCDOC, characterizing the relationship, instead, as a respectful partnership.

As the official governing body that oversees PSCE in North Carolina, the State Board is responsible for making all policy decisions and ensuring that the legislative intent of the General Assembly is met. Specifically, the State Board approves each version of the “Cooperative Agreement on Programming of Correctional Education Between the North Carolina Department of Correction and North Carolina Community College System.” This agreement dictates everything from the purpose of the IAC of the NCDOC and NCCCS to the programming parameters, such as how new prison programs are established, which agency has responsibility for which tasks, and inmate eligibility and participation regulations.

Within the NCDOC–NCCCS partnership, the organizational commitments to PSCE are evidenced through their structures and missions. According to an NCCCS publication,

The mission of the North Carolina Community College System is to open the door to opportunity for individuals seeking to improve their lives and well-being by providing:

- Education, training and retraining for the workforce, including basic skills and literacy education, occupational and pre-baccalaureate programs.
- Support for economic development through services to business and industry.
- Services to communities and individuals which improve the quality of life. (NCCCS, 2007, p. 1)

Centrally, the NCCCS has interpreted this mission to include PSCE and has the vice president for academic and student services responsible for managing the NCCCS component. Within this division, a coordinator for criminal justice and correctional education is responsible for overseeing the day-to-day issues facing the NCCCS's interests in correctional education. Specifically, the person in this position serves as the primary liaison with the central offices of the NCDOC.

At the community level, each of the colleges has at least one employee who manages the individual college's interests in correctional education. The exact role of this local-level liaison can differ between colleges, depending on specific need, and the individual may even be based at the local correctional institution, as is the case with Harnett Correctional Institution, described later.

Though specific positions within the NCCCS are tasked with providing support and oversight to PSCE, both direct observation and interviews confirmed that all levels of the NCCCS remain informed regarding PSCE and take an active role, when required. This was witnessed by the researcher at a senior staff meeting when the president of the NCCCS asked specific questions about PSCE and displayed a substantial functional knowledge of how the programming works. The same was observed at the local level, when the campus-based provost at Central

Carolina Community College explained the programming at Harnett Correctional Institution in very specific detail.

On the NCDOC side, the Educational Services central office within the Division of Prisons is responsible for coordinating all aspects of correctional education. According to its Web site,

The mission of Educational Services in the North Carolina Division of Prisons, Department of Correction, is to provide services to those inmates who participate in education activities so that they may become responsible and productive persons who can effectively manage their incarceration and make contributions to their community upon release. (Education Services, n.d., para. 1)

Like the NCCCS, the NCDOC has a designated liaison, whose primary responsibility is to coordinate centrally with the NCCCS liaison on a day-to-day basis. The chief deputy secretary of corrections has ultimate oversight of PSCE within the NCDOC; however, he spoke candidly about his role and his interaction with the liaisons:

[The liaisons] are there at the day-to-day stuff. . . . I'd say 5% of the stuff gets up to me and 95% of the day-to-day stuff they're handling between themselves. . . . They're the ones doing the heavy lifting.

At the local level, the cooperative agreement between the NCDOC and NCCCS dictates that the NCDOC provide an education coordinator in each correctional facility, who is responsible for coordinating education programming. This person usually works closely with the community college contact at the local level.

The significant PSCE involvement at multiple levels was mentioned repeatedly by informants. In general, employees ensuring access to PSCE in North Carolina work long hours in close contact with their colleagues. One NCDOC employee said, "Personally, I

very much enjoy going out and working direct services, and interacting with individuals, trying to figure out what the problem is. . . . In a manner, I am a consultant and a technical assistant.” This model of face-to-face contact is especially notable in such a large state, where it might take someone half a day to reach a correctional facility. From the PSCE standpoint, it began in the late 1980s, when it became clear to NCDOC and NCCCS employees that as the IAC began to develop the cooperative plan, goals could only be accomplished if stakeholders sat down at the table together. One early informant reported, “One of the things that was obvious to me is that there were a lot of opportunities with community colleges that weren’t being taken advantage of.” Subsequently, leadership from each side traveled together to meet with the leaders of local community colleges and correctional institutions to hammer out specific agreements, making over 50 trips in a 2-year period.

From a continuity standpoint, the central offices of both the NCDOC and NCCCS have had notable staff stability, which sources attribute to the success and speed with which problems are addressed. One of the liaisons reflected, “I think there are a few things that have moved forward a little faster because we [the liaisons] knew up front . . . what the point was and where it all came from.” The current liaisons for the NCDOC and the NCCCS both left their positions and then returned later, in part because they believed in what the state was trying to achieve. Their dedication has played an important role in the stability of the partnership and of the IAC. Moreover, those in central and local PSCE leadership positions today were in the trenches at the beginning of program development, ensuring that senior leadership actually understands and buys into the purposes of PSCE programming.

The Interagency Committee. The IAC of the NCCCS and the NCDOC is an important component of the partnership between the two agencies. Though many informants agreed that the partnership would likely continue without the IAC, most attributed it with providing the ongoing foundation for open communication between the two agencies.

Accounts differ of the founding of the IAC. While the written record reports that the IAC was founded following House Bill 50 in 1987 (“Cooperative Agreement,” 1992), two informants reported that the IAC existed prior to House Bill 50 and was likely founded in 1986 by command of the General Assembly. The Session Laws of the North Carolina General Assembly do not reflect such a recollection, indicating either that the IAC was spontaneously created by members of the NCDOC and NCCCS or that House Bill 50 led to the IAC’s necessity. Either way, the written record and informants’ memory all point to the 1988 “Preliminary Report of the Joint Correctional Education Plan” as the first significant product from the IAC. This preliminary report, described previously, laid the foundation for the relationship between the NCDOC and the NCCCS.

Over the past 15 years, the IAC has met at least twice a year and serves to guide policy decisions that would impact the way PSCE is provided in North Carolina. One of its primary duties is to ensure the renewal of the cooperative agreement between the two agencies; the last agreement was approved by the State Board in 2002 (see Appendix L), and informants report that it will be up for review again shortly. In addition to formalizing the cooperative agreement, the IAC serves to help employees of the NCDOC and NCCCS maintain their working relationships and ensures that key policy makers hear the same information a couple times a year. Multiple informants were very adamant,

though, in stressing that the IAC does not make policy decisions itself; rather, it informs policy makers, particularly in the form of senior leadership within each agency and the State Board.

The 2005 IAC had 19 members, though informants reported that nonmembers would also be welcome at meetings. Membership was split between the NCDOC and the NCCCS, and direct observation revealed positive working relationships on both professional and personal levels.

Because the personal and professional relationships are so strong, one informant pointed out that “little is done in between [meetings of the IAC] that people don’t know about and so it doesn’t have to wait for them to reconvene.” In essence, today, the IAC helps maintain consensus among senior leadership, while mid-level managers keep things running throughout the year. Indeed, the importance of the actual meetings of the IAC seems to wax and wane. One former NCDOC employee who was active during the development of the formalized partnership said, “If you hadn’t mentioned the IAC I don’t think I would have remembered it.” This informant attributed the growth of the IAC to the current NCCCS liaison, who “beefed up” the IAC.

Matrix and course offering decisions. According to informants, one of the most important components of the NCDOC–NCCCS partnership is the correctional education matrix, which determines which prisons may offer what types of educational programming (see Appendix M). The correctional education matrix is based on a careful formula that ensures that specific PSCE programs are only offered at prisons where inmates would be able to finish them. Specifically, a prison’s matrix category is decided by the NCDOC based on the average length of stay of inmates at that facility. If the

average length of stay is 120 days, only programs that can be completed within this amount of time are allowed to be taught by the local community college that serves that institution. As a result of this matrix, only prisons classified as a 2 or higher are able to provide PSCE; however, as indicated by Figure 7, the majority of North Carolina's 77 prisons fall within this group (see Appendix N).

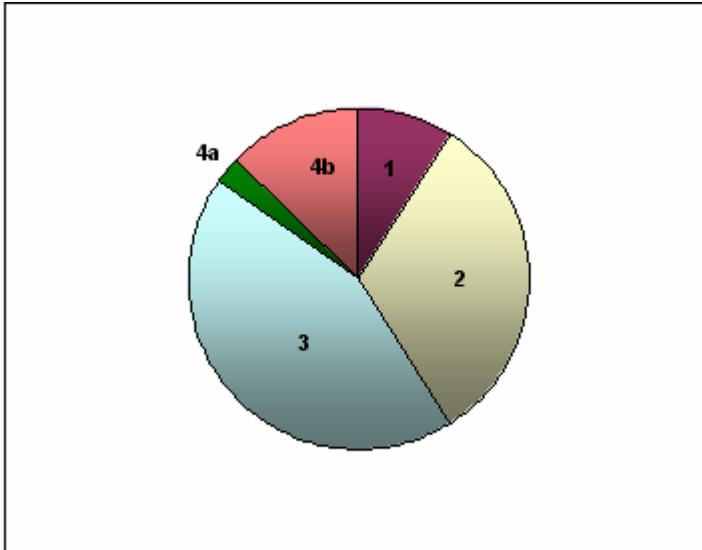


Figure 7. North Carolina's prisons' matrix classifications.

The impetus for the correctional education matrix came in 1993, when the General Assembly instructed the State Board to “work with the Department of Correction on offering classes and programs that match the average length of stay of an inmate in a prison facility” (“Administration of Institutions,” 2006, p. 3). This directive was in response to extremely low PSCE completion rates and a general concern that taxpayer dollars were being wasted on inefficient programming. At the same time the General Assembly wrote this special provision into law regarding the matrix, it also changed the way the NCCCS would count FTEs to encourage both the NCDOC and the NCCCS to

increase inmate retention in courses. The matrix was to be a joint effort from the two agencies to address these concerns and ensure that inmates participated in programming that was appropriate for their needs.

Following the 1993 special provision from the General Assembly, the president of the NCCCS formed a Prison Education Task Force to draft a response. The Task Force had 17 members from across North Carolina, including two community college presidents, academic administrators, NCDOC and NCCCS administrators, local area staff, and a community college trustee. Though some of these Task Force members were also on the IAC, most of the local participants would not have been familiar with the centrally staffed IAC.

In short order, the Task Force gave its recommendations to the State Board, who approved them the same day. The resulting “Plan for Appropriate Community College Education in North Carolina’s Correctional Facilities” outlined a series of important assumptions regarding PSCE in North Carolina and reiterated that adoption of the matrix system might result in significant course offering changes at the local level.

Today, the NCDOC is responsible for assigning prisons a matrix category that determines the type of education inmates might receive there. The Offender Population Unified System is the data management tool used to track inmates, and it provides up-to-date information on program enrollments and completions, allowing NCDOC administrators to make changes to a prison’s classification, if necessary. By legislative intent and Task Force design, the matrix specifically ensures that PSCE programming in North Carolina leads to a desired outcome, rather than providing inmates with random classes that might not help with employment on release. According to all written accounts

and informants, the matrix is the cornerstone to the successful NCDOC–NCCCS partnership.

An important priority for the General Assembly, and one that is monitored by the State Board, is parity of course quality between PSCE and the education provided by the community colleges to nonincarcerated individuals. In addition to considering matrix classification, local community colleges are only allowed to offer courses inside the prison that are offered to local residents as well. All postsecondary education courses and programs offered by a community college in the correctional setting must have prior written approval of the State Board (23 NCAC .2E.0403.) and must adhere to the educational guidelines of the correctional education matrix. Moreover, the community colleges are only allowed to offer courses that would lead to a specific degree; no stand-alone courses will be approved by the State Board. When inmates are released from prison, they receive college transcripts that are identical to ones they would receive had they taken courses as non-incarcerated students. Their certificates, degrees, and diplomas are also identical to those offered outside of prison. Because the 58 community colleges in North Carolina function as a system, articulation is not a problem if inmates are transferred between prisons; in fact, all prison education records are stored in a centralized database so that case managers can easily reference information on the inmates under their authority. On release, the centralized NCCCS ensures that inmates can transfer courses between community college institutions. The NCCCS also has a comprehensive articulation agreement with the UNC system, composed of 16 senior-level colleges and universities, that would allow inmates who had gained an associate's degree to enroll in a 4-year institution on release from prison.

To ensure that correctional education programming maintains a coordinated and systematic focus, a joint course–program approval process has been adopted by the NCCCS and the NCDOC. Before a request may be recommended to the State Board for approval, it must be reviewed by state-level staff of the NCCCS and the NCDOC. In making its recommendation, the NCDOC will consider the appropriateness of the program for the offender population (e.g., licensing requirements, safety issues), statewide labor market demands, fiscal and space availability, and offender average length of stay at a facility.

Funding. When states decide whether to provide PSCE, one of the most important issues is how to fund such programming. This was made apparent in the 1990s, when changes to the federal Pell grant program removed inmate eligibility. Overnight, the funding source for the vast majority of PSCE opportunities dried up, and many of the programs folded completely. Unlike other states, North Carolina’s PSCE programs were virtually unaffected because the vast majority of inmate PSCE programming had never relied on Pell grant funding. Instead, the state developed a number of funding mechanisms to ensure that inmates had access to publicly funded programming, including tuition waivers, contact hour reporting, start-up funding, and Inmate Welfare funds.

By design, the NCCCS functions under a low tuition–high state aid funding model. For fall 2007, the system charged \$42 per semester hour for resident students, with a maximum tuition charge of \$672 per semester. In 2006–2007, 69.1% of community college costs were funded by the state, and only 12.5% of costs were funded through tuition revenue. The NCCCS provides tuition waivers for a number of citizens

each year, which it can afford to do in part because it receives a relatively high appropriation from the state per FTE student enrollment.

This tuition waiver is an important component to the way North Carolina funds PSCE. All inmates who receive instruction from the NCCCS receive a tuition waiver. According to informants, free tuition is one of the keys to success in North Carolina. One former community college administrator pointed out, “How are they going to pay for it if you don’t give them tuition? Simplest way, pay us to go ahead and do the job, that way we don’t have to argue with the DOC.” Another current community college administrator agreed that the colleges cannot worry about having to collect tuition from inmates because of the logistical issues involved.

In addition to tuition waivers, there are three sources of funding available to the NCDOC and NCCCS when providing PSCE programming: state FTE funds, start-up funds, and Inmate Welfare funds. One of the most important components of PSCE funding resides within the appropriations process. North Carolina does not make specific appropriations for prison education, and according to one NCCCS informant, “there is no differentiation between the value of a prison FTE or the value of an FTE taught on a college campus,” as both are funded equally. The NCCCS calculates both prison and general FTE using student enrollment hours. For curriculum courses, 512 hours of instruction are equivalent to 1 FTE student, while non-curriculum courses require 688 hours for 1 FTE. This funding agreement has been in place since the 1988 “Preliminary Report of a Joint Correctional Education Plan,” which was developed by the NCCCS and the NCDOC. In this plan, both sides agreed that

the courses delivered by the institutions of the North Carolina Community College System should be funded through the State Board of Community

Colleges through regular funding mechanisms and funding for special programmatic efforts such as facilities and special support services should be provided through the Department of Correction. (North Carolina Department of Community Colleges and Department of Correction, 1988)

This funding scheme remains unchanged today. The only piece that has evolved is the way FTE is calculated for inmates. Instead of using a census date, the way most colleges do, contact hour reporting was implemented in 1994 by the legislature to slow down the movement of prisoners. Specifically, the legislation reads,

Community colleges shall report full-time equivalent (FTE) student hours for correction education programs on the basis of contact hours rather than student membership hours. No community college shall operate a multi-entry/multi-exit class or program in a prison facility, except for a literacy class or program. (“Administration of Institutions,” 2006, p. 3)

If inmates did leave prior to course completion, the NCCCS would not receive FTE funding for those individuals. In turn, if the NCCCS did not receive FTE funding, it would stop partnering with the NCDOC to provide PSCE. The FTE formula combined with the matrix creates a system designed to keep inmates in one place until they finish their programs.

Because the budget does not specifically identify inmate revenue and there is no annual inmate education appropriations process, it is difficult to calculate how much revenue was generated through inmate education. Data from 1990 reveal that during a 5-year period, inmates provided 2% to 3% of the system’s curriculum FTE; 7% to 9% of the occupational extension FTE; and 10% to 15% of the basic skills FTE. Moreover, 8% to 10% of all GEDs awarded annually were to inmate students (North Carolina State Board of Community Colleges, 1998).

The amount that the NCCCS receives per FTE is determined by the annual appropriation from the General Assembly (see Table 7). Subsequently, the amount varies

Table 7

Appropriations for FTE, 1997-2000

	Curriculum (dollars)	Basic skills (dollars)	Occupational (dollars)
1997–1998	3,819.85	4,114.64	3,254.33
1998–1999	3,817.77	4,002.58	3,403.31
1999–2000	3,995.92	4,216.49	3,550.93

year to year, though the trend is for the amount to increase. Basic skills education is the most expensive for a community college to provide; subsequently, the amount per FTE is highest for basic skills education. Curriculum falls in the middle, and occupational FTEs generate the least amount of money.

In North Carolina, the NCCCS receives its appropriation the year after education services are provided. Subsequently, while the appropriations process works for those programs already in existence, leaders at the NCDOC and NCCCS realized the need to develop a supplemental funding mechanism for new programs. By agreement, they developed a procedure where, when prisons are expanded or new programs are authorized, the legislature provides start-up funds to the NCDOC. In turn, the NCDOC passes that money to the NCCCS so that the individual college can pay its instruction costs for the first year, when the program is technically unfunded. One NCCCS informant praised the role of the Division of Prisons in developing this particular funding system:

Over at the Division of Prisons, the Educational Services folks have done a really good job of educating their managers that if you want programming—and there’s a huge push: keep inmate idleness down; put them to work or put them to school—that the college cannot come and help if there are no start-up funds. And they got that message and they see it as their job to provide the start-up funds.

An additional source of funding arrives in the form of a small grant from the General Assembly to the NCCCS. Beginning in 1999, the General Assembly has given the NCCCS \$50,000 annually “to small community colleges, for them to provide

education and training for inmates that could not otherwise afford to provide service.” The CFO of the NCCCS is responsible for allocating this funding, depending on his knowledge of the individual institution’s needs. Document review revealed that these funds are in demand, with numerous community colleges submitting funding requests annually.

A final source of funding comes from Inmate Welfare funds, which the NCDOC collects from the prison canteens and inmate telephone calls. These funds can be used only for the direct benefit of inmates, and enough funds are collected to pay the entire education budget for equipment and supplies, including books, computers, inmate desks and chairs, and writing and project materials. Inmate Welfare funds fluctuate, depending on the amount collected each year. In 2005, \$440,000 was redistributed to the NCDOC to help defray the day-to-day costs of all types of correctional education. While nationally, the collection and use of Inmate Welfare funds can be contentious, in North Carolina these funds are a vital resource since no other funding source covers these day-to-day education costs.

Taken together, these various mechanisms have combined to create a robust funding structure that ensures that the NCDOC and the NCCCS can provide PSCE to over one-third of all inmates in North Carolina.

Inmate management and course enrollment. In any correctional setting, inmate management is a priority for prison officials. When playing the dual role of prison and education setting, inmate management becomes even more important. In North Carolina, all inmates who enter the prison system are required to take the Wide-Range Achievement Test, which helps the NCDOC case managers determine which

programming—academic, vocational, and/or life skills—would be most appropriate. Inmates without a GED or high school diploma who score below the sixth-grade level on either reading or math are required to participate in the mandatory education program (Edwards, 2005). Programs at the postsecondary level are optional and provided to inmates who meet eligibility criteria.

According to one high-level NCDOC official, “both the CCS and the DOC want to have quality programs for inmates that are meaningful and can help them later on in their lives become productive citizens.” Today, one-third of all incarcerated people in North Carolina participate in postsecondary educational programming, with the vast majority receiving certificates of completion from vocational continuing education programs that do not offer college credit (see Table 8).

Table 8

NCDOC Certificate, Diplomas, and Degrees Awarded, 2005 and 2006

Degree	2005	2006
AA degree programs	753	47
BA degree programs	3	39
Vocational certificates	1,412	1,458
Diploma programs	315	224
GED	1,729	1,686
Vocational continuing ed programs	6,133	6,730
Total	10,345	10,184

Note. Data are from *Educational Services Annual Report, Calendar Year 2005*, by T.

Beck, B. Bennett, B. Boyette, and R. True, 2006, Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Correction Education Services.

At the state level, the correctional education matrix determines the type of programming a community college may offer at a particular prison. At the local level, NCDOC case managers evaluate inmates based on length of remaining sentence, prior education, and desire to participate in PSCE. These case managers are responsible for allocating educational resources to inmates. According to one former NCDOC employee, when the matrix kicked in and multi-entrance–multi-exit was stopped,

The programmers had to work really hard to choose inmates with the best behavioral record, the most motivation, because if they assigned, say, 20 inmates to a carpentry class and halfway along the semester, 12 of them are already out because of behavioral problems or loss of interest or just not coming . . . the community college would lose money.

If that were to occur, the community college would stop offering education in that prison. In turn, prisons would be forced to provide alternate programming for inmates at their own expense, a circumstance neither the NCDOC nor the NCCCS wants.

Another former NCDOC employee said she saw no drawbacks to PSCE as long as it was managed well. When asked to clarify, she explained, “If the students are well selected . . . if the students are college potential and if it’s only offered where it makes sense,” then PSCE will pass muster with the legislature and remain a legitimate taxpayer expense.

Notably, former inmates interviewed agreed with NCDOC employees that the allocation of educational resources was fair. One former inmate reported that students who already possessed a bachelor’s degree were not encouraged to participate in other academic programming; in part, because of that, this inmate enrolled in vocational programming. Another inmate reported that he was not interested in participating in educational programming until his release seemed imminent, substantiating the

NCDOC's decision to give preference to inmates nearing their release. When he did decide to participate in PSCE, he requested a transfer to Harnett Correctional Institute because of its reputation for providing educational services; 7 weeks later, he was transferred.

The rapidity of his transfer may be linked to the *Small v. Martin* (1988) settlement, which read,

The Division [of Prisons] will ensure that educational and vocational factors are integral elements of assignment decisions. In making such decisions, consideration will be given to the extent possible to an inmate's participation in vocational or educational programs to achieve program continuity. (p. 7)

In general, the NCDOC appears to want to help those inmates seeking educational resources.

Over the years, the North Carolina General Assembly has taken an active interest in the effectiveness of correctional programming and has instructed the Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission to conduct biannual studies of the issue. In the most recent study, the sample included over 50,000 offenders released in 2001–2002, and followed them for 3 years. This study ran a series of multivariate analyses and found, all things being equal, that having at least 12 years of education reduced infractions committed while incarcerated, decreased the likelihood of recidivism, and increased the likelihood of postrelease employment for those on probation and those released without supervision, 7.3% and 6.6%, respectively (Flinchum, Jones, Hevener, Ketzenelson, & Moore-Gurrera, 2006). Those who completed vocational education programming also had lower rearrest rates, though those who participated without completing vocational programming showed no difference in their rearrest rates. These findings were enough to lead the authors to conclude that “while participation in a vocational education program did not significantly

impact any of the measures of recidivism or employment, the program provided a positive utilization of prisoner time and, in turn, offered a viable management tool for DOC” (Flinchum et al., 2006, p. ix).

Autonomy versus central authority. While PSCE is supported centrally by both the NCDOC and the NCCCS, the day-to-day provisions are almost always determined by leaders at the local level. This was recognized by one leader at the NCCCS central office, who reported matter-of-factly, “Our system of government allows certain controls to take place here in Raleigh. But the colleges also have a lot of autonomy.” This perception was seconded by a former NCDOC employee, who said, “The Community College System operates very independently at the local level. It’s not a centralized system, where mandates come down from on high.” As a result, the leadership at an individual college could decide not to participate in correctional education. In North Carolina, 45 of the 48 community colleges provide correctional education in all 78 prisons (see Appendix O).

At times, informants reported that the lack of centralization can be frustrating. According to one NCDOC informant, who helped develop the initial PSCE programming in the 1980s,

You know, we might have a common agreement in the central office and things sounded good . . . then you get out in the community college and they might have a completely different idea! It was more a negotiation as you went with the local colleges.

Notably, 15 years later, another NCDOC employee agreed that consistency was sometimes a problem. She pointed out that there was very little flexibility for inmates to transfer between institutions if they wanted to complete their education because there is no mechanism in place for inmates to transfer between community colleges while in the middle of their academic programs. On the NCCCS side, one informant said that “from a

personal point of view, I wish we had more state-level reporting.” She pointed out, though, that while the data would be nice, she did not believe they were necessary for the relationship to work.

While there are some minor complaints about the lack of centralization from some officials in the central offices of the NCDOC and NCCCS, the balance between policy centralization and local flexibility appears to be working for most of the prisons and community colleges. When interviewing informants regarding the partnership between the NCDOC and the NCCCS, Harnett Correctional Institution was mentioned repeatedly as a model of the collaboration between the two agencies and as an example of the balance between local- and state-level policies.

Harnett Correctional Institution (HCI) is located in Lillington, North Carolina, approximately 30 miles outside of Raleigh. Formerly a youth facility, in 1985, HCI was converted to a medium security prison with an inmate capacity of 856 adult males (NCDOC, 2007b). With 963 inmates as of August 31, 2007, it is operating at 112.5% capacity (Office of Research and Planning, North Carolina Department of Correction, 2007). Over 50% of HCI’s population is Black, and the majority of the inmates are below the age of 40 years. Notably, 555 inmates at the time of intake had sentences of at least 10 years, which is probably linked to the structured sentencing laws North Carolina has had since the mid-1990s. At intake, 364 of the inmates had at least a high school diploma or GED. Worth mentioning is that the intake educational attainment data do not reflect any programming the inmate may have taken since incarceration. Therefore it is likely that more than 364 are eligible to participate in PSCE.

HCI is widely recognized by correctional educators in North Carolina as one of the best PSCE programs in the state. In its annual report (Hall, 2006), the prison is identified as “specializing in Academic and Vocational training” (p. 6). The mission of the Programs Services Department within HCI is to

Offer comprehensive case management and services that prepares [*sic*] the inmates for the successful reentry into the community and labor force. Program Services affords the inmate population the opportunity to acquire the social, academic and vocational skills necessary to become a productive and stable contributing citizen in society. (Hall, 2006, p. 49)

Structurally, HCI is a satellite of Central Carolina Community College, and approximately 30 Central Carolina employees are based at the prison. Community college employees based at HCI seem very clear that their jobs rely on their ability to cooperate with NCDOC staff. Their contracts stipulate that their employment may be terminated if they fail to follow HCI rules, and there have been cases when employees were fired for not following regulations. This corresponds with one NCCCS employee’s comment that “you certainly can’t put anything in a prison that the local superintendent hasn’t agreed it’s going to go in there. You can’t put an instructor in there that doesn’t meet their security requirements.”

HCI is classified as a 4B institution on the correctional education matrix, which means that Central Carolina Community College may offer up to an associate’s degree. Currently the college offers nine PSCE courses of study. Of the nine, only business administration leads to an associate’s degree. The other courses are vocational in nature and lead to certificates and diplomas (see Table 9).

Table 9

PSCE Programs at Harnett Correctional Institution

Program	Semesters	Final degree awarded
Electronic servicing technology	2	Diploma
Carpentry	3	Diploma
Masonry	2	Diploma
Automotive systems technology	1	Certificate
Electrical technology	2	Diploma
Food service technology	1	Certificate
Welding technology	2	Diploma
Small engine and equipment repair	1	Certificate
Business administration	4	Associate in business degree

Like other North Carolina prisons, HCI uses the case manager system to determine which inmates enroll in PSCE. When an inmate arrives, anyone who does not have a GED or high school diploma is automatically enrolled in education courses. Everyone else is referred to his case manager, who decides which type of programming would be most appropriate based on inmate background, inmate interest, course availability, and inmate time to release. Inmates are then placed on referral lists and, as seats open, are placed in particular courses.

The provost for Central Carolina Community College plays an active role in helping to determine policy at HCI. He has an on-the-ground employee who is based at HCI and who manages the college's interests within the prison. The NCDOC officials also play an active role in PSCE. The superintendent is in charge of all 400 staff employed at HCI, including an assistant superintendent of programs, who is responsible for the supervision of the academic and vocational schools. When asked, the superintendent described the relationship between HCI and Central Carolina Community College as "a beautiful marriage. It's give and take. We know what they need, they know what we need."

The balance between local and central authority is especially put to the test when prisons open new programs because both the central offices and the local officials are involved in the process. In the case of a new barbering program starting at HCI, the process began with the Division of Prison's Education Services saying they thought it would be a good idea. Meetings then ensued between HCI; the barbering board; the community college, to see if it had the necessary resources to provide such programming; and the central prison administration. According to the HCI superintendent, though, this process could have begun with the local community college or the prison because their lines of communication are wide open with the different offices.

Programmatic issues. Sources interviewed were generally pleased with the partnership between the NCDOC and the NCCCS and, even when directly questioned, had difficulty identifying ways they would change it; however, there were a few issues mentioned by those most familiar with the nuances of the partnership, including image difficulties, technological limitations, labor forecasting, and legislative roadblocks, that are described later.

The most mentioned issue affecting North Carolina's ability to provide PSCE is the public relations problem created by providing inmates with free college education, while law-abiding citizens must foot the bill themselves. When asked about the drawbacks of providing PSCE, virtually everyone interviewed addressed the concerns some citizens have regarding this. One informant stated, "I understand the concern of people who have children and they want college educations and they can't provide them, they don't have money," while state taxpayers foot the bill for those who are

incarcerated. Despite the recognition of that issue, informants still insisted that providing PSCE was still the right thing to do from a pragmatic and ethical standpoint.

In regards to PSCE, both the NCDOC and the NCCCS have demonstrated a high level of commitment to the programming despite this public relations issue. Both agencies have central office staff dedicated solely to working on PSCE, and at the local level, each community college and each prison has liaisons whose primary job duties are to develop and maintain PSCE programs. Moreover, through its funding processes, the state legislature has indicated a high level of support for such programming. The CFO for the NCCCS reflected, "I've always taken it to mean, as an analyst and a CFO, that if the General Assembly appropriates money for something, that's intent." Subsequently, this individual believed that one of his primary job duties is to ensure that legislative intent is served by helping to facilitate the funding procedures for PSCE.

Though some may be uncomfortable with providing college educations to inmates, those who work to provide PSCE in North Carolina are extremely efficient when seeking to build their case for such programming. For example, the State Board, which has been an active participant in overseeing the way PSCE is provided in North Carolina, recently questioned whether PSCE was taking away from average citizens in North Carolina. This issue was raised at the May 2007 IAC of the NCDOC and NCCCS meeting, and the 17 NCDOC and NCCCS employees present discussed how this issue should be addressed. By the August 2007 State Board meeting, a "Lunch and Learn" on the topic had been organized, with lunch provided by inmates enrolled in a culinary PSCE program and a joint NCDOC–NCCCS presentation about the variety of services provided and the nuances of the partnership. This PowerPoint presentation highlighted

the ABE, academic, and vocational aspects of PSCE in North Carolina and emphasized the joint planning and approval process of the endeavor, assuaging many of the concerns of the State Board. Furthermore, the presentation very deliberately incorporated research indicating the effectiveness of such programs as well as cost–benefit analyses demonstrating the potential savings of PSCE.

Informants familiar with the early partnership were especially cognizant of the public relations issue. In the late 1980s, a number of prisons ran cook schools under the auspices of providing food preparation education, while in reality, inmate labor was being used to keep prison services running. In turn, these actions opened up the door for criticism of all PSCE programming, especially since it was funded by taxpayers. Today, however, thanks to the development of the matrix and clarification of PSCE programmatic requirements, informants agreed that this is a nonissue.

Another PSCE programmatic issue lies with technology use limitations. The North Carolina NCDOC strives to use technology to provide PSCE, including use of its Information Highway, a video-conferencing environment, to provide university-level courses to its inmates. Like other states, however, North Carolina’s distance education efforts are limited by security concerns about using Internet resources for prison inmates. While today, a large number of non-incarcerated students use Internet-based distance education to access postsecondary education, very few states have developed ways to provide inmates with such resources. Even those that have developed secure ways to do so face an uphill battle in gaining support (Erisman & Contardo, 2005).

Another issue has to do with the efforts to decide which programming should be made available to inmates. Depending on the informant, labor forecasting was either

happening with unswerving accuracy or needed to be improved. One NCDOC employee reflected,

We could maybe do a better job looking at the jobs that are going to be there for the future, for the next ten years. . . . Sometimes it is easy to take programs that are convenient. It's not always bad, but sometimes it might be better to take a look at what the Department of Labor says is going to be the jobs and see if you can get some of those programs going.

On the other hand, some informants claimed to be providing exactly what inmates need to get jobs on release. Multiple sources recognized the state's limitations, though, in measuring whether current labor forecasting was working; there have been no research studies recently in North Carolina that attempted to answer this question. In fact, numerous informants suggested that I change my study to address this issue instead!

Another programmatic issue that may receive more attention in the future is the inmate tuition waiver. Though informants agreed that it is a vitally important component of the arrangement, the current CFO for the NCCCS pointed out that colleges are forced to "eat" the inmate tuition receipts, which doubled between 2000 and 2006 from \$2.5 million to \$4.7 million. This amount represents approximately 10% of all tuition waivers in the state and could eventually cause either some public relations issues or some operating issues, as colleges are forced to make do without tuition revenue.

The final programmatic issue that continues to cause some difficulty in North Carolina is a legislative requirement that local community colleges can only provide prison-based programs that are also offered on their campuses. While the primary motivation for this policy is to ensure parity of instruction and content, one informant made the argument that this policy restricts expansion of correctional programming. This informant pointed out that many inmates will be working in unpopular trades that are

vitaly needed for the North Carolina economy. Moreover, many inmates are not incarcerated in their home communities; just because the local community in which the prison is situated does not require that trade does not mean the inmate's home community does not vitally need these services.

Despite these minor issues facing PSCE in North Carolina, informants universally agreed that the partnership was overwhelmingly positive and collegial. The fact that the partnership is nearing its 20th anniversary would seem to support that fact.

Summary

Over the past 20 years, the NCDOC and NCCCS have worked together to design a comprehensive PSCE program that serves over 30% of the incarcerated population. One of the most important issues decided early on is the issue of funding; the state does not distinguish between correctional FTE student enrollments and traditional FTE student enrollments. Once the base funding was guaranteed, a host of other resources could be locked in, including how to fund incidentals, who would manage inmate enrollment, and how policy decisions would be made. When all was said and done, the program that was created was strong enough to enroll substantial numbers of students for 20 years.

The following chapter examines this success and asks, To what extent do the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure explain the ability of the NCCCS and the NCDOC to provide PSCE? I answer this question using the frameworks outlined in chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter 6: Results for RQ 3

Introduction

The previous chapters have explored why and how North Carolina provides PSCE to its prison inmates. This chapter answers the third research question: To what extent do the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure explain the ability of the NCCCS and the NCDOC to provide PSCE? While initially, I had attempted to use the IAC as my unit of analysis, during the course of my research, it became clear that many of the interactions between the two agencies took place outside of the biannual meetings. Subsequently, this discussion answers the research question more broadly than initially conceptualized by increasing the unit of analysis to include all interactions between the NCCCS and the NCDOC, rather than just those occurring under the umbrella of the IAC.

On the basis of the analysis plan outlined in chapter 3, the research question is answered in two parts. The first section analyzes the developmental influence of organizational resiliency and distributed structure in North Carolina in the late 1980s. Specifically, I argue that within Coutu's (2003) framework, the presence of the acceptance of reality, core values, and ritualized ingenuity indicates that the interactions between the two agencies create a resilient organization. Next, I analyze why North Carolina expanded PSCE by using Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) five legs of distributed structure: circles, the catalyst, ideology, the preexisting network, and the champion. Brafman and Beckstrom argued that "a decentralized organization stands on five legs. As with a starfish, it can lose a leg or two and still survive. But when you have all the legs working together, a decentralized organization can really take off" (p. 87). In this section, I conclude that while Coutu's (2003) framework answers some of our

questions, the addition of distributed structure further contributes to a robust understanding of the expansion of PSCE in North Carolina.

The second section uses the same theorists to analyze how PSCE in North Carolina is delivered today. Though Coutu's (2003) three characteristics of organizational resiliency remain the same from the analysis of the first research question, Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) offer 10 characteristics of centralization–decentralization that researchers can use to determine where an organization falls on the distributed structure spectrum. This section examines the way North Carolina provides PSCE through the lens of these characteristics and argues that the PSCE programming clearly exhibits Coutu's (2003) characteristics of organizational resiliency. Moreover, 6 of the 10 characteristics to determine centralization are present in the way North Carolina provides PSCE, leading me to conclude that adoption of certain decentralized characteristics has helped North Carolina maintain a statewide PSCE program. Table 10 crosswalks the research questions, the frameworks, and the characteristics analyzed with each theory throughout this chapter.

The chapter closes with a discussion of the convergence and divergence of these two theoretical frameworks and makes the argument that in North Carolina, components of distributed structure are vital for the development and longevity of PSCE programming. Subsequently, distributed structure should be further analyzed as a possible addition to organizational resiliency theory as used in the context of PSCE programming.

Table 10

Theories, Characteristics, and Research Questions, Crosswalked

	RQ1: Why did NC expand access to PSCE?	RQ2: How does NC provide access to PSCE?
Framework	Characteristics	Characteristics
Coutu (2002)	Acceptance of Reality	Acceptance of Reality
	Core Values	Core Values
	Ritualized Ingenuity	Ritualized Ingenuity
Brafman and Beckstrom (2006)	Circles	Leadership
	The catalyst	Headquarters
	Ideology	Decentralization
	The pre-existing network	Division of Roles
	The champion	Effect of Downsizing
		Nature of Knowledge
		Flexibility
	Number of Employees	
	Funding	
	Communication	

Developmental Influence of Organizational Resiliency and Distributed Structure in North Carolina

This section analyzes the influence of organizational resiliency and distributed structure on the expansion of access to PSCE in North Carolina. The section follows the analysis plan outlined in chapter 3 and examines how PSCE developed in North Carolina using first Coutu’s (2003) framework and then Brafman and Beckstrom’s (2006) distributed structure framework.

Developmental: Organization resiliency. Coutu (2003) argued that there are three characteristics present in a resilient organization: acceptance of reality, core values, and ritualized ingenuity. This section analyzes the development of PSCE in North Carolina using these three characteristics and finds that while these three characteristics were

present during the 1980s, when PSCE was expanded, the analysis seems two-dimensional when considering just these aspects.

Coutu's (2003) first criterion for a resilient organization is a clear-headed acceptance of reality. Specifically, Coutu wrote, "Resilient people have very sober and down-to-earth views of those parts of reality that matter for survival" (p. 7). In contrast to optimists, organizations with a clear acceptance of reality function within the confines of their circumstances, embracing the limits present in their day-to-day undertakings. When examining the development of PSCE in North Carolina, the individuals interviewed were very matter-of-fact about why the program expanded when it did. Specifically, the dual combination of the *Small v. Martin* court order combined with the need of small colleges to develop methods to generate alternate revenue gave the NCDOC and the NCCCS motivation to work together. Though the partnership works well today, those interviewed were very clear that the partnership developed initially as a result of a so-called shotgun wedding. Moreover, senior leadership within the two agencies recognized that the only way the local organizations would work together was if they were forced to sit down at the same table and hash out working partnership agreements. Subsequently, the leadership at the time made the commitment to travel the state together for the next 2 years, meeting with nearly all of the prisons and community colleges to work out these agreements.

Some of the early adjustments to the partnership between the NCDOC and the NCCCS also reflect an acceptance of reality. Specifically, the issue of program completion was a significant sticking point between the two agencies. On one hand, the NCDOC needed to be able to transfer inmates depending on resource and security needs.

On the other hand, the NCCCS was appropriately concerned about the impact of inmates failing to complete their educational programming. When the legislature stepped in and required the development of a plan to ensure completions (which resulted in the correctional education matrix) and changed the way community colleges would receive FTE funding to reflect actual attendance hours, rather than a census date, this ensured that the two agencies would work together to provide PSCE, if each side wished to continue reaping the benefits from PSCE. As stated by one early NCCCS administrator,

One of the things we had to get across [to the DOC] . . . was that we weren't a holding facility for them; that was their job. . . . One of the things we had to stress both to our colleges and for correctional is that they had to have an appropriate program of study.

Similarly, when ideas just would not work, the same leaders would come together to ensure that others realized why that was the case. The College Behind Bars program came about in the early 1990s, and negative response was rapid for three reasons. First, it would cause many of the local colleges to lose their FTE funding. Second, it would restrict those same colleges to providing only basic skills. Third, according to one informant, it was unrealistic to believe that you could house all inmates participating in PSCE in one or two places because none of the prisons in North Carolina was big enough. In his words, "Impractical ideas generally don't last too long in prisons because they go by the wayside." A clear acceptance of reality helped ensure that the pragmatic ideas were kept, while the unrealistic ones were dropped.

According to Coutu (2003), the second criterion resilient organizations possess is a strong value system: "Strong values infuse an environment with meaning because they offer ways to interpret and shape events" (p. 12). Chapter 4 of this study examined why North Carolina expanded access to PSCE, and why strong values appeared to play a

central role in expanding PSCE. Specifically, state employees for the NCDOC and NCCCS believed passionately that providing PSCE was the right thing to do and that North Carolina was the education state, which means education should be available for everyone, including inmates. Even when they believed there was no evidence that PSCE would help reduce recidivism, informants continued to maintain that PSCE served a vital purpose in North Carolina and worked toward that goal.

Moreover, informants believed that the legislature thought PSCE worthwhile, based on the passage of House Bill 50 that mandated the DOC and the CCS work together. This broad understanding regarding the widespread value of PSCE shaped the actions individuals took to expand PSCE throughout local communities and helped crystallize responses to critics of PSCE. DOC and CCS employees who were present during the expansion of PSCE often argued passionately for the value behind such programming. Moreover, the belief that this was a significant, intentional policy choice from state leadership ensured that individuals believed they were serving a larger purpose. The strong belief in the merits of PSCE helped to expand PSCE in North Carolina.

The third criterion for a resilient organization is ritualized ingenuity, or “the ability to make do with whatever is at hand” (Coutu, 2003, p. 14). When the NCDOC and the NCCCS developed their partnership, they used the resources already there, rather than seeking new ones. As with many public programs, making do is a vital part of survival, and providing PSCE in North Carolina was no different. Moreover, North Carolina’s version of making do laid the groundwork for a very successful partnership that has thrived for two decades and provided education to thousands of inmates.

The ritualized ingenuity demonstrated by the creators of this program focused primarily on resource generation. North Carolina has a mechanism in place to provide tuition waivers to certain populations, of which prisoners are included. These tuition waivers are vital for the participation of inmates in postsecondary education because inmates do not have access to significant income generation while incarcerated. In North Carolina, inmates generally earn about less than \$1 an hour from prison industries. Even in a low-tuition state such as North Carolina, the majority of inmates would not be able to pay for their tuition and would have to forego PSCE. Providing the tuition waivers allows inmates to participate in PSCE when otherwise they would be unable to do so.

When North Carolina developed its PSCE programming, it spent a period of years working out the kinks and developing a system that had the support of the legislature as well as state-level employees working for the NCDOC and NCCCS. While Coutu's (2003) organizational resiliency framework helps explain why the program developed, the story of North Carolina's ability to expand PSCE seems incomplete because Coutu's model does not completely explain why the programming was able to gain traction. The following section analyzes the development of PSCE in North Carolina using the distributed structure framework of Brafman and Beckstrom (2006).

Developmental: Distributed structure. Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) wrote that a fledging organization or movement increases its ability to thrive under adverse circumstances when it possesses the five legs of distributed structure: circles, a catalyst, ideology, the preexisting network, and the champion. Though an organization can survive with only some, when all five legs are present, the organization really thrives. The following section analyzes the expansion of PSCE in the mid-1980s using these five

foundational characteristics of distributed structure, arguing that the clear presence of four of the five legs helps explain the expansion of PSCE at a time when other states were restricting access.

The first foundation of distributed structure is membership circles. According to Brafman and Beckstrom (2006), decentralized organizations are strongest when they are composed of multiple independent and autonomous membership circles that share a common heritage and tradition. Membership can be either exclusive or fluid, but once an individual becomes a member, there is no hierarchy, and all members contribute according to their interests and/or abilities. On the surface, this description seems to describe those that partner to provide PSCE in North Carolina. With 58 community colleges composing the NCCCS, each institution is a membership circle acting on behalf of the common tradition of the system. Informants agreed that in regards to PSCE, no one could tell the local colleges what to do because they have such a high level of autonomy. Similarly, the NCDOC Division of Prisons operates 79 correctional institutions that locally are autonomous but must report to the central offices of the NCDOC; however, these organizations differ from membership circles in that each community college and each correctional institution has a very clear leadership structure. Moreover, those leaders are ultimately responsible to the central system offices and, in the case of the community colleges, to the State Board.

As theorized, circles depend on behavioral norms, rather than hard and fast rules, and members enforce the rules with each other (Brafman & Beckstrom, 2006). When considering each community college and correctional institution as a membership circle, this comparison does not hold up because there are very clear rules and guidelines for

public organizations in North Carolina, including components of the NCCCS and the Division of Prisons; however, the notion of membership circles begins to hold more weight when examining the IAC of the NCCCS and the NCDOC as the primary vehicle for statewide PSCE. The IAC is a sort of no-man's-land that relies on traditions, rather than rules, to accomplish tasks, and informants were quick to point out, sometimes ruefully, that some of their procedures occurred certain ways because they had always been done that way, rather than because of dictated policy. As a result, we can conclude that PSCE has some characteristics of membership circles but that the comparison is not a particularly strong one.

The second foundational element of distributed structure is the catalyst. Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) wrote that “a catalyst gets a decentralized organization going and then cedes control to the members” (p. 92). In North Carolina, informants described the legislative analyst for the General Assembly as such a catalyst. Though there were many who served as advocates for the programming over the years, the legislative analyst’s played a clear role in the passage of House Bill 50 through her close attention to how PSCE was delivered in North Carolina, her discussions with the community college presidents, and her subsequent involvement in ensuring that the CCS became the legislatively mandated partner of the DOC. Notably, once House Bill 50 was passed and the partnership was mandated, this analyst did not remain involved in the day-to-day set up processes of PSCE. In her role as chief fiscal analyst for the legislative staff, her job was to manage the community college budgets for the General Assembly. Once she ensured that the community colleges were developing a program that would pass

legislative inspection, she stepped away from the development of PSCE. These actions earn her the designation as the catalyst.

Another potential catalyst during this process was the Chief Financial Officer for the Community College System during this time. According to one informant, the CFO was a significant player when considering the political aspects of PSCE, because he controlled the budget. Though the legislative fiscal analyst played a central role in shaping House Bill 50, the willingness of the CFO to shape funding structures that would support PSCE was a vital component to this programming. Despite the comments of others though, when interviewed the former CFO downplayed his involvement with PSCE, causing some ambiguity regarding the influence of the CFO during this time. Despite his seeming modesty, practicality leads to the conclusion that he who controls the purse strings controls the future.

The third foundation of distributed structure is ideology, or common belief in the value of the mission of the organization. This idea is identical to Coutu's (2003) resilient organization's core values. As a result, the discussion above about core values pertains to Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) notion of ideology. Specifically, virtually all informants emphasized that they believe PSCE was expanded because North Carolina is the education state. Moreover, there was a clearly articulated belief that providing education to everyone, including inmates, is the right thing to do. On a personal level, informants also universally believed that PSCE was important because of what it represented for the inmate-students. For example, according to one former DOC employee, "It's a great motivator for students. They're proud of themselves... when I did the commencements, when they would get the diplomas their hands were sweat and to

me that meant this was a really important thing.” This message was repeated often, leading to the conclusion that those who developed PSCE in North Carolina had a clear ideology that contributed to their dedication when providing such offerings.

The fourth foundation of distributed structure is the use of the preexisting network. According to Brafman and Beckstrom (2006), “almost every decentralized organization that has made it big was launched from a preexisting platform” (p. 97). The preexisting network of the community college system was essential for the expansion of PSCE in North Carolina. According to both NCDOC and NCCCS informants, community colleges always had programs in the prisons, even before the relationship was formalized by the creation of the IAC. By the time the NCCCS celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1988, the system was widely dispersed throughout the state and had a history of providing correctional education in the prisons. With 58 community colleges, the system also had gained political support both at the local and state levels and was seen as a primary driver for economic and workforce development. Subsequently, North Carolina community colleges were a ready and available resource when the *Small v. Martin* settlement demanded that the NCDOC provide its inmates with educational opportunity.

The preexisting network represented by the NCCCS was an important factor in the successful expansion of PSCE in North Carolina. Worth noting is that a different PSCE initiative in North Carolina, which did not use this preexisting network, failed in 1995. The Colleges Behind Walls initiative cropped up briefly at the behest of the legislature, who requested that the State Board develop and implement such a plan. As suggested, the program would send all inmates who wanted to participate in PSCE to a

handful of prisons that would be designated for educational purposes. Rather than using the local community colleges, new community colleges would be created to serve the incarcerated populations. Puzzling to some within the NCCCS office was the timing of this initiative, concurrent to a different mandate to study prison education. In the end, the idea of College Behind Bars fizzled out. Few people interviewed today knew about this initiative, and those who did called it a “wild” idea, expressing relief that it lost momentum before it could impact PSCE in North Carolina. Such a program, while using the NCCCS, would have failed to tap into the colleges that already existed and, at the same time, would have removed sustaining FTEs from their coffers. It also failed to make do with the resources at hand, key for the ritualized ingenuity component of organizational resiliency.

The fifth foundation of distributed structure is the champion. Champions are “inherently hyperactive. Like catalysts, they operate well in nonhierarchical environments, but they tend to be more like salesmen than organizers or connectors” (Brafman & Beckstrom, 2006, p. 100). According to informants, the original liaisons for the NCDOC and NCCCS were key champions during the developmental phase. The two traveled the state together, meeting with representatives of each prison and college and ensuring that the primary decision makers were sitting down at the same table. As the NCDOC liaison remembered,

It was one of those rare opportunities where I actually got to sort of sculpt the job as I went along. And one of the things that was obvious to me is that there were a lot of opportunities with community colleges that weren't being taken advantage of. . . . I had the idea of just visiting all the prisons and community colleges and I pulled [the CCS liaison] into it. . . . It was more of a brainstorming session when we got there. What interest do you have? What facilities do you have? What financial options does the prison have? When can the community college provide?

Without the energy of this catalyst and her NCCCS counterpart, many of the local-level partnerships that exist today would not have been developed.

When considering the development of North Carolina's PSCE programming, North Carolina seemed to clearly have the characteristics of organizational resiliency in place; however, a weakness of this framework is that it has been used primarily to analyze financial resiliency. While finances play a part in the decision to expand PSCE in North Carolina, other factors are equally important. Using the five legs of distributed structure to understand the development is a useful tool to explain the nonfinancial aspects of the partnership between the NCCCS and the NCDOC. Specifically, North Carolina's catalyst, champions, ideology, and the use of the preexisting network explain how a seemingly unpopular program was able to take root in such a comprehensive way. While the notion of membership circles fits less neatly, distributed structure remains a useful tool in understanding the expansion of PSCE in North Carolina. Taken together, the two theories help develop a much more complete picture of how North Carolina expanded PSCE while other states restricted access.

Current Influence of Organizational Resiliency and Distributed Structure in North Carolina

This section uses the theories of Coutu (2003) and Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) to analyze the influence of organizational resiliency and distributed structure in North Carolina's PSCE provided today following the analysis plan outlined in chapter 3.

Current: Organizational resiliency. This section uses the same organizational resiliency characteristics discussed in the development phase of PSCE to analyze the way PSCE is currently provided. Specifically, I analyze PSCE in North Carolina using

Coutu's (2003) three characteristics of organizational resiliency: acceptance of reality, core values, and ritualized ingenuity. While the previous section looked specifically at the expansion of PSCE in North Carolina in the 1980s, this section looks at PSCE today to understand how the program thrives.

Coutu's (2003) first characteristic of a resilient organization is acceptance of reality. Informants included state employees and former inmates; virtually all of them advocated for vocational over academic education for inmates because of its ability to help inmates transition back to society on release. In fact, inmates in particular exhibited a healthy pragmatism regarding the role of PSCE and the obstacles they will face on release. One former inmate stated, "Your first job, you're going to get your first job on your back for sure, you know, working. When I say on your back, I mean physical labor." Another former inmate concurred, reflecting that when inmates are released,

You're going to have to step back a bit. You're going to have to take what you can get because it's about surviving now. The old mentality says the heck with it, I don't want to work for this little bit of money. I don't want to do this . . . you know, I have to keep telling myself this is a stepping-stone.

One NCDOC employee argued that employment and housing are the two main components determining whether inmates are successfully reintegrated into the community, which is why the classes are geared toward education that will help inmates find employment. Though the 4-year academic programs have been known to receive good press nationally, those that provide PSCE in North Carolina care more about the realities of the situations these inmates face. One NCDOC employee said, "I tell the guys, 'The sentence is never over.'" PSCE is designed to mitigate the effects of that lifelong sentence.

One of the most important components of the PSCE programming in North Carolina is the pragmatic focus on connecting offenders with community resources, including service programs and employment opportunities. Former inmates discussed the importance of finding employment, and one told the story of struggling to find work when he had no transportation, one set of clothing, and was living in transitional housing. After facing repeated rejection, he called his former welding instructor from HCI, who arranged for a job interview and some welding practice time at a local community college in Raleigh. This former inmate spoke eloquently about the importance of both this former instructor, who opened doors for him, and his current employers:

I met with [my current employers]. The only thing I remember from the interview is I said, "Look, you know I made a mistake in life but here I am," and then [one of them] looked at me and said, "Yeah, you got to eat."

This welding company gave him a chance, and today, he is a supervisor at this company. In this instance, the employers at the welding company also had a clear acceptance of reality and understood this man's significant limitations if he was unable to find work.

Another former inmate shared her perspective on how PSCE has helped her postrelease:

Being involved with the correctional education, it does open doors for you when you are released because employers when you do apply for jobs look to see, "Well, even though she has been incarcerated . . . she did not just sit and waste her time while she was there and just twiddle her thumbs."

Though there are a number of reasons identified by informants that explain the way North Carolina provides its PSCE, there was one issue brought up only by a former inmate that indicates that inmate reality might be slightly different from that perceived by the state-level employees. According to one inmate,

A lot of people prey on you when you get involved in programs because they know the value of your situation, like “you have something to lose and I don’t” . . . It is the people not wanting to break with programs or even lose their yard privileges that get preyed on for money, you know for all the different things you get preyed on in prison.

This was the only time this perspective was raised, but it indicates an interesting issue that deserves further research. Do inmates who participate in PSCE become targets for other inmates because they are easy prey? For this former inmate, participating in PSCE meant potentially placing a target on his back. Though he still chose to participate in PSCE, there were associated risks that played a part in his acceptance of reality.

Coutu’s (2003) second characteristic of organizational resiliency is core values, and like those individuals who developed PSCE, those who continue to manage the program hold common beliefs about the value of PSCE as a rehabilitative tool for inmates. One NCCCS employee spoke passionately, saying, “The offender is coming back to the community. Do you want them to come back to you just like they were when they were incarcerated, or do you want them to come back to you as productive citizens?”

Another NCCCS senior leader agreed, arguing,

If you keep them with no skills when they serve their time in prison, they are going to come out and maybe be engaged in some of the similar kinds of negative behavior they were before they went. And they might have learned some additional skills that will have a negative impact on society.

Perhaps just as important is that individuals from both the NCCCS and the NCDOC agree about the purpose of PSCE and understand that they are all working to help inmates transition to society.

These values were also displayed by the employment longevity of those interviewed. The liaisons for both the DOC and the CCS returned to their positions after leaving for a time, in part because they believed in what their organizations were trying to

accomplish with PSCE. Moreover, local employees interviewed at Harnett Correctional Institution and Central Carolina Community College had worked their way up through the system over decades, and they credited in part their institutional memories with the successful functioning of PSCE in North Carolina. Like the central system offices employees, these decades of experience allowed them to draw on contacts and knowledge to better achieve their perceived PSCE goals. These core values regarding the role of PSCE ultimately helped develop better, more experienced employees.

Coutu's (2003) third characteristic of organizational resiliency is ritualized ingenuity, or the ability to make do with the resources on hand. In this context, there are numerous examples where current employees of the DOC and CCS demonstrated ritualized ingenuity. First, the issue of inmate idleness remains pressing for employees of the DOC. Increasing the available educational programming is one way that prisons can decrease this program. As stated by one NCDOC employee, "Most superintendents want something to keep inmates busy. Busy inmates have less time to plan trouble." Another former NCDOC employee agreed, saying she would sell PSCE by talking about how it is:

A very cost-effective form of control, inmate control, and that's a big motivation on the side of the prisons. If you have a calm, structured setting, you have one staff person that you don't pay who is keeping control of 15 inmates at any given time during that school day, which is a real big thing.

Under this scenario, even someone who does not believe intrinsically in the value of education for inmates might support having college employees come into the prisons to help keep order as part of using available resources, that is, ritualized ingenuity.

Another example of ritualized ingenuity is how the two agencies continually address funding issues. Though new PSCE programs formerly had trouble covering their start-up costs, the DOC and the CCS have worked together to develop numerous funding

mechanisms that adhere to state level regulations while still meeting the needs of the agencies. For example, the start-up funds provided to the DOC and passed through to the CCS represent ritualized ingenuity, as the parties involved managed to develop a system that allowed for the first year of PSCE to be funded.

Finally, the limited distance education offered to inmates through the Information Highway and the distance learning offerings from University of North Carolina also represent making do with the resources at hand. Though currently the use of this Information Highway is not part of the Interagency Partnership, DOC informants reported that they are examining how to use the resources in place to expand the possibility to the CCS to more widely serve PSCE students.

Current: Distributed structure. According to Brafman and Beckstrom (2006), few organizations are purely centralized or decentralized; rather, they fall somewhere along the spectrum. The following section analyzes North Carolina's PSCE using Brafman and Beckstrom's 10 characteristics of distributed structure and determines that 6 of the 10 characteristics are present within North Carolina's programming. Subsequently, this section concludes that North Carolina's PSCE is a hybrid that benefits from both the centralization of some of the program aspects and the decentralization of others.

The first characteristic to examine when determining where an organization falls on the centralized/decentralized spectrum is leadership. Specifically, Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) ask: "is there a person in charge?" In North Carolina, the Vice President for Academic and Student Services is ultimately responsible on the CCS side while the Chief Deputy Secretary of Corrections has ultimate oversight of PSCE within the DOC. Together, these two share primary leadership of the Interagency Committee

and the policy recommendations provided by this body. At the local level though, leaders within the community college and correctional institution have a great deal of autonomy that allows them to run their programming as they see fit.

Informants attributed the success of PSCE to a growth of leadership over the history of the partnership. According to one former CCS employee, “The education level of the [prison] superintendents has changed over time. Education level of the regional staff changed significantly and that is having a positive impact on the [PSCE] situation.” At the local level, the prisons’ willingness to allow PSCE depends on the support of the superintendent, the top leader at the prisons. When considering PSCE leadership in North Carolina, though there is not one person technically in charge of the entire endeavor, there is a clear leadership structure that individuals recognize and adhere to, leading me to conclude that for the purposes of Brafman and Beckstrom’s (2006) distributed structure analysis (see figure 8), “there is a person in charge” (p. 46).

The second characteristic to examine when determining where an organization falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum is headquarters. The notion of headquarters for the PSCE partnership between the NCCCS and the NCDOC is open to some interpretation. According to Brafman and Beckstrom (2006), “every spider organization has a physical headquarters . . . a starfish organization doesn’t depend on a permanent location or central headquarters” (pp. 46–47). On the surface, North Carolina informants emphasized the role of central leadership in supporting PSCE and highlighted the fact that senior leadership for each agency is situated in buildings that are next door to each other, allowing frequent interaction between leaders. Moreover, the biannual meetings of the IAC alternate between the NCDOC and the NCCCS, seeming to indicate

that there are two locations just minutes from each other that serve as headquarters for the partnership; however, most informants agreed that most of the interactions between the two agencies occur outside of the IAC meetings, either between the liaisons or between leadership at the local level.

Though technically, the IAC meetings record the official interactions between the two agencies and ensure that both sides hear the same message, the substance of the partnership takes place in the day-to-day interactions that occur mainly at the local level. Moreover, the actual programming takes place over 70 North Carolina prisons. Though superficially, the PSCE partnership seems to have a headquarters located in Raleigh, understanding the programming that occurs at the local level would require visits to each of the locations where programming occurs. For the purpose of Brafman and Beckstrom's distributed structure, PSCE programming in North Carolina does not have a central headquarters.

The third characteristic to examine when determining where an organization falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum is centralization, or, as Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) wrote, “If you thump it on the head, will it die?” (p. 47). When considering PSCE in North Carolina, the sheer number of PSCE providers indicates that the loss of one would not kill the programming elsewhere. One informant spoke on the issue:

If you were to talk to colleges, you would hear redundantly, and that is the notion of local flexibility, the ability to respond to whatever the dynamics of the community are. Economic perspective, social perspective, prison perspective: They want the ability and flexibility to respond in any way they need to.

Despite that, those familiar with the way PSCE works in North Carolina reported that the removal of the current funding mechanisms would essentially kill PSCE programming in

North Carolina because the colleges would no longer have a way to recoup their costs. Though colleges might believe intrinsically in the value of PSCE, they would not be able to cover their costs if they lost their FTE for providing such education. Likewise, the NCDOC would not be able to cover the educational costs on a large scale. Though loss of funding might not kill the programming at every prison, it would certainly prevent the large-scale efforts that take place today. While PSCE is administratively decentralized, a massive blow to the funding structure would seriously jeopardize such programming.

The fourth characteristic to examine when determining where an organization falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum is division of roles. According to Brafman and Beckstrom (2006), most centralized organizations are divided into departments with specific responsibilities, whereas decentralized organizations tend to have a flat structure, with greater employee latitude and structures. Both the NCDOC and the NCCCS are centralized structures in this sense, with a clear distribution of tasks within each organization. PSCE in North Carolina generally follows the same format. In fact, the most recent version of the Cooperative Agreement (2002) very clearly outlines the roles and responsibilities in Attachment 4: “Summary of North Carolina Community College System–Department of Correction Education Administrative Support Roles.” This attachment breaks PSCE into four categories: classroom management, student services, resource provisions/support, and overall planning, and then offered additional subcategories.

Underneath the classroom management category, the NCCCS is solely responsible for pre/interim/post performance level testing, faculty advising, student performance evaluation, and program/course oversight while the two agencies together

are responsible for student attendance, student records reporting, and classroom discipline. The NCDOC and the NCCCS are jointly responsible for all student services: placement testing, program/course placement & referral, counseling, orientation, graduation, student records management, and student tracking. Underneath resource provisions/support, the NCDOC and NCCS are jointly responsible for instructor selection, instructor orientation, and instructional supplies, materials & equipment; the NCCCS is solely responsible for instructor employment and instructor evaluation; and the NCDOC is solely responsible for instructional facilities. Finally, the NCDOC and NCCCS are jointly responsible for the three sub-categories under overall planning: program planning and development, program evaluation, and program termination. This level of detail in the appointment of duties indicates that PSCE in North Carolina has a very clear division of roles.

The fifth characteristic when determining where an organization falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum is the effect of downsizing, specifically if an organizational unit is removed. Like most public organizations, employees for both the NCDOC and the NCCCS reported believing that they were resource scarce and that duties were spread across too few people; however, the employee dedication level is also so high that informants made very clear that they accomplish their tasks even when they require working more than a 40-hour work week. As stated by a NCCCS senior leader, “[My employee] can’t tell me she can’t get this work done because it has a negative impact on the colleges. . . . It impacts the college’s ability to offer educational programs and the ability of the colleges to generate FTEs.” On the surface, some downsizing would

appear to have little effect on the ability to provide PSCE because the employees would just work a little harder to ensure the end result.

One of the initial assumptions of this dissertation was that having multiple PSCE providers would allow one community college to pick up if another was unable or unwilling to provide services at a prison, thereby preventing the negative effects of downsizing. While this could be true in theory, the reality is that North Carolina community colleges are assigned a service area, so it is unlikely that one service provider would replace another. Moreover, because of the funding mechanisms for PSCE, there is substantial financial motivation for both the colleges and the prisons to participate, which makes it unlikely that there would be a significant effort to downsize. The more students are enrolled, the more education can be provided. Therefore there does not seem to be a significant impact from downsizing.

The sixth characteristic to examine when determining where an organization falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum is the nature of knowledge. In centralized organizations, knowledge is concentrated at the top of the organization, and it is assumed that the leader has the answers. In contrast, decentralized organizations distribute knowledge so that power is spread among individuals (Brafman & Beckstrom, 2006). In North Carolina, employees for both the NCDOC and the NCCCS have embraced a culture of transparency that allows stakeholders to better understand exactly how the programming occurs. For example, the meetings of the IAC are open to anyone who would like to attend, though informants found it unlikely that anyone would want to. Likewise, North Carolina collects significant data on inmates and the services they receive and makes those data available online to anyone with an Internet connection. That

transparency of information allows anyone to access knowledge, not just senior leadership. Local correctional institutions also told stories of providing tours to legislators who wanted to know more about how the programs worked. Finally, the eagerness of the organizations to participate in this research and to provide substantial numbers of historical documents seems to indicate a forthcoming nature, leading to the conclusion that knowledge and power related to PSCE in North Carolina are distributed across individuals.

The seventh characteristic to examine when determining where an organization falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum is flexibility, specifically whether “individual units quickly respond to a multitude of internal and external forces” (Brafman & Beckstrom, 2006, p. 50). Though North Carolina’s PSCE has a centralized structure, the policies and procedures put in place intentionally rely on local-level relationships, allowing each community college and prison to develop programming characteristics appropriate for their communities. The current CFO for the NCCCS emphasized this, saying,

If you were to talk to the colleges you would hear redundantly the notion of local flexibility—the ability to respond to whatever the dynamics of that community are. Economic perspective, social perspective, prison perspective . . . they want the ability to respond in any way they need to.

This flexibility was demonstrated at the May 2007 Interagency meeting as well, when IAC members debated getting rid of the program review function written into the partnership agreement. Originally called the quality review team, as designed the purpose of this review was to ensure program quality. In reality though, one CCS informant reported that logistically there was not enough staff, nor had there ever been, to meet this particular stipulation, as it would require teams to travel to each prison. Subsequently, the

IAC was planning to exercise its flexibility by writing it out of the next cooperative agreement. The flexibility demonstrated by such actions ensures the continued ability to provide appropriate PSCE within each community in North Carolina and leads to my conclusion that the organization is flexible rather than rigid.

The eighth characteristic to examine when determining where an organization falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum is whether the number of employees can be determined. In a centralized organization, this can be done by looking at payroll lists, but in a decentralized organization, such as Alcoholics Anonymous or Craigslist, not only is it hard to count, but no one even pays attention. When considering PSCE in North Carolina, it would be easy to count how many total people are employed by each agency; however, it is harder to know exactly how many of those employees are participating in PSCE efforts because of the local-level involvement that occurs by those not specifically assigned to PSCE. While a researcher could count the number of instructors and administrators each college assigned to each prison, it is harder to count how many others were involved in the efforts as a peripheral part of their jobs. Moreover, it is possible that representatives from other agencies besides the NCDOC and NCCCS become involved, at least on a temporary basis, in helping to provide PSCE. For example, there have been times when the North Carolina Department of Labor has participated in IAC meetings, to help inform the direction of PSCE for the state. In those instances, it is difficult to calculate exactly how many people are helping to provide PSCE, leading to the conclusion that the participants cannot be counted.

The ninth characteristic to examine when determining where an organization falls on the centralized/decentralized spectrum is funding, specifically whether the units

generate their own revenue or whether they rely on the central offices for their financial security. This is an interesting issue in the context of PSCE in North Carolina. Each college is responsible for the student enrollment that generates its FTE, and to some extent is a master of its own fate. If the college does not choose to provide PSCE, it will sacrifice those enrollment revenues, but that choice lies with each institution. However, and importantly, ultimately the wellspring for the vast majority of college funding is the General Assembly in the form of the FTE allocations. Similarly, the General Assembly is responsible for allocating start-up funding provided to the DOC and then funneled to the CCS as well as the \$50,000 annual discretionary fund provided to the CCS.

As mentioned earlier, if the General Assembly decided to stop allowing PSCE to count in the FTE allocation, the ability to provide such education in North Carolina would be immediately and substantially affected for the worse. In fact, the only funds that would remain for PSCE would be Inmate Welfare Funds generated from the inmate canteens and inmate phone calls. While this funding has been substantial enough to cover the cost of supplies for PSCE, it would not be able to meet the total educational costs of over 10,000 inmates annually. The most likely option for the state would be to require inmates and their families to cover the cost of tuition, placing a significant impact on the number of inmates able to participate in PSCE as a result of funding limitations. Based on this reasoning, I conclude that funding is more centralized than decentralized when it comes to PSCE in North Carolina.

The 10th characteristic to examine when determining where an organization falls on the centralized–decentralized spectrum is communication, specifically whether working groups communicate directly or through intermediaries. In North Carolina, those

involved with PSCE take pride in their face-to-face communication and ability to pick up the phone to call whoever has the information needed to make a decision. Because the NCDOC and NCCCS central office buildings are next door to each other, senior leadership within each agency recognize each other as they are walking to and from work each day. While the IAC is a vital part of the partnership in ensuring that both sides hear the same information twice a year, informants unanimously agreed that the majority of the work takes place outside of these meetings, as NCDOC and NCCCS employees interact on the day-to-day issues needing immediate attention. Moreover, there is a general awareness of how both sides view PSCE and the motivations for each side. When these differences are respected, it allows greater progress for PSCE.

The following figure (figure 8) provides a chart with Brafman and Beckstrom's ten characteristics of distributed structure and marks where each characteristics falls in North Carolina on the centralized/decentralized continuum according to my analysis. The chapter concludes with a summary that discusses the findings and the similarities between the two theories.

There's someone in charge.	X		There's no one in charge.
There are headquarters.		X	There are no headquarters.
If you thump it in the head, it dies.	X		If you thump it on the head, it survives.
There's a clear division of roles.	X		There's an amorphous division of roles.
If you take a unit, the organization is harmed.		X	If you take out a unit, the organization is unharmed.
Knowledge and power are concentrated.		X	Knowledge and power are distributed.
The organization is rigid.		X	The organization is flexible.
You can count the participants.		X	You cannot count the participants.
Units are funded by the organization.	X		Units are self-funding.
Working groups communicate through intermediaries.		X	Working groups communicate with each other directly.

Figure 8. Brafman and Beckstrom analysis of distributed structure.

Summary

This chapter sought to answer the research question, To what extent do the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure explain the ability of the NCCCS and the NCDOC to provide PSCE? Initial analysis revealed that the scope of this question required some broadening to include NCCCS and NCDOC interactions that took place outside the IAC. Subsequently, this chapter analyzed organizational resiliency and distributed structure beyond the strict confines of the IAC.

There are some similarities between Coutu's (2003) organizational resiliency and Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) distributed structure. The most obvious is the parallel between Coutu's (2003) core values and Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) ideology. Another overlap occurred between the types of questions used to elicit information about Coutu's (2003) ritualized ingenuity and Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) preexisting

network. However, as a framework for understanding how something works, Coutu's (2003) organizational resiliency was not particularly nuanced. Adding the notion of distributed structure along with its ten characteristics of the centralized–decentralized organization allowed me to more fully probe how and why North Carolina expanded and maintains PSCE.

The findings revealed that North Carolina's expansion of PSCE appears to be a case of organizational resiliency, as Coutu's (2003) three characteristics are adequately met. At the same time, it also appears that distributed structure could have played a role, as North Carolina possessed four of the five legs of Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) distributed structure at the time when PSCE was being expanded. When considering the current functioning of PSCE, the same pattern holds true. While Coutu's (2003) three characteristics of a resilient organization are met, an equally important piece of the story is that of the placement of North Carolina's PSCE on the centralized–decentralized spectrum. Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) wrote that very few organizations are all spider or all starfish, a fact made clear when considering North Carolina's PSCE. North Carolina had four centralized characteristics and six decentralized characteristics, making it a hybrid organization that utilizes “the bottom-up approach of decentralization and the structure, control, and resulting profit potential of centralization” (Brafman & Beckstrom, 2006, p. 164). According to Brafman and Beckstrom, creating a hybrid structure allows organizations to stay competitive. In North Carolina, having a hybrid structure ensures that local communities have their PSCE needs met, while accountability procedures are managed centrally to ensure the satisfaction of the General Assembly and other governing bodies.

This section answered my third research question using my theoretical framework. The following, and final, chapter presents my conclusions, study limitations, and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 7: Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations

Introduction

In 1987, North Carolina's General Assembly directed the North Carolina Community College System and the North Carolina Department of Correction to collaborate in developing a plan for postsecondary correctional education for the state. Twenty years later, North Carolina now provides PSCE to over 30% of its incarcerated population annually using state funding. While research indicates that providing PSCE decreases inmate idleness, reduces recidivism, and improves an inmate's transition to society upon release, only 15 states provide 89% of PSCE in the United States (Erisman & Contardo, 2005), with the majority of states dedicating their resources instead to ABE (Spangenberg, 2004). This leaves the majority of states without comprehensive PSCE programs that might substantially, and positively, affect the lives of prisoners.

Erisman and Contardo (2005) explored this issue and concluded that numerous barriers prevent access to PSCE, some of which appear so significant that state leaders might decide the results are not worth the difficulties. They advocated for educating policymakers and the public in order to build state-level support for PSCE. The question remained though: how? This study addressed this issue by examining the development and maintenance of North Carolina's systemwide PSCE program to better understand the dynamics behind such a program using the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure. North Carolina operates one of the most comprehensive PSCE programs in the country. In place since 1987, partners from the NCDOC and NCCCS educate more than 10,000 inmates in 70 prisons annually. Specifically, this study's research questions asked:

1. Why did North Carolina expand access to postsecondary education for its prison inmates over a period when other states were restricting access?
2. How does North Carolina provide access to postsecondary education for its inmates?
3. To what extent do the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure explain the ability of the North Carolina Community College System and the North Carolina Department of Correction to provide PSCE?

This chapter summarizes the study's findings, specifically addressing each research question, and offers general conclusions and implications. This work adds to the body of research in two fields, that of PSCE and that of organizational resiliency. Specifically, this study first offers a detailed description of how one state designed and executed its postsecondary correctional education despite an inhospitable national policy climate toward such programming. Second, it suggests that the combination of organizational resiliency theory with distributed structure theory creates a more robust theoretical framework to better understand how and why some programs work. The chapter closes with a discussion of the study's implications, including recommendations for future research as well as recommendations for policy and practice.

Summary of Findings

RQ1: Why did North Carolina expand access to PSCE? The study's first research question sought to understand why North Carolina expanded access to PSCE when other states were restricting it. Information gleaned from interviews and document review revealed complex and nuanced answers. First, North Carolina's community college system had developed such that each community maintained its own institution, totaling

58 colleges statewide. Especially in smaller communities with lower enrollments, colleges had difficulty finding the critical mass of students needed to maintain institutional viability. They subsequently became creative, and many of them looked to prisons for an extra source of FTE income. This process eventually caught the attention of the legislative fiscal analyst responsible for the community colleges' budget, who recommended increasing PSCE regulation. This recommendation became House Bill 50, which passed in 1987 and directed the North Carolina Community College System and the North Carolina Department of Correction to jointly develop "a comprehensive plan for academic, remedial, vocational, and technical education" that would answer the accountability needs of the legislature and well as the education needs of the incarcerated population (p. 1).

The second reason North Carolina expanded access to PSCE stemmed from the *Small v. Martin* lawsuit and subsequent settlement. The 1988 settlement directed the NCCCS and the NCDOC work together to provide a range of educational programming for inmates designed to address confinement and reentry issues. As a result, the DOC was required to work with the CCS to provide PSCE. Though today such programming is entrenched and systemic, 20 years ago willingness to participate in such efforts was localized; the *Small v Martin* mandate ensured that both agencies would sit at the table to develop PSCE statewide.

The third reason for expanded access to PSCE is the most difficult to quantify. Nearly everyone interviewed described a state culture that blends pragmatism with a strong emphasis on education. On the one hand, many of those who helped expand the programming argued that PSCE provided a financial value to the state, because inmates

who participated in education would be better behaved while incarcerated and more employable upon release, and thus less likely to recidivate. Underlying the logic of this argument though was always a personal belief in the value of education as a basic right for everyone, inmates included. The right to education is written into the state constitution and the state experienced substantial gubernatorial stability from the “Education Governor,” Governor Hunt, who served a total of 16 years.

The state emphasis on education contributed to its PSCE funding mechanisms, one of the primary reasons North Carolina was able to expand access to PSCE when other states restricted access. In the 1970s and 1980s many states depended on inmates to individually fund their own PSCE through their eligibility to receive Federal Pell grants. When inmate Pell grant eligibility was removed by Congress as part of the “Tough on Crime” movement, the majority of states lost access to the financial resources they relied upon to provide PSCE (Karpowitz & Kenner, n.d.; Messemer, 2003). In direct contrast, North Carolina waived tuition and subsidized the educational costs incurred by inmates just like every other citizen who participated in higher education, reflecting North Carolina’s commitment to educating all of its citizens regardless of incarceration status. As a result, the removal of Pell grant eligibility for inmates had limited impact in North Carolina, because those funds had never comprised the primary funding mechanism for PSCE in the state. The blend of this core value system emphasizing education with legislative and legal mandates ultimately explains why North Carolina expanded access to PSCE when other states restricted access.

RQ2: How does North Carolina provide access to PSCE? The introduction to this study argued that little comprehensive research on PSCE exists, and particularly any analysis

on how such a systemwide program should be structured (Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Gaes, Flanagan, Motiuk, & Stewart, 1999). I suggested that this dearth of information contributes to low PSCE offerings nationwide, because many state policymakers struggle to navigate the political and bureaucratic minefields present in establishing and maintaining such programming. This study aimed to add to the body of literature on PSCE by thoroughly analyzing the organization of North Carolina's systemwide PSCE. According to informants, successful functioning of North Carolina PSCE requires numerous components: offenders, classroom space, equipment, textbooks, teachers accountable to both the prisons and community colleges, commitment from senior leadership in the DOC and the CCS, and community support. Perhaps the most integral key to North Carolina's successful PSCE program is a funding mechanism that is not subject to legislative review each year. The FTE contact hour reporting ensures that the community college system can include prison enrollments in its regular budgeting processes and prevents excessive oversight from the legislature.

Successful PSCE in North Carolina also requires the close working relationship between the NCDOC and the NCCCS, represented by the Interagency Committee. Though informants agreed that the IAC is not the primary body responsible for *setting* PSCE policy, its bi-annual meetings ensure that everyone involved with PSCE meets together twice a year to discuss goals and initiatives to better *guide* policy. These meetings ensure that the DOC and the CCS maintain common core values around PSCE. Such cooperation contradicts Ellis's (2006) conclusion, in which she found poor coordination between the two agencies hindered effective PSCE in a women's prison. However, her study only looked at one prison whereas this study sought to understand

comprehensive PSCE in North Carolina statewide. While possible that some partnership issues exist locally, from a systemwide perspective North Carolina successfully developed effective coordination between the DOC and the CCS.

Finally, North Carolina's program as it exists today has solved many of the administrative issues that might plague a state developing a new PSCE program. First, North Carolina's Correctional Education Matrix helps ensure that the majority of inmates enrolled in education will be able to finish while incarcerated. Second, the Cooperative Agreement between the two agencies explicitly spells out each agency's role in administering correctional education. Third, a variety of funding sources support PSCE in North Carolina, including Inmate Welfare Funds, FTEs, tuition waivers, and start-up costs, that working together ensure diversified resources to support such programming. While North Carolina continues to have some minor issues, generally the relevant parties are satisfied with the partnership and agree that it has evolved to a point where both agencies work together effectively to create systemwide PSCE. This pragmatic focus on developing systems that address program administration is an important component of today's PSCE programming in North Carolina.

RQ3: To what extent do organizational resiliency and distributed structure explain PSCE in North Carolina?

This study analyzed PSCE using the theories of organizational resiliency and distributed structure for two purposes. First, the theories helped explain the development and maintenance of PSCE in North Carolina. Second, using these theories in conjunction to analyze PSCE contributes to the literature on organizational resiliency, which some have argued needs further development (Sutcliffe & Vogus, 2003). The only previous

study to use Coutu's framework in a non-profit setting examined the adaptation to funding changes exhibited by two non-profit hospitals by testing to see whether her three characteristics of organizational resiliency were present (Witmer, 2006). While Witmer concluded that they were resilient organizations, she defined success only in terms of financial viability. When considering publicly-funded education, this model required further testing and development. This study evaluated the development and maintenance of PSCE using Coutu's framework and found that the resulting analysis missed some of the nuances presents in North Carolina. The addition of Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) distributed structure theory provided extra depth to the analysis that appeared to fill some of the gaps left by Coutu's framework, specifically the role of individuals in promoting and maintaining PSCE.

Specifically, this study found that North Carolina demonstrated Coutu's (2002) three characteristics of organizational resiliency during the development and the maintenance of its PSCE programming. One of the key findings of this study is the strong emphasis North Carolina places on the value of education. Coutu theorized that core values are a key component of organizational resiliency, because they create a framework that helps employees interpret and respond to adversity. In the case of North Carolina, the belief that everyone should have access to education ensured that the state continued to provide PSCE despite the public relations problems inherent in providing publicly-financed college education for inmates. Coutu's other characteristics of organizational resiliency, acceptance of reality and ritualized ingenuity, were exhibited during the development of North Carolina's PSCE in a variety of ways. The Correctional Education Matrix combined with contact hour reporting indicated an understanding of the

completion problem facing PSCE and clear-headed solutions to solve it. Moreover, the use of the pre-existing community college system to provide PSCE is a clear case of Coutu's "bricolage," or the ability to respond to a situation using the tools at hand.

While Coutu's framework was useful in explaining why North Carolina's program expanded, analyzing the study's results within that tight framework left out many of the nuances of North Carolina's PSCE programming. Adding Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) theory of distributed structure explains more fully why PSCE gained traction in North Carolina. Brafman and Beckstrom theorized that organizations possessing the five "legs" of distributed structure during their developmental phase are more likely to have the characteristics that would allow them to be successful. My analysis found that the partnership between the NCDOC and the NCCCS demonstrated four of the five legs: the catalyst, the champions, ideology, and the use of the pre-existing network. The fifth leg, membership circles, fit less neatly, but is worth considering in further studies because the theory argues that organizations with all five legs have a resiliency advantage. These "legs" partially overlapped with Coutu's theory of organizational resiliency, but a valuable addition to understanding successful organizations is the role of specific key people during the developmental phase of an organization. This finding indicates that the theory of distributed structure may be a valuable addition when considering how PSCE successfully develops in adverse circumstances and warrants further research.

The second part of this research question used these same theories to analyze North Carolina's maintenance of PSCE over the past 20 years. Coutu's (2002) three characteristics of organizational resiliency were found in the current maintenance of

PSCE. The acceptance of reality was exhibited in the sophisticated understanding informants revealed regarding the need for vocational rather than academic correctional education. Though academic education might appeal emotionally, informants argued that vocational education was the best use of taxpayer dollars because it offered the best chance of improving post-release outcomes. Informants displayed their core values when they discussed the rehabilitative purposes behind PSCE and their belief in the life-changing aspects of PSCE. Ritualized ingenuity was demonstrated in the belief from the DOC that PSCE would provide a convenient tool to curb inmate idleness. Once again however, analyzing how North Carolina currently provides PSCE using just the three characteristics of Coutu's organizational resiliency theory only created a two-dimensional explanation. Adding an analysis of the current programming using Brafman and Beckstrom's (2006) ten characteristics of distributed structure ensured a more nuanced and detailed understanding of how PSCE is provided in North Carolina.

Specifically, the distributed structure analysis revealed that North Carolina's PSCE programming exhibited six of the ten characteristics of a decentralized organization: no headquarters; little effect from downsizing; wide distribution of knowledge; a flexible organization; nearly impossible to count the number of employees; and direct communication between working groups. Exhibiting only some of the decentralized characteristics defines North Carolina's PSCE as a hybrid program. According to Brafman and Beckstrom (2006), hybrid organizations use the components of centralization that give them a strategic advantage while leaving the other components less rigid to provide greater flexibility to respond to organizational needs. Organizational culture will help dictate which characteristics become centralized and which become

decentralized. This study found that blending centralized and decentralized characteristics helped to maintain systemwide access to PSCE in North Carolina. Moreover, the addition of distributed structure theory gave more depth and complexity to the analysis.

Though North Carolina clearly demonstrated characteristics of distributed structure, the framework does not call for a comparison of the relative merits of one variable to another nor did my research design. Rather, I was trying to determine whether aspects of distributed structure would inform our understanding of PSCE in North Carolina. Though findings indicated that there were four characteristics of centralization and six of decentralization, the answer to whether distributed structure should be added to Coutu's (2003) organizational resiliency theory remains somewhat undetermined. Further research would help answer this question and further develop the literature on organizational resiliency.

Conclusions

The United States faces a corrections policy crisis. Over the past 20 years, ballooning incarceration rates have resulted in a rate that today exceeds two million prisoners at any given time (Mauer & Chesney-Lind, 2002). In turn, this high incarceration rate affects all members of society regardless of prior incarceration status. Between 1986 and 2001, state prison costs per U.S. resident more than doubled (Stephan, 2004). Moreover, the Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that 95% of incarcerated people will eventually be released from prison. According to one study, 60 percent of employers would preferably not or definitely not hire someone with a criminal record (Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2001). In Texas, former inmates had a 30% unemployment rate, compared to a 4.8% state average (Fabelo, 2000). Further, the likelihood that these

individuals will return to a life of crime is high: over 60% of state and Federal inmates are rearrested within three years (Hughes & Wilson, 2008). Researchers have argued that postsecondary correctional education offers a way to improve inmates' successful transition upon release. By exploring how one state, North Carolina, provides systemic PSCE to over a third of its inmates, this study contributes to our knowledge on this topic in at least six ways, outlined in the following discussion.

First, researchers have argued that one reason for limited PSCE opportunities lies with a tension between ABE and PSCE (Spangenberg, 2004). When states are forced to distribute limited resources, they choose to focus education where they believe it will have the most impact, usually at the ABE level. In contrast, while North Carolina's Department of Correction requires enrollment in ABE for anyone testing below a 6th grade level (McGlone, 2002), it also provides PSCE to over a third of its inmates. This process runs smoothly in part because North Carolina's Community College System provides both ABE and PSCE. Having one provider for both levels of education prevents competition that might exist between differing providers and should contribute to a relatively seamless transition from ABE to PSCE. As more inmates complete ABE and earn either high school diplomas or GEDs, the demand for PSCE will likely increase. Moreover, North Carolina's funding structures for correctional education ensure that there are no funding limitations for programming at either level; colleges are reimbursed based on FTE, ensuring that they receive funding for all inmates who receive education, regardless of whether it is ABE or PSCE. For those who would provide correctional education to a greater number of inmates in their states, this study illustrates one way to structure the funding to better expand access.

Second, in this age of government accountability, PSCE is vulnerable to criticism because of low program completion rates. Erisman and Contardo (2005) found that in 2003-04, 2,191 college degrees and 24,627 certificates were awarded to inmates. This finding indicated that most of the 85,000 inmates participating in PSCE in 2003-04 did not complete their educational programs. North Carolina's Correctional Education Matrix offers one solution to this criticism. In contrast to other states, North Carolina, with an average monthly enrollment of over 10,000 inmates in educational programming, awarded over 10,000 certificates, diplomas, and degrees in 2006 to inmates participating in correctional education. Though the definitional problems discussed in Chapter 5 prevent a more nuanced discussion of completion rates in North Carolina, preliminary findings indicate that North Carolina's Correctional Education Matrix offers a launching point for states who would design a method to increase their enrollments and completion rates.

A third finding from this study is the addition of components of distributed structure to better understand organizational resiliency. Brafman and Beckstrom wrote "the more chaotic [an organization] seems, the more resilient it is" (Brafman & Beckstrom, 2006, p. 6). In the context of this study, the decentralized aspects of PSCE in North Carolina contributed to the state's ability to provide systemwide programming, confirming the merit of adding distributed structure to organizational resiliency, particularly in the context of a non-profit program. Worth noting however is the preliminary nature of this research finding. This topic warrants further study to determine whether some or all of the components of distributed structure should be added to organizational resiliency theory.

Fourth, despite the seeming entrenchment of PSCE in North Carolina, one bill would be all it takes to dismantle the entire program. If the legislature stopped supporting PSCE, it would be catastrophic for its programming. Fortunately for the viability of the program, PSCE has widespread local-level and state-wide support. Even if the legislature attempted to pass such a bill, informants predicted an outcry from all levels of the CCS and the DOC. According to one, “When you talk about messing with the community colleges you’re messing with the locals.” Though North Carolina’s PSCE programming does possess this funding vulnerability, the likelihood of it coming to pass in this current policy environment seems slim because of the widespread support of such programming.

The fifth and perhaps most notable addition to the research is that North Carolina’s PSCE developed and has been maintained in large part for practical reasons. Though North Carolina’s citizens are proud of living in the “education state,” PSCE developed initially because the community colleges needed to generate FTEs and the *Small v. Martin* lawsuit obligated the DOC to take on a proactive role in facilitating the availability of PSCE. Moreover, as the partnership evolved further, employees for both the DOC and the CCS developed methods to facilitate the arrangement to benefit each agency, including adopting the Correctional Education Matrix and offering primarily vocational education in lieu of academic education. This finding contradicts a common perception that all inmates are offered PhDs at taxpayers’ expense, without benefiting local communities. This perception has been particularly true when considering the programs most often covered by mainstream media, such as the Bard Prison Initiative and the Boston University Prisoner Education Program, both of which offer at least four-year academic degrees to their inmate-participants. However, in North Carolina PSCE is

offered because local communities, including prisons, colleges, and local employers benefit from it.

Relatedly, like many states in the U.S., North Carolina policymakers are proponents of mandatory sentencing laws associated with the “get tough” movement. As a result, North Carolina’s incarceration rates saw a dramatic spike during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Despite North Carolina’s correctional philosophy to harshly punish offenders with lengthy prison sentences, policymakers’ actions in supporting PSCE indicates that structured sentencing laws do not contradict the policy goals of PSCE. Rather, structured sentencing is about removing inmates from society as punishment for their crimes while providing PSCE ensures that when they are eventually released, inmates will be able to transition back to society more readily. Because of this finding, even states that believe themselves to be tough on crime may find it more reasonable to provide PSCE to their own incarcerated populations. In fact, one informant mused that she did not see why North Carolina would be able to provide PSCE better than any other state.

Finally, while this study focused specifically on PSCE, fundamentally it analyzed the collaboration of two state agencies to provide programming to a certain population. Though the specific lessons learned from this study speak to PSCE, they also hold value for other agency collaborations, either education focused or addressing other social issues. For example, collaborations offering employment opportunities between the Department of Labor and the Department of Health and Human Services might be able to glean important lessons from this study regarding how to develop and maintain interagency partnerships.

Implications

The findings of this study have numerous implications for further research, policy, and practice. The following section first addresses areas for future research and then provides implications for policy and practice.

Recommendations for Research. The results of this study contribute to two bodies of research, that of postsecondary correctional education programming and that of organizational resiliency and distributed structure. Because this study's scope focused on one state, specifically on the relationship between the North Carolina Community College System and the North Carolina Department of Correction, more analysis is needed to better guide policy makers in their decision-making processes. The results indicate numerous avenues for further research.

The first area requiring further research is postsecondary correctional education effectiveness. This study was based on the assumption that providing PSCE to a third of the incarcerated population warrants designation as an "effective" program. However, there is a dearth of effectiveness literature regarding PSCE. Too few studies have analyzed the recidivism rates of participants in PSCE (Chappell, 2004; Gardner, 2004; Steurer, Smith, & Tracy, 2001); even fewer have focused specifically on PSCE in North Carolina (Gardner, 2004). While informants in North Carolina stated a belief in the ability of PSCE to reduce recidivism, some admitted that they had not actually seen evidence of this fact. Though there are numerous measures of PSCE effectiveness, including post-release employment rates, voting rates, number of inmates who participate in education post-release, behavior while incarcerated, and the status of family relationships, collecting data on a transient population such as former inmates continues

to plague researchers. However, during the course of this research I learned that North Carolina collects substantial data on PSCE attainment and has the ability to track inmates upon release. Subsequently, quantitative studies exploring the role of PSCE on post-release outcomes in the United States, particularly North Carolina, are vitally needed and theoretically possible given the substantial data available to conduct such analyses.

Furthermore, a statistical analysis to better understand patterns of PSCE participation is necessary. This study argued that providing PSCE might help address inequalities present within the prison system, by helping inmates with post-release transitions. However, little is known about the individuals who actually enroll in PSCE. Trends in higher education indicate that socio-economic status and race/ethnicity are strong indicators of whether individuals will attend college (Baum & Payea, 2005). However, community colleges are more likely to enroll non-traditional students, those who are older and poorer and who attend part-time, and are also most likely to be the education provider for PSCE (American Association of Community Colleges, n.d.; Erisman & Contardo, 2005). Which then is the better indicator for who participates in PSCE, the four-year higher education trends or the community college enrollment trends? The Bureau of Justice Statistics 2004 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities contains data on the necessary variables to conduct such an analysis. This analysis would be a valuable addition to our understanding of the impact of PSCE.

In considering areas for future research, a starting point must be analysis of the spending on various levels of correctional education to help us better understand the correctional education landscape. Lack of data on correctional education expenditures hampers our understanding of the scope and impact of correctional education, both for

inmates and society. Following that research, study of the relative merits of ABE and PSCE is vitally needed. Research indicating that GED attainment does not improve post-release outcomes has been controversial (Tyler & Kling, 2004) and needs to be replicated. Moreover, inmates who would participate in PSCE must often receive either a GED or high school diploma before being able to enroll. As a result, even if the GED alone does not influence post-release outcomes, GED preparation courses are still a vital component of correctional education so that inmates might enroll in higher level education further into their sentences. Research that would help us understand the pathway between the two levels of education would allow us to better align correctional education policy and determine resource allocation decisions.

Because this study focused specifically on the partnership of the NCCCS and the NCDOC, additional research is needed to better understand the influences of other stakeholders in developing and maintaining PSCE. Specifically, in the course of this research I discovered limited evidence that employer willingness to hire ex-felons plays a role in helping to set educational policy and determining post-release outcomes. Furthermore, more detailed analyses of the role played by the local media in influencing perceptions of PSCE as well the General Assembly's role in setting correctional education policy would provide a more comprehensive understanding of how and why states provide PSCE.

Other areas requiring additional research refer to the theoretical components of this study. Results from this study indicated Coutu's characteristics of a resilient organization were present during the development and maintenance of North Carolina's PSCE. However, this theory also should be tested in the context of a failed PSCE

program to ensure that these characteristics are legitimately indicative of organizational resiliency and not some other phenomenon. Moreover, in the context of this study, the addition of distributed structure was a helpful component to better explaining the ability of North Carolina to provide PSCE. Specifically, the role of the catalyst and the champions during program development, and the presence of decentralized characteristics during the maintenance of the programming, indicate decentralized components improve the organizational resiliency of a state-wide PSCE program. Preliminarily then, components of distributed structure require further testing to determine whether they should become a permanent addition to organizational resiliency theory.

Additionally, though this study's findings indicate that distributed structure is a worthwhile addition to organizational resiliency theory in the context of PSCE, additional research is necessary to better determine whether the addition of distributed structure makes sense either in traditional higher education settings or other non-profit settings. Moreover, although the framework does not call for a ranking of the relative merits of the ten characteristics used to measure decentralization, a researcher seeking to use distributed structure might find this a helpful exercise to further distributed structure theory. This research could have great impact on the literature of non-profit organizational resiliency, for example.

Recommendations for Policy and Practice. The results of this study indicate that North Carolina's high PSCE enrollment is linked to the pragmatic solutions jointly created by the DOC and CCS over the course of 20 years. Like other states, North Carolina experienced issues of program quality, program completion rates, and program funding.

However, the state's solutions to these problems provide a number of recommendations for PSCE policymakers and practitioners.

Use available resources, including educational, financial, and political, when developing PSCE programming. In North Carolina, the designers of expanded PSCE utilized pre-existing networks and community college funding practices to more easily expand PSCE. This practice ensured local buy-in from community members who were being asked to participate and ensured that daily operating procedures were already in place. Moreover, it prevented the waste of resources in developing new procedures when there were already methods in place to answer a number of the emerging issues. Before attempting a systemwide expansion of PSCE, leaders and policymakers should conduct an audit of available resources to better determine how best to utilize pre-existing networks.

Build interagency partnerships to better address the challenges of providing PSCE. Society is feeling the negative effects of a growing prison population and single agencies cannot be expected to address these issues alone. Interagency partnerships represent a way to build capacity and address barriers that might exist between agencies because of cultural and communication mismatches. Moreover, inviting individuals to problem solve together helps combat the silo effect that can occur as a result of individual agency initiatives.

Structure PSCE so that prisoners begin their transition while still incarcerated. North Carolina views transition as a graduated process that begins at intake. From an inmate's testing that occurs the first day in prison, programming is structured to better enable offenders to be successful upon release. With a century-old

tradition of expanding educational access to everyone, community colleges are a natural partner for states that offer PSCE. Especially in North Carolina, community colleges are also the most likely educational institutions to be available for inmates post-release. Structuring PSCE so inmates will interact with the same educators who might teach them upon release offers a potentially powerful tool in helping with the transition back to society.

Accept both limitations and possibilities when considering how to provide PSCE. A variety of factors must be considered when determining how to provide PSCE, including the inmate population, the corrections policies, and the educational providers. Understanding the context means taking into account everyone affected by PSCE and acknowledging that the ideal way to do something might not be the most possible way. “Accepting reality” is a characteristic of Coudu’s (2002) organizational resiliency; for the purposes of PSCE, some good ideas may not be achievable. Understanding what is possible within a particular state requires tailoring program offerings to a particular context and dropping the ideas that simply will not work.

Borrow lessons learned from other states and adapt them to fit circumstances. All states offering PSCE will face similar questions regarding funding, education providers, relationships between multiple agencies, and effectiveness, to name a few. While it is unreasonable to expect states to replicate programs exactly, many of the practices utilized in North Carolina can be taken away as valuable “best practices” for other states. Regardless of location, all states are facing accountability movements; tools such as the Correctional Education Matrix that helps ensure program completion could substantially strengthen public support for PSCE in other states. Other states should

consider adopting aspects of North Carolina's PSCE programming that make sense for their particular circumstances.

Document successes and failures. In the 1980s and early 1990s, PSCE was effectively dismantled because there was little evidence of its effectiveness. Though today some states more thoroughly document their efforts through policy statements and research reports, too often the data simply are not collected. In North Carolina, the Department of Correction collects inmate information in a central system that allows for easy retrieval. Though some of these data have not been analyzed, they are available for future researchers who would further explore this topic. Understanding what works, and what does not work, in PSCE will help determine the shaping of future program offerings.

Articulate the benefits of PSCE so that outsiders understand. One purpose for this study was to discover why North Carolina valued PSCE enough to expand it in 1987. This study's findings indicate that PSCE was expanded for both pragmatic reasons, such as the need of the local community colleges to generate additional enrollments and the *Small v. Martin* mandate as well as state values, which rely on education as an important vehicle for positive change. Though many support PSCE because they believe it is the right thing to do, the pragmatic reasons for its existence are an important part of the success of the NCDOC and NCCCS partnership. Articulating these benefits ensures that policymakers would consider carefully before dismantling such a program.

Limitations

This study possessed several unique limitations that merit discussion. Identifying these limitations adds to the value of the case report by providing the reader with more

information on the current study's challenges as well as issues to consider in further research. First, although this study aimed to contribute to the field through greater understanding of a U.S. state that chose to broaden access to PSCE, I encountered some difficulty gaining access to some of the individuals who could provide important information and the documents that record such information. Second, while I believe my informants were as forthcoming as possible, researchers must always question the data they gather, particularly when the data are provided through interviews. Because this study began with the premise that North Carolina was unusual because of its high rate of PSCE involvement, it is possible that informants were unwilling to share information that would detract from this assumption. Third, because one state (North Carolina) was studied, it is possible that the conclusions reached based on the analysis are not externally generalizable to other states or countries. I leave it to the reader to determine whether my findings are transferable to his or her jurisdictions.

The fourth limitation of this study is that the use of organizational resiliency and distributed structure theory may not have contributed greatly to our understanding of how and why North Carolina expanded PSCE. Though these theories seemed promising at the outset of this study, the end conclusion indicates that these two theories may not be particularly helpful when asking my particular research questions. My earlier involvement in PSCE research serves as both a fifth limitation as well as a strength of this study. On the one hand, I believe that my prior knowledge and publication record on this topic ensured that my informants were more receptive to my research. Though some informants told me of prior graduate student research on my topic that had been poorly conducted, these statements were always in the context that the expectation was my end

product would be of a higher quality, because of my prior experience in this field. On the other hand, because of my previous knowledge I believe I likely had some assumptions and expectations that influenced the data collection decisions I made throughout my research process. I believe I mitigated this limitation by thoroughly discussing my thought processes as well as my research procedures; I ultimately leave it to the reader to determine how much weight to place on this potential limitation.

Final Thoughts

For ex-offenders, participation in PSCE is often one link in a chain of fortuitous events. While education alone may not be enough to overcome the obstacles that inmates face, the personal connections and support gained by participating in PSCE may travel with them beyond the prison walls, providing the resources ex-offenders need as they transition back into society. Though this study began with my identifying PSCE as a rational choice for policy-makers, and the findings indicated North Carolina's pragmatic reasons for providing PSCE, the truth is that the emotional component of this type of programming will always play a role. That is, average citizens will remain unwilling to give inmates for free what they must pay for themselves, even if it saves them money in the long run.

While some will read this study and recognize the pragmatism lying behind the programming offered in North Carolina, the issue of fairness will always be considered in conjunction with taxpayer-supported postsecondary correctional education. Subsequently, those who would provide such education must consistently measure, analyze, and disseminate the results of the effectiveness of PSCE. Then they must take a second step. When results indicate that some aspect of PSCE does not work, policy makers and

program managers must proactively adjust the programming to best address the needs of society and the incarcerated population. Those that supported PSCE in 1994 learned, with the passage of the Violent Crime Act, that failure to articulate the value of PSCE makes it vulnerable to criticism and subject to termination. If future research indicates that criticisms of PSCE are well-founded and evidence-based, then perhaps funding should be diverted from these programs. However, to remove PSCE purely for emotionally-charged political reasons defies logic and threatens to place an even greater burden on individuals and society as we struggle with the implications of over 700,000 individuals released from prison each year.

Appendix A: Research Design

These tables crosswalk the theories, the characteristics present within them, the source of the data used to determine whether the characteristic was present, and the interview question(s) used to address the characteristic, if applicable. Table A1 addresses RQ 1 and Table A2 addresses RQ 2.

Table A1

Research Question 1: Why Did North Carolina Expand Access to Postsecondary Education for Its Prison Inmates Over a Period When Other States Were Restricting Access?

Characteristic	Source of data used to determine whether characteristic is present	Interview question to address characteristic (if applicable)
Acceptance of reality	Interviews	Coutu (2003) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why did policy makers choose to expand PSCE in North Carolina? • What are the benefits of providing college courses to inmates? • What are the drawbacks of providing college courses to inmates? • Please tell me about your involvement in college-level prison education.
Core values	Documents, interviews, direct observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please tell me about your understanding of the development of the Interagency Committee of the NCDOC and the NCCCS. • What are your own personal views about providing college courses to inmates? • What are the benefits of providing college courses to inmates? • Do you think members of the Interagency Committee hold common beliefs or values about the role of postsecondary education for inmates? If so, what are they? • Why did you choose to participate in PSCE?

Table A1

(continued)

Characteristic	Source of data used to determine whether characteristic is present	Interview question to address characteristic (if applicable)
Coutu (2003, continued)		
Ritualized ingenuity	Interviews, direct observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What components were vital to expanding PSCE in North Carolina? • What resources (e.g., financial, personnel, legislative) were already in place in the early 1990s as PSCE was expanded? • Can you think of a time when the Interagency Committee managed to provide a service despite facing obstacles? • Were there any conflicts over what the program was expected to achieve? • How were these conflicts addressed?
Characteristic	Source of data used to determine whether characteristic is present	Interview question to address characteristic (if applicable)
Brafman and Beckstrom (2006)		
Circles	Documents, direct observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do individuals become involved with the IAC? • How committed are participants to the IAC? • Do those who work to provide PSCE exhibit a sense of ownership?
The catalyst	Documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who enforces the rules with the IAC? • Who were the leaders and advocates who played significant roles in creating the current system?
Ideology	Documents, direct observation, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do you think North Carolina offers college-level programming for prison inmates? • What are the benefits of providing PSCE programming? • What are the drawbacks of providing college courses to inmates? • What concerns led to the creation of current laws and policies on PSCE?
The preexisting network	Documents, direct observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What did PSCE providers hope to achieve? • What resources (e.g., financial, personnel, legislative) were already in place in the early 1990s as PSCE was expanded?
The champion	Documents, interviews, direct observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who were the leaders and advocates who played significant roles in creating the current system?

Table A2

Research Question 2: How Does North Carolina Provide Access to Postsecondary

Education for Its Prison Inmates?

Characteristic	Source of data used to determine whether characteristic is present	Interview question to address characteristic (if applicable)
Coutu (2003)		
Acceptance of reality	Direct observation, documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What resources needed to be found to expand access to PSCE?
Core values	Direct observation, documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do you think North Carolina offers college-level programming for prison inmates?
Ritualized ingenuity	Direct observation, documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What components were vital to expanding PSCE in North Carolina? • How is PSCE in North Carolina structured? • Can you think of a time when the Interagency Committee managed to provide a service despite facing obstacles?
Characteristic	Source of data used to determine whether characteristic is present	Interview questions to address characteristic (if applicable)
Brafman and Beckstrom (2006)		
Leadership	Direct observation, documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What processes are employed to make decisions on policies and procedures? • How did the Interagency Committee develop?
Headquarters Centralization	Direct observation, documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where do meetings of the IAC take place? • What would happen if the co-chairs of the IAC suddenly stopped participating in PSCE?
Division of roles	Direct observation, documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When you want to accomplish a task related to PSCE, what steps do you take? Would you give me an example?
Effect of downsizing	Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do tasks get accomplished when there do not seem to be enough people to accomplish them?
Nature of knowledge	Direct observation, documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please tell me about how the Interagency Committee guides PSCE policy decisions in North Carolina.
Flexibility	Direct observation, documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When you want to accomplish a task related to PSCE, what steps do you take? Would you give me an example?
Number of employees	Direct observation, documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do individuals become involved with the IAC?

Table A2

(continued)

Characteristic	Source of data used to determine whether characteristic is present	Interview questions to address characteristic (if applicable)
Funding	Brafman and Beckstrom (2006, continued) Documents, interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What resources (e.g., financial, personnel, legislative) were already in place in the early 1990s as PSCE was expanded? • What, if any, financial obstacles were encountered? • What strategies were employed to overcome them?
		Communication

Appendix B: Researcher's Time Frame

Table B1 provides the researcher's final timeline for study development, data collection, and study write-up.

Table B1

Researcher's Time Frame

Date	Task
March 2007 (proposal writing/IRB proposal)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue drafting proposal • Submit IRB proposal by March 27, 2007
April 2007 (defense/appointment setting)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Submit IRB application • Set appointments for week of May 15 with Interagency Committee and individual policy makers and implementers
May 2007 (Data collection)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buy digital recorder • Defend proposal • Gain access to site in Raleigh, NC • Present to Interagency Committee of the North Carolina Community College System and the NC Department of Correction, explaining study and data collection protocol • Observe meeting • Conduct individual interviews • Collect documentation
June 2007 (data collection/analysis)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transcribe interviews as I go • Conduct one-on-one interviews • Collect additional documentation; read notes and other documents • Organize resources • Begin analysis; determine whom else I must interview
July 2007 (data analysis/data collection)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Send thank-you notes to participants in research • Continue interviews with CC instructors • Continue transcribing as I complete interviews • Continue analysis/coding • Determine holes in my data • Schedule last interviews
August 2007 (data collection)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct last interviews • Request other data, as necessary
September 2007 (data analysis)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listen to interviews and review transcripts • Begin data sorting process
October 2007 (data analysis)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue data sorting process • Begin outlining final chapters
November 2007 (data analysis/report writing)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue data analysis • Begin drafting results chapter(s)

Table B1

(continued)

Date	Task
December 2007 (data analysis/report writing)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue data analysis • Continue drafting results chapter(s)
January 2008 (report writing)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Set defense date • Submit Nomination of Dissertation Committee form (at least 6 weeks before defense) • Draft final chapters; submit drafts to co-chairs • Adjust first three chapters, as necessary
February 2008 (report writing/edits)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finish report writing • Submit drafts to co-chairs and committee members
March 2008 (edits)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporate feedback from committee members • Send full dissertation draft to committee
April 2008 (finish)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defend dissertation to committee • Submit revised dissertation to registrar • Submit paperwork to registrar • Send copies of dissertation and/or executive summary to key information providers

Appendix C: E-Mail Granting Permission for Direct Observation

This email was received granting the researcher permission to attend the May 15, 2007 meeting of the Interagency Committee.

Hi [informant's name],

I hope all is well with you. I am in the process of completing my Institutional Research Board (IRB) application, in preparation for my May 15 visit to the Interagency Committee meeting of the NCDOC and the NCCCS. I believe we discussed on the phone that the purpose of IRB is to be sure that study participants have been informed of the reasons for my research and the extent of their rights. One of my advisors has brought it to my attention that—because I intend to observe the Interagency Meeting for the purposes of data collection—I should distribute an informed consent form prior to my visit down there (but after the form is approved by IRB).

With this in mind, would it be possible for me to e-mail you a week or two before my visit a short (half-page) description of my study as well as the consent form, to be forwarded to all members of the Interagency Committee? Second (and I realize this may sound demanding), would it be possible to speak toward the beginning of the day, to ensure all the members of the committee understand why I am there and their rights as participants in this research? University of Maryland has a particularly rigorous IRB process, and approval of my research is contingent upon following these procedures.

I am happy to discuss this further with you over the phone, if you like. Many, many thanks for all of your assistance.

Jeanne Contardo

——Original Message——

From: [Informant's name]

Sent: Wednesday, March 28, 2007 10:13 PM

To: jbayer@wam.umd.edu

Subject: Re: Consent forms, etc.

Jeanne, please feel free to send the form and I will distribute it for you. I am sure we can also put you first on the agenda, after introductions.

Could we also set a time to talk next week to make sure I have given you the information you need to make your plans? I am not at my desk right now to confirm my calendar, but if you will e-mail a time or two that would work for you, I'll check and get back with you.

Thanks,

[Informant's name]

Appendix D: Description of the Case Study

This description of the case student was distributed to participants in the direct observation on May 15, 2007 so that they could make a better informed decision regarding whether to participate in this study.

This case study is a research project conducted in partial fulfillment of my pursuit of a doctorate in the Department of Education Policy and Leadership at the University of Maryland, College Park. The purpose of this study is to investigate the process of implementing a postsecondary correctional education program, including motivations and justifications for such programming.

This study is anchored in an organizational framework that seeks to explain how organizations thrive in sometimes hostile environments. This research will employ a qualitative case study method, in which I will draw on documentation, interviews, and observation as a means to explore and analyze the expansion of access to postsecondary correctional education in North Carolina. By doing so, I expect this study to add to the empirical and theoretical research on postsecondary correctional education and organizational resiliency in higher education programming.

Appendix E: Information and Consent Form for Direct Observation

This consent form was used specifically for informants who participated in any of the direct observations during the course of this study.

Against the Grain:

North Carolina's Unorthodox Plan to Provide College to Its Inmates

This is a research project conducted by Jeanne Bayer Contardo, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Education Policy and Leadership at the University of Maryland, College Park. You are being asked to participate in this study because of your involvement in determining postsecondary correctional education policy in the state of North Carolina. The purpose of this case study is to examine how and why North Carolina expanded access to postsecondary education for prison inmates and the structural components of the program that helped facilitate this expanded access. This form provides a description of your involvement and your rights as a participant.

The data collection phase of this study will take place from May 15, 2007, to September 30, 2007. Specifically, I request your consent to directly observe your participation in the May 15, 2007, meeting of the Interagency Committee of the North Carolina Department of Correction and the North Carolina Community College System. During this observation, I will record my observations and ideas in the form of field notes. At no time will you be recorded during this observation, and your name will not be used to identify your contributions to discussion. Following the interview, I may follow up with you to request clarifications of fact, documentation and/or supporting evidence, or additional information.

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time about the nature of the study and the methods that I am using. Your suggestions and concerns are important to me; please contact me at any time at the address/phone number/e-mail address listed below. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742; (e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-0678.

I will use the information from this direct observation to write a case report about how and why North Carolina expanded postsecondary correctional education. Specifically, I will analyze the organizational resiliency characteristics of the postsecondary correctional education program in North Carolina and provide policy recommendations for other states who would implement a comprehensive postsecondary education program. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park, or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.

Though I do not anticipate significant risks to participants in this study, it is possible that critics of postsecondary correctional education will become more aware of the North Carolina program and subsequently direct negative attention toward it. However, the flip side of this possibility—and the greater likelihood—is that proponents of postsecondary correctional education will become aware of North Carolina’s thriving program and model their own programs after it. One purpose of this research is to describe the program in such detail that other states could replicate it.

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

- Your real name will not be used at any point of the data analysis, nor in the written report.
- Field notes from this observation will not be used for any reason other than use in this study. One year following the conclusion of this study, my notes will be destroyed.
- Only the researcher will have access to any data files.
- You have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice, and the information collected and records and reports written will be turned over to you.

Please sign as appropriate:

I state that I am over 18 years of age, the research project has been fully explained to me, and I wish to participate in a program of research being conducted by Jeanne Bayer Contardo from the Department of Education Policy and Leadership (EDPL) at the University of Maryland, College Park.

(Respondent)

(Date)

Researcher Contact Information

Jeanne Bayer Contardo

1421 Potomac Ave SE

Washington, DC 20003

jbayer@umd.edu

202-641-6044 (cell)

Appendix F: Sample Semi-structured Interview Guide

This semi-structured interview guide was used during an informant's interview. The questions below are chosen from the list of possible questions to ask informants as outlined in my research design in Appendix A. Questions were chosen from the list in Appendix A depending on their appropriateness for each informant.

Topic: PSCE in North Carolina

Time of Interview: 3:30

Date: June 19

Place: The Caswell Building, 401C

Interviewer: Jeanne Contardo

Interviewee:

Position of Interviewee:

Researcher to Informant

Thank you for agreeing to be a part of this study and taking the time to discuss the development and adoption of the postsecondary correctional education program here in North Carolina. The purpose of my research is to understand how and why North Carolina expanded access to postsecondary education for prison inmates. The following questions serve as an orienting device for our conversation. Please feel free to add or correct information at any time if you believe it will be useful to this study and its purpose.

Informant Background

1. Please tell me about how you came to work for the North Carolina Community College System and the scope of your duties.

2. Please tell me about your involvement in college-level prison education.
3. Please tell me about the development of the Interagency Committee on Correctional Education [include dates]. Was it developed following the passage of House Bill 50 in 1987, or did it exist prior to that?
4. What concerns led to the creation of current laws and policies on PSCE?
5. When was the conference referenced in the preliminary report? Where would I find documentation on this?
6. What did PSCE providers hope to achieve by providing PSCE to inmates?
7. Were there any conflicts over what the Interagency Committee was expected to achieve?
8. How were these conflicts addressed?
9. In the early to mid-1990s, the rest of the country was restricting access to postsecondary correctional education. Why do you think North Carolina chose to more firmly entrench its programming for college courses for inmates?
10. What components were vital to expanding PSCE in North Carolina?
11. What resources (e.g., financial, personnel, legislative) were already in place in the early 1990s as PSCE was expanded?
12. What resources did you have to find?
13. Where there ever times when you found yourselves defending postsecondary correctional education to critics?
14. Will you tell me about how and why the matrix was developed?
15. Who were the leaders and advocates who played significant roles in creating the current system?

16. Have these people remained involved in the policy setting of PSCE?
17. Have these people remained involved with providing PSCE (catalyst, champion)?
18. Are there differences between how the Department of Correction and the community college system look at PSCE?
19. In the beginning, how did individuals become involved with the IAC?
20. What aspects of the Interagency Partnership would you say work really well?
21. What aspects don't work well?
22. What are the benefits of providing PSCE programming?
23. What are the drawbacks of providing college courses to inmates?
24. What resources must be present to maintain access to PSCE?
25. Can you think of a time when the Interagency Committee managed to provide a service despite facing numerous obstacles?

Summary and Closing

26. Is there anything I have left out or details that you think are useful to understanding postsecondary correctional education in North Carolina?
27. Are there any documents you think I should read or review?
28. Are there any individuals you think I should speak with to help me understand PSCE in North Carolina?

Thank you for your time. As I mentioned, feel free to contact me if you think our conversation has not been complete or if you care to clarify information you have shared with me today.

Appendix G: Information and Consent Form for Semistructured Interviews and
Document Collection

This consent form was used for every interview conducted.

Initials_____ Date_____

Against the Grain:

North Carolina's Unorthodox Plan to Provide College to Its Inmates

This is a research project conducted by Jeanne Bayer Contardo, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Education Policy and Leadership at the University of Maryland, College Park. You are being asked to participate in this study because of your involvement in determining postsecondary correctional education policy in the state of North Carolina. The purpose of this case study is to examine how and why North Carolina expanded access to postsecondary education for prison inmates and the components of the program that helped facilitate this expanded access. This form provides a description of your involvement and your rights as a participant.

The data collection phase of this study will take place from May 15, 2007, to September 30, 2007. Specifically, I request your participation in one 60-minute one-on-one interview, to occur in your place of work or an alternate location that is convenient for you. In this interview, you will be asked to describe your involvement with and perceptions of postsecondary correctional education in North Carolina. I will also ask you to provide publications and other documentation that you believe would strengthen my study. If you approve, this interview will be digitally recorded. Otherwise, I will rely on my written notes. Following the interview, I may follow up with you to request

clarifications of fact, documentation and/or supporting evidence, or additional information.

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time about the nature of the study and the methods that I am using. Your suggestions and concerns are important to me; please contact me at any time at the address/phone number/e-mail address listed below. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742; (e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-0678.

I will use the information from this interview and from collected documents to write a case report about how and why North Carolina expanded postsecondary correctional education. Specifically, I will analyze the organizational resiliency characteristics of the postsecondary correctional education program in North Carolina and provide policy recommendations for other states who would implement a comprehensive postsecondary education program. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park, or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.

Though I do not anticipate significant risks to participants in this study, it is possible that critics of postsecondary correctional education will become more aware of the North Carolina program and subsequently direct negative attention toward it. However, the flip side of this possibility—and the greater likelihood—is that proponents of postsecondary correctional education will become aware of North Carolina's thriving program and model their own programs after it. One purpose of this research is to describe the program in such detail that other states could replicate it.

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

- Your real name will not be used at any point of the data analysis, nor in the written report.
- If you grant permission for digital recording, no digital files will be used for any purpose other than for this study, and they will not be played for any reason other than use in this study. One year following the conclusion of this study, these files will be destroyed.
- Only the researcher will have access to any data files.
- Individual authors of documentation will not be identified unless the author is already identified as part of the public record.
- You have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice, and the information collected and records and reports written will be turned over to you.

Do you grant permission to be quoted directly? YES NO

Do you grant permission to be digitally recorded? YES NO

Please indicate an alias to be used throughout the written analysis:

Please sign as appropriate:

I state that I am over 18 years of age, the research project has been fully explained to me, and I wish to participate in a program of research being conducted by Jeanne Bayer Contardo from the Department of Education Policy and Leadership (EDPL) at the University of Maryland, College Park.

(Respondent)

(Date)

Researcher Contact Information

Jeanne Bayer Contardo

1421 Potomac Ave SE

Washington, DC 20003

jbayer@umd.edu

202-641-6044 (cell)

Appendix H: Questions to Determine Distributed Structure

Questions in Table H1 are from Brafman and Beckstrom (2006) and are used to analyze where an organization falls on the centralized-decentralized spectrum.

Table H1:

Brafman and Beckstrom Analysis of Distributed Structure

Centralized	Decentralized
There's someone in charge.	There's no one in charge.
There are headquarters.	There are no headquarters.
If you thump it in the head, it dies.	If you thump it on the head, it survives.
There's a clear division of roles.	There's an amorphous division of roles.
If you take a unit, the organization is harmed.	If you take out a unit, the organization is unharmed.
Knowledge and power are concentrated.	Knowledge and power are distributed.
The organization is rigid.	The organization is flexible.
Units are funded by the organization.	Units are self-funded.
You can count the participants.	You cannot count the participants.
Working groups communicate through intermediaries.	Working groups communicate with each other directly.

Appendix I: Stake's Case Study Critique Checklist

1. Is the report easy to read?
2. Does it fit together, each sentence contributing to the whole?
3. Does the report have a conceptual structure (i.e., themes or issues)?
4. Are its issues developed in a serious and scholarly way?
5. Is the case adequately defined?
6. Is there a sense of story to the presentation?
7. Is the reader provided some vicarious experience?
8. Have quotations been used effectively?
9. Are headings, figures, artifacts, appendixes, and indexes used effectively?
10. Was it edited well, then again with a last-minute polish?
11. Has the writer made sound assertions, neither over- nor underinterpreting?
12. Has adequate attention been paid to various contexts?
13. Were sufficient raw data presented?
14. Were data sources well chosen and in sufficient number?
15. Do observations and interpretations appear to have been triangulated?
16. Is the role and point of view of the researcher nicely apparent?
17. Is the nature of the intended audience apparent?
18. Is empathy shown for all sides?
19. Are personal intentions examined?
20. Does it appear that individuals were put at risk?

Appendix J: Map of the North Carolina Community College System

Figure J1 shows a map of the North Carolina Community College System.

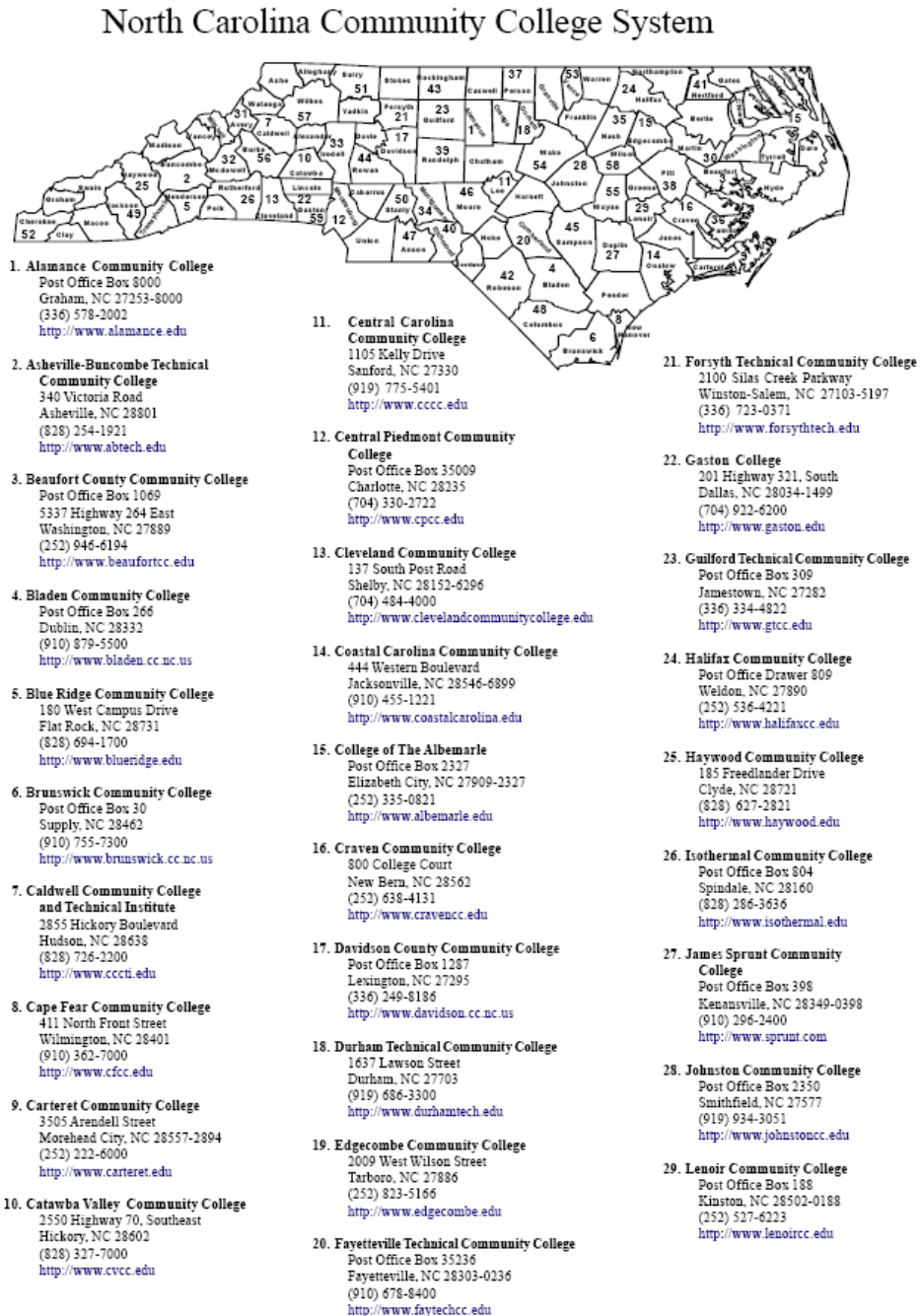
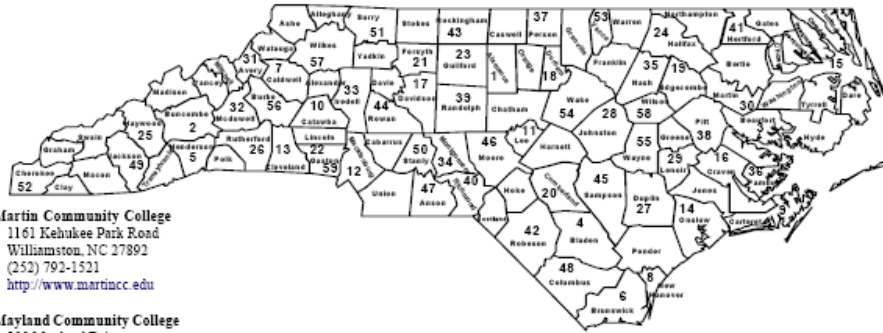


Figure J1. Map of the North Carolina Community College System.

North Carolina Community College System



- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>30. Martin Community College
1161 Kehukee Park Road
Williamston, NC 27892
(252) 792-1521
http://www.martincc.edu</p> | <p>41. Roanoke-Chowan Community College
109 Community College Road
Ahoskie, NC 27910-9522
(252) 862-1200
http://www.roanokechowan.edu</p> | <p>51. Surry Community College
630 South Main Street
Dobson, NC 27017
(336) 386-8121
http://www.surry.edu</p> |
| <p>31. Mayland Community College
200 Mayland Drive
Post Office Box 547
Spruce Pine, NC 28777
(828) 765-7351
http://www.mayland.edu</p> | <p>42. Robeson Community College
Post Office Box 1420
Lumberton, NC 28859
(910) 272-3700
http://www.robeson.cc.nc.us</p> | <p>52. Tri-County Community College
4600 East U.S. 64
Murphy, NC 28906
(828) 837-6810
http://www.tricountycc.edu</p> |
| <p>32. McDowell Technical Community College
54 College Drive
Marion, NC 28752
(828) 652-6021
http://www.mcdowelltech.edu</p> | <p>43. Rockingham Community College
Post Office Box 38
Wentworth, NC 27375-0038
(336) 342-4261
http://www.rockinghamcc.edu</p> | <p>53. Vance-Granville Community College
Post Office Box 917
Henderson, NC 27536
(252) 492-2061
http://www.vgcc.edu</p> |
| <p>33. Mitchell Community College
500 West Broad Street
Statesville, NC 28677
(704) 878-3200
http://www.mitchellcc.edu</p> | <p>44. Rowan-Cabarrus Community College
Post Office Box 1595
Salisbury, NC 28145-1595
(704) 637-0760
http://www.rowancabarrus.edu</p> | <p>54. Wake Technical Community College
9101 Fayetteville Road
Raleigh, NC 27603
(919) 662-3400
http://www.waketech.edu</p> |
| <p>34. Montgomery Community College
1011 Page Street
Troy, NC 27371
(910) 576-6222
http://www.montgomery.edu</p> | <p>45. Sampson Community College
Post Office Box 318, Hwy 24 West
Clinton, NC 28329-0318
(910) 592-8081
http://www.sampsoncc.edu</p> | <p>55. Wayne Community College
Post Office Box 8002
Goldsboro, NC 27533-8002
(919) 735-5151
http://www.wayneccc.edu</p> |
| <p>35. Nash Community College
522 N. Old Carriage Road
Rocky Mount, NC 27804-0488
(252) 443-4011
http://www.nashcc.edu</p> | <p>46. Sandhills Community College
3395 Airport Road
Pinehurst, NC 28374
(910) 692-6185
http://www.sandhills.edu</p> | <p>56. Western Piedmont Community College
1001 Burkemont Avenue
Morganton, NC 28655
(828) 438-6000
http://www.wpcc.edu</p> |
| <p>36. Pamlico Community College
Post Office Box 185
Grantsboro, NC 28529
(252) 249-1851
http://www.pamlico.cc.nc.us</p> | <p>47. South Piedmont Community College
Post Office Box 126
Polkton, NC 28135
(704) 272-5300
http://www.spcc.edu</p> | <p>57. Wilkes Community College
Post Office Box 120
Wilkesboro, NC 28697
(336) 838-6100
http://www.wilkescc.edu</p> |
| <p>37. Piedmont Community College
Post Office Box 1197
Roxboro, NC 27573
(336) 599-1181
http://www.piedmontcc.edu</p> | <p>48. Southeastern Community College
Post Office Box 151
Whiteville, NC 28472
(910) 642-7141
http://www.sccnc.edu</p> | <p>58. Wilson Technical Community College
Post Office Box 4305
Wilson, NC 27893-0305
(252) 291-1195
http://www.wilsontech.edu</p> |
| <p>38. Pitt Community College
Post Office Drawer 7007
Greenville, NC 27835-7007
(252) 321-4200
http://www.pittcc.edu</p> | <p>49. Southwestern Community College
447 College Drive
Sylva, NC 28779
(800) 447-4091
http://www.southwestercc.edu</p> | |
| <p>39. Randolph Community College
Post Office Box 1009
Asheboro, NC 27204-1009
(336) 633-0200
http://www.randolph.edu</p> | <p>50. Stanly Community College
141 College Drive
Albemarle, NC 28001
(704) 982-0121
http://www.stanly.edu</p> | |

Figure J1. (continued)

Appendix K: Map of the North Carolina Department of Correction Prisons

Figure K1 shows a map of the North Carolina Department of Correction prisons.

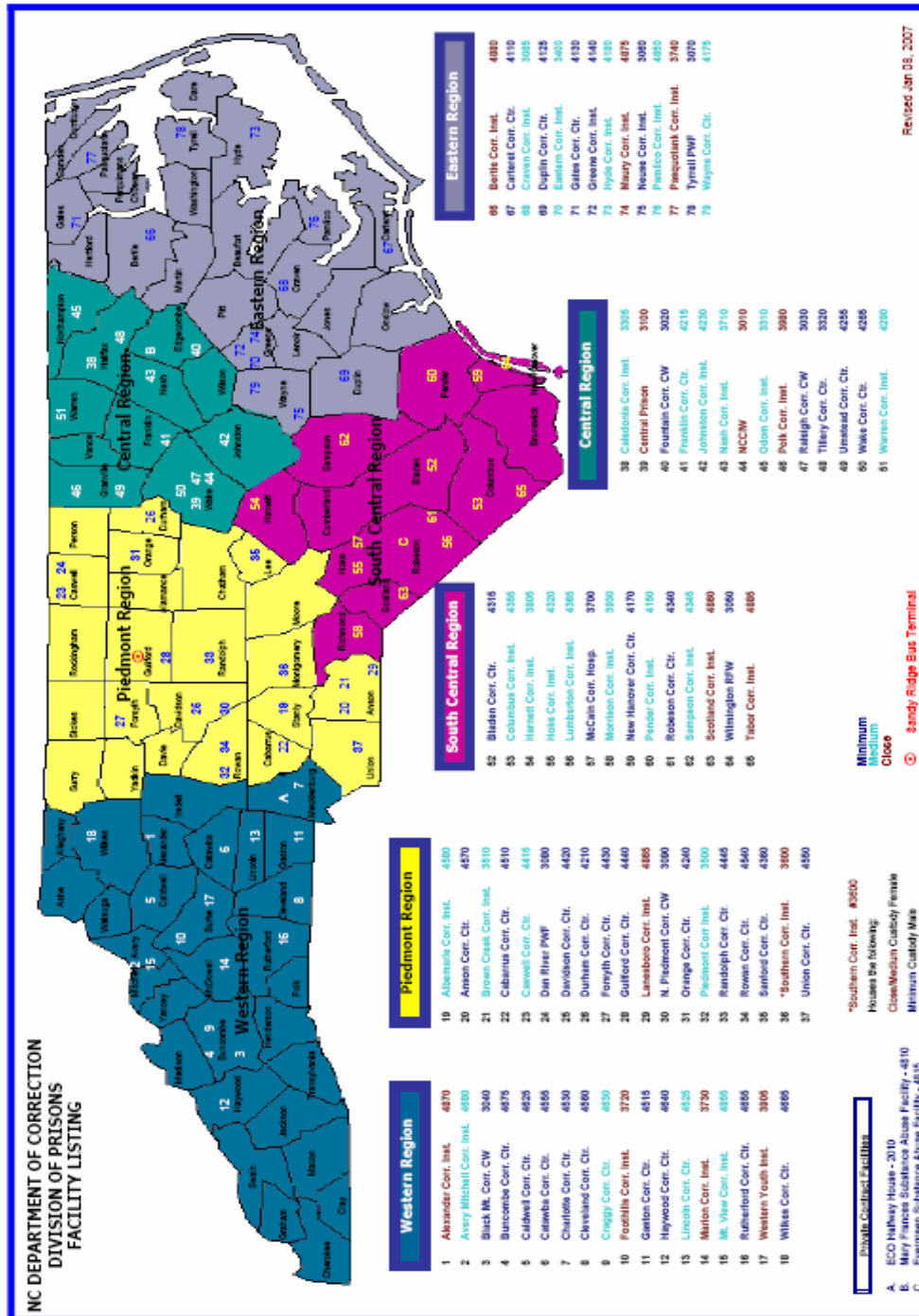


Figure K1. Map of the North Carolina Department of Correction prisons.

Appendix L: 2002 Correctional Education Cooperative Agreement

I. Introduction

A. Purpose

The purpose of this document is to establish in writing an understanding of the responsibilities of the North Carolina Community College System (hereinafter referred to as NCCCS) and the North Carolina Department of Correction (hereinafter referred to as DOC) for providing education and training to inmates, probationers, and parolees in North Carolina.

B. Objectives

1. Publish a signed agreement between the NCCCS and DOC establishing departmental guidelines outlining the roles and responsibilities of the NCCCS and the DOC for correctional education and training in North Carolina.

2. Provide a copy of the signed agreement to all NCCCS and DOC administrators informing the involved officials that this document shall serve as Department guidelines for programming correctional education in North Carolina.

II. Background

A. Legislation

In its 1987 Session, the General Assembly enacted House Bill 50 entitled AN ACT TO DEVELOP A PROGRAM FOR ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION TRAINING IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION. The bill (Attachment 1) required the Department of Correction and the Department of Community Colleges (now NCCCS) to jointly develop and submit to the Special Committee on Prisons a comprehensive plan for academic, remedial, vocational, and technical education

to adult inmates. A multi year plan was required and specific guidance on plan content was stated in the legislation.

In 1994, House Bill 74 made certain requirements of probationers and the Division of Community Corrections. The Bill requires the following:

The probationer must abide by all rules of the institution providing the education or training.

The probation officer shall forward a copy of the probation judgment to that institution.

The probation officer shall request to be notified of any violations of the institutional rules by the probationer.

In 1994, the North Carolina General Assembly required membership hour reporting for all correctional education programs and prohibited “multi-entry, multi-exit” enrollment with the exception of Basic Skills.

B. Interagency Committee

Following enactment of House Bill 50, an Interagency Committee was formed to carry out the mandates of the legislation. The Interagency Committee is composed of representatives from the North Carolina Community College System and the Department of Correction as designated by the agency heads. The committee has been meeting since House Bill 50 was enacted addressing the education and training needs of inmates and developing those agreements called for in the legislation. A number of significant accomplishments have resulted from Interagency Committee initiatives. This agreement is a continuation of the professional initiatives of the committee. In addition, the committee addresses issues related to Community Corrections.

C. Special Committee Report

As directed by House Bill 50, the Interagency Committee on April 7, 1988 made a report to the Special Committee on Prisons. The report summarized actions taken by the committee since enactment of the legislation. It defined correctional education and detailed the joint course/program approval process. It also discussed programming responsibilities, the impact of inmate assignment and referral on correctional education, and illustrated the Three-Year Joint Plans which had been developed for each adult correction facility in the State. In September 1994, a statewide Prison Education Task Force distributed “A Plan for Appropriate Community College Education in North Carolina’s Correctional Facilities.” This plan provided a system by which educational offerings at each correctional facility would be based on the length of stay and the abilities of the offenders assigned to education at each facility. The plan recommended implementation of management practices and required data collection for completion rates by course. It also recommended membership-hour reporting and emphasized the need to increase the continual monitoring of educational quality.

In September 1998, “A Plan for Appropriate Community College Education in North Carolina’s Correctional Facilities: An Evaluation of Outcomes,” was presented to the North Carolina General Assembly. This report highlighted student completion rates in curriculum and occupational extension courses. In the six year period from 1991–1997, course completion rates increased from 53 percent to 64 percent for curriculum courses and from 46 percent to 91 percent for occupational extension courses. The report also highlighted the reduction and revision of food service education courses from more than 30 programs to 13.

D. Systems Involvement

In addition to being involved in the development of this NCCCS-DOC agreement, the North Carolina Association of Community College Presidents was, through its

Program Committee, actively involved in the development of the correctional education course/program approval criteria. This process involved state and local level officials from the two cooperating agencies.

The DOC and NCCCS representatives meet regularly on an informal basis. Representatives from the two agencies meet formally twice a year, at which time progress reports and initiatives are presented, issues affecting the two agencies are discussed, and action plans are developed. This meeting is chaired on an alternating schedule by the Vice President for Academic and Student Services of the NCCCS and the Deputy Director of the DOC.

III. Programming Parameters

A. Correctional Education Defined

To clarify the role of the NCCCS in providing correctional education for offenders in the North Carolina Department of Correction, the following definition is adopted by the NCCCS and the DOC. Correctional education provided through the NCCCS shall be for the purpose of providing basic skills, occupational extension training and curriculum programs that enables offenders to enhance and maintain their personal growth and development in order that they function effectively in prison and/or in the community. All courses and programs provided through the NCCCS shall be appropriate to these purposes and shall not be designed for population control, therapy, recreation,

production processes of the enterprise operations of the correction facility, or other purposes which may be legitimate objectives of DOC program efforts.

B. Application Process

To ensure that correctional education programming maintains a coordinated and systematic focus, a joint course/program approval process has been adopted by the NCCCS and the DOC. Before a request may be recommended to the State Board of Community Colleges for approval, it must be reviewed by state level staff of the NCCCS and the DOC. In order for joint staffs to make a recommendation on a college request to offer a course/program in a correctional setting, the applicant must comply with the same programming standards as other courses/programs offered by a community college. In making its recommendation, DOC will consider the appropriateness of the program for the offender population (e.g., licensing requirements, safety issues), statewide labor market demands, fiscal and space availability, and offender average length of stay at a facility. Courses/programs offered in the prison setting must meet the requirements of the matrix system regarding length of course and length of inmate stay. All courses/programs offered by a community college in the correctional setting must have prior written approval of the State Board of Community Colleges (23 NCAC .2E.0403.). Basic Skills programs or courses are exempt from prior approval requirements (23 NCAC 2E.0403 (d)).

The following Basic Skills programs may be offered in correctional settings based upon the needs of the inmate population: Adult Basic Education (ABE), General Educational Development (GED), Adult High School (AHS) Compensatory Education (GED), and English as a Second Language (ESL). The programs use a variety of

instructional methods and materials appropriate for adults, accommodate varied learning styles, use appropriate methods of assessment, maintain adequate records on each inmate, and have a system for evaluation.

The approval criteria for offering college curriculum programs and occupational extension courses in the correctional section are contained in Attachments 2 and 3 respectively. Distance education courses or programs must meet the same criteria for approval as on-site courses, and are approved through the same process.

In the application for approval for courses/programs to be offered in the correction setting, the authorizing signatures of the college and the correction facility officials are required on the application. The state level approval recommendation must include the signatures of North Carolina Community College System and DOC officials. The administrative procedure regulating the application and approval recommendation process for courses/programs to be offered in the correction setting has been jointly established by the NCCCS and the DOC.

C. Roles and Responsibilities

By definition in paragraph III.A. of this agreement, the purpose of correctional education and training provided by the NCCCS in the correction setting is to enable inmates to enhance and maintain their personal growth and development in order that they function effectively in prison and/or upon returning to the community. It is the purpose of the DOC to provide for offender supervision, population control, therapy, recreation, production processes of the enterprise operations of the correction facility, or other purposes which may be legitimate objectives of DOC program efforts. When this agreement definition is applied to the correctional education environment, it means the

college sponsoring the course/program is responsible for the education process from student admission through course/program completion as well as the maintenance of individual transcripts. Viewed from the college Institutional Effectiveness Plan and the

Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) reaffirmation process, the education experience in a correctional setting is expected to be on parity with other educational experiences offered by the college. The DOC will abide by all policies and guidelines approved by the State Board of Community Colleges.

A college choosing to offer courses/programs in the correction setting will designate an individual charged with implementing the provisions of House Bill 50 as it relates to the college. This individual will serve as principal point of contact for correction education courses/programs offered by the college.

The DOC agrees to provide a DOC official in each correction facility to coordinate education programming with the community college supporting that facility. The on-site DOC education coordinator will be the principal point of contact for community college officials programming education courses/programs in the correction facility.

The DOC agrees to provide a Division of Community Corrections (DCC) official as a point of contact for the implementation of House Bill 74. The DCC judicial district manager or his/her designee will be the contact for the community college in order to notify the DCC of any violations of the institutional rules by probationers.

The NCCCS agrees to provide the DCC with a list of contact persons for each institution in order to forward a copy of the probation judgment, as required by House Bill 74. The NCCCS agrees to update the list annually.

Through their classification review process, the DOC will identify those offenders who have educational needs and who could most likely benefit from a correctional educational experience. The priority focus will be on inmates needing basic skills and occupational education. In addition to identifying the group of inmates who will most likely benefit from a correctional educational experience, the DOC education coordinator may recommend individual offenders for specific courses/programs. Based on inmate needs and current occupational demands, the respective community college director of correctional education and the DOC education coordinator will jointly tailor the total educational package for each adult correction facility in the state. The standard community college course/program admission requirements are applicable to inmates.

Developmental education may be provided in the correction setting to assist inmates in qualifying for course/program admission. Consistent with the definition of correctional education as stated in this agreement, the NCCCS will provide correctional education services in North Carolina with the exception of education programs at facilities with education programs employing DOC instructors. The DOC will share information and provide assistance in identifying students with disabilities over age 21. The NCCCS will assist this population by providing compensatory education as needed.

A summary of NCCCS-DOC Correction Education Administrative Support Roles is provided in Attachment 4.

D. Inmate Assignment and Referrals

The assignment and referral of inmates into correctional education courses/programs is designed to utilize the existing DOC diagnostic and classification processes. Contingent upon classification action (change in custody, housing, etc.),

emphasis will be placed on moving inmates to other units only after program completion. Highly technical, expensive and/or programs with special admission standards will necessitate regional or statewide recruitment.

In order to facilitate inmate assignment, the DOC will provide all facilities with periodic information about correctional education programs offered by the NCCCS. This information will be specific to custody levels and admission requirements. When feasible, the diagnostic analyst will refer the inmate to correction facilities in which the CCS is offering courses/programs commensurate with inmate skills and interests. This correctional education information will also be furnished to classification specialists for use with other appropriate information in determining transfers resulting from custody promotions.

Consistent with custodial requirements, the DOC will actively pursue inmate assignment and referral which appropriately reinforce correctional education objectives. However, it is recognized by all parties to this agreement that DOC operational standards may have an impact on inmate educational opportunities.

E. Data Reporting

Upon request from a local college, the DOC shall provide information on the enrollment status of inmates who are transferred within the prison system and who were enrolled in curriculum courses. This information is intended to assist colleges in completing the requirements of the federal Graduation Rate Survey for tracking completers, non-completers and transfers.

F. Funding

The DOC will assist with start-up funds for all programs/courses to be offered in existing facilities. When legislative funding for a new facility is requested, the DOC shall simultaneously request start-up funds for education programs to be offered by the NCCCS. Start-up funds include instructor salaries, facilities, equipment and supplies for a period of one year. For subsequent years, colleges will be responsible for the replacement and/or maintenance of equipment and instructional supplies, except when a product is produced for DOC. The DOC will fund student supplies and fifty percent of student textbooks on an on-going basis. NCCCS and DOC funding commitments will be subject to the availability of funding for courses and/or programs.

IV. Other Provisions

A. Instructional Classrooms and Related Facilities

The community college agrees to provide in writing to the correctional facility necessary information on classroom and related facility requirements. The facility agrees to make available to the community college classrooms and related facilities to appropriately support the learning experience requested by the correctional facility. Jointly, the community college and the correctional facility staffs will develop programs which can be supported by the space that can be made available for correctional education at the facility. A correctional facility and a community college may work together to provide and maintain adequate instructional facilities. However, in all cases facilities must appropriately support a quality education environment. The DOC has determined that incarcerated offenders will not have access to the internet.

B. Student Transcripts

Each college conducting correction education courses/programs will maintain transcripts for students enrolled in all educational offerings. Upon completion or withdrawal, the college will provide two copies of the student transcript to the correction facility education coordinator.

C. Program Review Team

The purpose of the Program Review Team is to monitor educational programs offered in the correction setting. The priority of the team will be to address identified quality concerns in correctional education in North Carolina. The DOC and the NCCCS will develop a system of program review that is acceptable to both agencies, and that meets the stated purpose of program monitoring and quality assurance.

D. Agreement

This agreement entered into by the NCCCS and the DOC incorporates and supersedes all existing formal and informal agreements between the two parties to the agreement. This agreement may be modified at any time upon mutual agreement of the parties and may be terminated by either party hereto on ninety (90) days written notice to the other party.

E. This agreement is entered into and becomes effective on this the 13th day of September, 2002.

NORTH CAROLINA COMMUNITY STATE BOARD OF COMMUNITY
COLLEGE SYSTEM COLLEGES

Raleigh, NC

System President

Chairman

Date

Date

NORTH CAROLINA DIVISION NORTH CAROLINA
OF PRISONS DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION
Raleigh, NC

Director

Secretary

Date

Date

The foregoing has been examined by me and is found to be in legal form and within the legal authority of the State Board of Community Colleges, the North Carolina Community College System, the Department of Correction, and the Division of Prisons.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

DATE

Appendix M: Correctional Education Matrix

M1 is North Carolina's Correctional Education Matrix to determine the level of educational programming each institution might provide.

Table M1

North Carolina Correctional Education Matrix

Programming options based on length of stay of inmates assigned to education	2-month minimum length of stay	4-month minimum length of stay	12-month minimum length of stay	24-month minimum length of stay	24-month minimum length of stay
Category 1	Basic skills; employment readiness; drug and alcohol				
Category 2	Basic skills; employment readiness; drug and alcohol	Occupational extension courses; certificate programs			
Category 3	Basic skills; employment readiness; drug and alcohol	Occupational extension courses;	Diploma programs		
Category 4a	Basic skills; employment readiness; drug and alcohol	Certificate programs	Diploma programs	Associate degree programs (technical)	
Category 4b	Basic skills; employment readiness; drug and alcohol	Occupational extension courses;	Diploma programs	Associate degree programs (technical)	Associate degree programs (college transfer)

Note. From *Educational Services Annual Report, Calendar Year 2005*, by T. Beck, B.

Bennett, B. Boyette, and R. True, 2006, Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Correction Education Services, p. 71.

Appendix N: 2006–2007 Matrix Classification List

N1 lists each correctional facility in North Carolina and identifies its matrix category.

Table N1

2006-2007 Prison Matrix Classification List

Prison name	Prison number	Matrix category
Alexander CI	4870	3
Albemarle CI	4580	2
Anson CC	4570	3
Avery Mitchell CI	4680	3
Bertie CI	4880	4a
Black Mountain CCW	3040	2
Bladen CC	4315	2
Brown Creek CI	3510	4b
Buncombe CC	4675	3
Cabarrus CC	4510	3
Caldwell CC	4625	3
Caledonia CI	3305	3
Carteret CC	4110	3
Caswell CC	4415	3
Catawba CC	4555	3
Central Prison	3100	4b
Charlotte CC	4530	2
Cleveland CC	4560	3
Columbus CC	4355	2
Craggy CC	4630	3
Craven CI	3085	2
Currituck CC	4120	1
Dan River Prison WF	3080	3
Davidson CC	4420	3
Duplin CC	4125	3
Durham CC	4210	2
Eastern CI	3400	4b
Foothills CI	3720	4b
Forsyth CC	4430	3
Fountain CCW	3020	3
Franklin CC	4215	3
Gaston CC	4515	2
Gates CC	4130	1
Greene CI	4140	2
Guilford CC	4440	1
Harnett CI	3805	4b
Haywood CC	4640	2
Hoke CI	4320	3
Hyde CI	4180	4b
Johnston CI	4230	3

Table N1

(continued)

Prison name	Prison number	Matrix category
Lanesboro CI	4865	3
Lincoln CC	4525	3
Lumberton CI	4365	2
Marion CI	3730	3
Maury CI	4875	4a
McCain Corr. Hospital	3700	2
Morrison CI	3930	3
Mountain View CF	4855	3
Nash CI	3710	4b
Neuse CI	3060	2
New Hanover CC	4170	2
NCCIW	3010	4b
N. Piedmont CCW	3090	2
Odom CI	3310	4b
Orange CC	4240	2
Pamlico CF	4850	3
Pasquotank CI	3740	3
Pender CI	4150	3
Piedmont CI	3500	2
Polk YI	3980	2
Raleigh CCW	3030	2
Randolph CC	4445	2
Robeson CC	4340	2
Rowan CC	4540	1
Rutherford CC	4655	2
Sampson CI	4345	3
Sanford CC	4360	1
Scotland CI	4860	3
Southern CI	3600	4b
Tillery CC	3320	3
Tyrell Prison WF	3070	3
Umstead CC	4255	1
Union CC	4550	3
Wake CC	4265	2
Warren CI	4290	3
Wayne CC	4175	2
Western YI	3905	3
Wilkes CC	4665	2
Wilmington RFW	3050	1

Appendix O: Partners in Correctional Education

The educational institutions in Table O1 provided instruction to inmates throughout the Division of Prisons in 2006 at the facilities indicated after each community college or university name.

Table O1

Partners in Correctional Education

Educational institution	Facilities served
Community colleges	
Asheville-Buncombe Technical Community College	Black Mountain Correctional Center for Women, Buncombe Correctional Institution, Craggy Correctional Center
Beaufort County Community College	Hyde Correctional Institution, Tyrrell Prison Work Farm
Bladen Community College	Bladen Correctional Center
Caldwell Community College	Caldwell Correctional Center
Cape Fear Community College	New Hanover Correctional Center, Pender Correctional Institution, Wilmington Residential Facility for Women
Carteret Community College	Carteret Correctional Center
Catawba Valley Community College	Alexander Correctional Institution, Catawba Correctional Center, Lincoln Correctional Center
Central Carolina Community College	Harnett Correctional Institution, Sanford Correctional Center
Central Piedmont Community College	Charlotte Correctional Center
Cleveland Community College	Cleveland Correctional Center
College of the Albemarle	Gates Correctional Center, Pasquotank Correctional Institution
Craven Community College	Craven Correctional Institution
Davidson County Community College	Davidson Correctional Center, North Piedmont Correctional Center for Women
Edgecombe Community College	Fountain Correctional Center for Women
Gaston Community College	Gaston Correctional Center, Lincoln Correctional Center
Halifax Community College	Caledonia Correctional Institution, Tillery Correctional Center
Haywood Community College	Haywood Correctional Center
Isothermal Community College	Rutherford Correctional Center
James Sprunt Community College	Duplin Correctional Center
Johnston Community College	Johnston Correctional Institution, North Carolina Correctional Institution for Women
Lenoir Community College	Eastern Correctional Institution, Greene Correctional Institution

Table O1

(continued)

Educational institution	Facilities served
Mayland Community College	Avery/Mitchell Correctional Institution, Blue Ridge Youth Center, Buncombe Correctional Institution, Mountain View Correctional Institution
McDowell Technical Community College	Marion Correctional Institution
Montgomery Community College	Southern Correctional Institution
Nash Community College	Franklin Correctional Center, Nash Correctional Institution
Pamlico Community College	Pamlico Correctional Facility
Piedmont Community College	Caswell Correctional Center, Dan River Prison Work Farm, Orange Correctional Center
Randolph Community College	Randolph Correctional Center
Richmond Community College	Morrison Correctional Institution, Scotland Correctional Institution
Roanoke-Chowan Community College	Odom Correctional Institution
Robeson Community College	Lumberton Correctional Institution, Robeson Correctional Center
Rowan-Cabarrus Community College	Cabarrus Correctional Center, Piedmont Correctional Institution, Rowan Correctional Center
Sampson Community College	Sampson Correctional Institution
Sandhills Community College	Hoke Correctional Institution, McCain Correctional Hospital
South Piedmont Community College	Anson Correctional Center, Brown Creek Correctional Institution, Lanesboro Correctional Institution
Southeastern Community College	Columbus Correctional Center
Stanly Community College	Albemarle Correctional Institution
Surry Community College	Forsyth Correctional Center
Vance-Granville Community College	Polk Youth Institution, Umstead Correctional Center, Warren Correctional Institution
Wake Technical Community College	North Carolina Correctional Institution for Women, Raleigh Correctional Center for Women, Wake Correctional Center
Wayne Community College	Neuse Correctional Institution, Wayne Correctional Center
Western Piedmont Community College	Foothills Correctional Institution, Western Youth Institution
Wilkes Community College	Wilkes Correctional Center
Shaw University	Harnett Correctional Institution, North Carolina Correctional Institution for Women, Raleigh Correctional Center for Women
University of North Carolina	
East Carolina University	Charlotte Correctional Center, Eastern Correctional Institution, Hyde Correctional Institution, Pender Correctional Institution, Southern Correctional Institution
Fayetteville State University	Morrison Correctional Institution, Robeson Correctional Center
UNC–Asheville	Foothills Correctional Institution, Western Youth Institution, Avery Mitchell Correctional Institution

Table O1

(continued)

Educational institution	Facilities served
UNC–Chapel Hill	All facilities
UNC Pembroke	Lumberton Correctional Institute
North Carolina Central University	Durham Correctional Center, Polk Youth Institution

References

- Administration of institutions by State Board of Community Colleges. (2006). *North Carolina General Statutes, 115D-5*.
- American Association of Community Colleges. (n.d.). Community college trends and statistics. Retrieved February 22, 2008, from <http://www2.aacc.nche.edu/research/index.htm>
- An act to develop a program for academic and vocational education training in the Department of Correction, HB 50, General Assembly of North Carolina, 1987 Sess., (1987).
- An act to make continuation and expansion budget appropriations for current operations of state departments, institutions, and agencies, and for other purposes, SB 27, General Assembly of North Carolina, 1993 Session., (1993).
- Aos, S., Miller, M., & Drake, E. (2006). *Evidenced-based public policy options to reduce future prison construction, criminal justice costs, and crime rates*. Olympia, WA: Washington State Institute for Public Policy.
- Batuik, M.E., Lahm, K.F., McKeever, M., Wilcox, N., & Wilcox, M. (2005). Disentangling the effects of correctional education: Are current policies misguided? An event history analysis. *Criminal Justice, 5*(1), 55-75.
- Baum, S., & Payea, K. (2004). *Education pays 2004: The benefits of higher education for individuals and society*. Washington, DC: College Board.
- Bazos, A., & Hausman, J. (2004). *Correctional education as a crime control program*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research.
- Beccaria, C. (1983). *An essay on crimes and punishments* (Trans., 4th ed.). Boston: International Pocket Library. (Original work published 1775)
- Beck, A. J., & Harrison, P. M. (2001). *Prisoners in 2000*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Beck, T., Bennett, B., Boyette, B., & True, R. (2006). *Educational services annual report, calendar year 2005*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Correction Education Services.
- Beck, T., Bennett, B., Boyette, B., & True, R. (2007). *Education services annual report, calendar year 2006*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Correction Education Services.

- Bell, M. A. (2002, January 7). *The five principles of organizational resilience*. Retrieved January 22, 2007, from <http://www.Gartner.com>
- Bendheim-Thoman Center for Research on Child Wellbeing. (2002). *Incarceration and the bonds among parents* (Fragile Families Research Brief No. 12). Princeton, NJ: Author.
- Birnbaum, R. (2000). *Management fads in higher education: Where they come from, what they do, why they fail*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bok, D. (2003). *Universities in the marketplace*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bonanno, G. A. (2005). Resilience in the face of potential trauma. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 14(3), 135–138.
- Bowen, H.R. (1997). *Investment in learning: The individual and social value of American higher education*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Brafman, O., & Beckstrom, R. A. (2006). *The starfish and the spider*. New York: Portfolio.
- Braman, D. (2002). Families and incarceration. In M. Mauer & M. Chesney-Lind (Eds.), *Invisible punishments* (pp. 117–135). New York: New Press.
- Buruma, I. (2005, February 20). Uncaptive minds. *New York Times Magazine*.
- Bushway, S. D. (1998). The impact of an arrest on the job stability of young White American men. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 35, 454–479.
- Case, P., & Fasnacht, D. (2004). Expectations for opportunities following prison education: A discussion of race and gender. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 55(1), 24–39.
- Chappell, C. A. (2004). Post-secondary correctional education and recidivism: A meta-analysis of research conducted 1990–1999. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 55(2), 148–169.
- Chesney-Lind, M. (2002). Imprisoning women: The unintended victims of mass imprisonment. In M. Mauer & M. Chesney-Lind (Eds.), *Invisible punishment* (pp. 79–94). New York: New Press.
- Christianson, M. (2006). *Making sense of the patient's symptoms: Resilient organizing in the emergency department*. Paper presented at the Academy of Management Meeting, Atlanta, GA.

- Cohen, A. M. (1998). *The shaping of American higher education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Coley, R. J., & Barton, P. E. (2006). *Locked up and locked out: An educational perspective on the U.S. prison population*. Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service.
- Colorado Criminal Justice Reform Coalition. (2004). *Costs of incarceration*. Denver, CO: Author.
- Cooperative agreement between the North Carolina Department of Community Colleges and the North Carolina Department of Correction in the programming of correctional education. (1992). Raleigh, NC: Author.
- Cooperative agreement between the North Carolina Community College System and the North Carolina Department of Correction on the programming of correctional education. (2002). Raleigh, NC: Author.
- Coutu, D. L. (2003). How resilience works. *Harvard Business Review on Building Personal and Organizational Resilience*, 1-18.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cullen, F. T., Fisher, B. S., & Applegate, B. K. (2000). Public opinion about punishment and corrections. *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, 27, 1-80.
- Ditton, P. M., & Wilson, D. J. (1999). *Truth in sentencing in state prisons*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Dougherty, K. J. (1994). *The contradictory college*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Education Testing Service. (2007). *ETS's America's perfect storm has converging forces threatening our future* [Press release]. Retrieved February 26, 2008, from <http://www.ets.org/stormreport/>
- Edwards, D. (2005). *Educational attainment of inmates entering North Carolina's prisons*. Raleigh, NC: Office of Research and Planning, Department of Correction.
- Education Services. (n.d.). *Mission and philosophy of education in the North Carolina Department of Correction*. Retrieved March 22, 2008, from <http://www.doc.state.nc.us/dop/education/index.htm>

- Ellis, J. (2006). *Factors influencing the design, establishment, administration, and governance of correctional education for females*. Retrieved November 2, 2006, from Digital Dissertations Database. (UMI No. AAT 3209566)
- Erisman, W., & Contardo, J. B. (2005). *Learning to reduce recidivism: A 50-state analysis of postsecondary correctional education policy*. Washington, DC: Institute for Higher Education Policy.
- Fabelo, T. (2000). *Impact of educational achievement of inmates in the Windham School District on post-release employment*. Austin, TX: Criminal Justice Policy Council.
- Farabee, D. (2005). *Rethinking rehabilitation: Why can't we reform our criminals?* Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Press.
- Fine, M., Torre, M. E., Boudin, K., Bowen, I., Clark, J., Hylton, D., et al. (2001). *Changing minds: The impact of college in a maximum-security prison*. New York: Graduate Center of the City University of New York / Women in Prison at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility.
- Flinchum, T., Jones, K., Hevener, G., Ketzenelson, S., & Moore-Gurrera, M. (2006). *Correctional program evaluation: Offenders placed on probation or released from prison in fiscal year 2001/02*. Raleigh: North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission.
- Freeman, R. B. (1996). Why do so many young American men commit crimes and what might we do about it? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 10(1), 25–42.
- Freeman, R. B. (2003, May 19–20). *Can we close the revolving door?: Recidivism vs. employment of ex-offenders in the U.S.* Paper presented at the New York University Reentry Roundtable, New York.
- Gaes, G. G., Flanagan, T. J., Motiuk, L. L., & Stewart, L. (1999). Adult correctional treatment. *Crime and Justice*, 26, 361–426.
- Gainsborough, J., & Mauer, M. (2000). *Diminishing returns: Crime and incarceration in the 1990s*. Washington, DC: Sentencing Project.
- Gall, M. D., Borg, W. R., & Gall, J. P. (1996). *Educational research* (6th ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Ganswindt, G. (n.d.). *What is resiliency?* Retrieved November 28, 2006, from <http://www.globalresiliency.net/brochure.0604.pdf>

- Gardner, G. W. (2004). The relationship of higher education programs on recidivism delivered through a North Carolina community college in a correctional setting. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 65(04), 1338. (UMI No. 3128759)
- Gehring, T. (1997). Post-secondary education for inmates: An historical inquiry. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 48(2), 46–55.
- Gehring, T. (2000). Recidivism as a measure of correctional education program success. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 51(2), 197–205.
- Goodstein, L., MacKenzie, D., & Shotland, R. L. (1984). Personal control and inmate adjustment to prison. *Criminology*, 22, 343–369.
- Greenberg, E., Dunleavy, E., & Kutner, M. (2007). *Literacy behind bars: Results from the 2003 National Assessment of Adult Literacy Prison Survey*. U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- Hagan, J., & Dinovitzer, R. (1999). Collateral consequences of imprisonment for children, communities, and prisoners. *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, 26, 121–162.
- Hall, J. (2006). *Harnett Correctional Institution 2006 annual report*. Lillington, NC: Harnett Correctional Institution.
- Harer, M. D. (1994). *Recidivism among federal prisoners released in 1987*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Prisons, Office of Research and Evaluation.
- Harlow, C. W. (2003). *Education and correctional populations*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Harrison, P. M., & Beck, A. J. (2005). *Prisoners in 2004*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Harrison, P. M., & Beck, A. J. (2006a). *Prison and jail inmates at midyear 2005*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Harrison, P. M., & Beck, A. J. (2006b). *Prisoners in 2005*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2006). *The practice of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hill, G., & Harrison, P. (2005). *Sentenced prisoners under state or federal jurisdiction*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

- Hirsch, A. E., Dietrich, S. M., Landau, R., Schneider, P. D., Ackelsberg, I., Bernstein-Baker, J., et al. (2002). *Every door closed: Barriers facing parents with social records*. Washington, DC: Center for Law and Social Policy and Community Legal Services.
- Holling, C. S. (1973). Resilience and stability of ecological systems. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, 4, 1–23.
- Holzer, H. J., Raphael, S., & Stoll, M. A. (2001). *Will employers hire ex-offenders? Employer preferences, background checks, and their determinants*, 1023. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Program on Housing and Urban Policy.
- Hughes, T., & Wilson, D. J. (2008). Reentry trends in the United States [Electronic Version]. Retrieved March 15, 2008 from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/reentry/reentry.htm>.
- Hull, K. A., Forrester, S., Brown, J., Jobe, D., & McCullen, C. (2000). Analysis of recidivism rates for participants of the academic/vocational/transition education programs offered by the Virginia Department of Correctional Education. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 51(2), 256–261.
- Hunt, J. B., Jr. (2001). *First in America: An education governor challenges North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: First in America Foundation.
- Illinois Department of Corrections. (1997). *The positive impact of corrections education on recidivism and employment*. Springfield: Author.
- Institute for Higher Education Policy. (1998). *Reaping the benefits: Defining the public and private value of going to college*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Institute for Higher Education Policy. (2004). *Investing in America: Why student aid pays off for society and individuals*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Institute for Higher Education Policy. (2005). *The investment payoff: A 50-state analysis of the public and private benefits of higher education*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Jablecki, L. T. (2005). Changing the lives of prisoners: A new agenda. *Humanist*, 65, 30–35.
- Johnson, P. C. (2004). *Inner lives: Profiles of African American women in prison*. New York: New York University Press.
- Johnstone, D. B. (2005). Financing higher education: Who should pay? In P. G. Altbach, R. O. Berdahl, & P. J. Gumpert (Eds.), *American higher education in the twenty-first century: Social, political, and economic challenges* (2nd ed., pp. 369–392). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Karpowitz, D., & Kenner, M. (n.d.). *Education as crime prevention: The case for reinstating Pell Grant eligibility for the incarcerated*. Annandale-on-Hudson, NY: Bard Prison Initiative.
- King, R. S., Mauer, M., & Young, M. C. (2005). *Incarceration and crime: A complex relationship*. Washington, DC: Sentencing Project.
- Kirp, D. L. (2003). *Shakespeare, Einstein, and the bottom line*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Klein, S., Tolbert, M., Bugarin, R., Cataldi, E.F., & Tauschek, G. (2004). *Correctional education: Assessing the status of prison programs and information needs*. Washington, DC: MPR Associates Inc.
- Lancaster, H. M. (2002, December 4). *Postsecondary education as an essential tool for economic development*. Speech presented at the European Union, Brussels.
- Lancaster, H. M. (2007). *A matter of facts: The North Carolina Community College System fact book*. Raleigh: North Carolina Community College System.
- Last governor without veto could get it. (1995, February 12). *New York Times*. Retrieved December 1, 2007, from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=990CE6DE163CF931A25751C0A963958260>
- Lawrence, S., Mears, D. P., Dubin, G., & Travis, J. (2002). *The practice and promise of prison programming*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Lee, H. N., & Atkinson, J. S. C. (2006). *North Carolina public schools statistical profile*. Raleigh, NC: State Board of Education.
- Lynch, A. K. (1994). *The cost-effectiveness of incarceration*. Tallahassee: Florida Corrections Commission.
- Lynch, J. P., & Sabol, W. J. (2004). Assessing the effects of mass incarceration on informal social control in communities. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 3, 267–294.
- MacKenzie, D. L. (2000). *Sentencing and corrections in the 21st century: Setting the stage for the future*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.
- MacKenzie, D. L. (2001). Corrections and sentencing in the 21st century: Evidence-based corrections and sentencing. *Prison Journal*, 81(3), 299–312.

- MacKenzie, D. L. (2006). *What works in corrections: Reducing the criminal activities of offenders and delinquents*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- MacKenzie, D. L., & Souryal, C. (1995). Inmates' attitude change during incarceration: A comparison of boot camp with traditional prison. *Justice Quarterly*, *12*, 325–353.
- Manger, T., Eikeland, O.-J., Asbjornsen, A., & Langelid, T. (2006). Educational intentions among prison inmates. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, *12*, 35–48.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1999). *Designing qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Martinson, R. (1974). What works? Questions and answers about prison reform. *Public Interest*, *35*, 22–54.
- Mauer, M. (2002). Analyzing and responding to the driving forces of prison population growth. *Criminology and Public Policy*, *1*(3), 389–392.
- Mauer, M., & Chesney-Lind, M. (Eds.). (2002). *Invisible punishment: The collateral consequences of mass imprisonment*. New York: New Press.
- Maxwell, J.A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- McGlone, J. (2002). *Status of mandatory education in state correctional institutions*. Washington, DC: Office of Vocational and Adult Education, U.S. Department of Education.
- McKinnon, J. (2003). *The Black population in the United States: 2002*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mertens, D. A. (1998). *Research methods in education and psychology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Messemer, J. E. (2003). College programs for inmates: The post-Pell grant era. *Journal of Correctional Education*, *54*(1), 32-39.
- MTC Institute. (2003). *Programs that help inmates stay out of prison: Growing public expectations*. Centerville, UT: Author.

- Mumola, C. J. (2000). *Incarcerated parents and their children*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2006). *Digest of education statistics, 2005*. Retrieved November 12, 2006, from <http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d05/index.asp>
- National Commission of Excellence in Education. (1983). *A nation at risk: An imperative for educational reform*. Washington, DC: Author.
- NCDOC marks 50 years. (2007, August). *Correction News*, p. 1.
- North Carolina Community College System. (2007). *Education catalog*. Raleigh, NC: Author.
- North Carolina Community College System. (n.d.). *History*. Retrieved February 13, 2008, from http://www.ncccs.cc.nc.us/External_Affairs/History/history.htm
- North Carolina Department of Community Colleges and Department of Correction. (1988). *Preliminary report of a joint correctional education plan*. Raleigh, NC: Author.
- North Carolina Department of Correction. (2006). *Report of prison population*. Retrieved November 14, 2006, from Statistical Abstract Query.
- North Carolina Department of Correction. (2007a). *Division of Prisons regional map*. Raleigh: Author.
- North Carolina Department of Correction. (2007b). *Harnett Correctional Institution*. Retrieved October 2, 2007, from <http://www.doc.state.nc.us/dop/prisons/harnett.htm>
- North Carolina Department of Correction. (2007c). *Organizational chart*. Raleigh: Author.
- North Carolina Department of Correction. (2007d). *Report of prison population*. Retrieved October 9, 2007, from Statistical Abstract Query.
- North Carolina Department of Correction. (n.d.). *History of the North Carolina prison system*. Retrieved February 15, 2007, from <http://www.doc.state.nc.us/admin/page1.htm>
- Office of Research and Planning, North Carolina Department of Correction. (2007). *Prison population 8–31–07*. Retrieved October 2, 2007, from <http://webapps6.doc.state.nc.us/apps/asqExt/ASQ>

- North Carolina Department of Crime Control and Public Safety. (n.d.). *Crime and justice in North Carolina: An examination of 1984–1994 data and trends*. Retrieved December 4, 2007, from <http://www.gcc.state.nc.us/trends.htm>
- North Carolina Department of Justice. (2007). *Crime in North Carolina, 2006*. Raleigh: Author.
- North Carolina Prison Education Task Force. (1994). *A plan for appropriate community college education in North Carolina's correctional facilities*. Raleigh: Author.
- North Carolina State Board of Community Colleges. (1998). *A plan for appropriate community college education in North Carolina's correctional facilities: An evaluation of outcomes*. Raleigh: Author.
- North Carolina State Board of Education. (2007). *ABCs 2007: Accountability report background packet*. Raleigh, NC: Department of Public Instruction.
- North Carolina State Board of Elections. (2007). *Voter turnout statistics data*. Retrieved December 3, 2007, from http://www.sboe.state.nc.us/NCSBE/Elec/Results/voter_turnout/turnout2.htm
- Oliver, P. E., Sandefut, G., Jakubowski, J., & Yocom, J. E. (2005). *The effect of Black male imprisonment on Black child poverty*. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association annual meeting, Philadelphia.
- Pager, D. (2003). The mark of a criminal record. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108, 937–975.
- Pelissier, B., Rhodes, W., Saylor, W., Gaes, G., Camp, S. D., Vanyur, S. D., et al. (2000). *TRIAD drug treatment evaluation project final report of three-year outcomes: Part I*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Prisons Office of Research and Evaluation.
- Perna, L.W. (2005). The benefits of higher education: Sex, racial/ethnic, and socioeconomic group differences. *The Review of Higher Education*, 29(1), 23-52.
- Peter D. Hart Research Associates Inc. (2002). *Changing public attitudes toward the criminal justice system*. Washington, DC: Open Society Institute.
- Petersilia, J. (2003). *When prisoners come home: Parole and prisoner reentry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Piehl, A. M., Useem, B., & Dilulio, J. J. (1999). *Right-sizing justice: A cost-benefit analysis of imprisonment in three states* (Report No. 8). New York: Manhattan Institute.

- Pulley, M. L. (1997). Leading resilient organizations. *Leadership in Action*, 17(4), 1–5.
- Schmidt, P. (2002, February 8). College programs for prisoners, long neglected, win new support. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, p. A26.
- Sentencing Project. (2000). *Reducing racial disparity in the criminal justice system: A manual for practitioners and policymakers*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Shank, G. D. (2002). *Qualitative research: A personal skills approach*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Sheffi, Y. (2005). *The resilient enterprise: Overcoming vulnerability for competitive advantage*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Silva, W. (1994). A brief history of prison higher education in the United States. In M. Williford (Ed.), *Higher education in prison* (pp. 17–31). Phoenix, AZ: American Council on Education and Oryx Press.
- Simon, B. (Writer). (2007). Maximum security education [Television series episode]. In C. Olian (Producer), *60 minutes*. New York: CBS News.
- Small v. Martin, 85-987 CRT (E.D.N.C. 1988).
- Snyder, T. D., Dillow, S. A., & Hoffman, C. M. (2007). *Digest of education statistics 2006*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education.
- Solomon, A., Waul, M., VanNess, A., & Travis, J. (2004). *Outside the walls: A national snapshot of community based reentry programs*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Spangenberg, G. (2004). *Current issues in correctional education: A compilation and discussion*. New York: Council for Advancement and Adult Literacy.
- Spivey, A. (2007). *The seeds of growth: Three governors help harvest the benefits of biotechnology*. Retrieved December 1, 2007, from <http://www.the-scientist.com/2007/03/01/s12/1/>
- Splawn, B. (1997). *A matter of facts: The North Carolina Community College System fact book*. Raleigh: North Carolina Community College System.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- State Library of North Carolina. (2004). *North Carolina governors*. Retrieved September 26, 2007, from <http://statelibrary.dcr.state.nc.us/nc/stgovt/governor.htm>

- State prison system. (2006). *North Carolina General Statutes*, 148.
- Stemen, D. (2007). *Reconsidering incarceration: New directions for reducing crime*. New York: Vera Institute of Justice.
- Stephan, J. J. (2004). *State prison expenditures, 2001*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice.
- Stephan, J. J., & Karberg, J. C. (2003). *Census of state and federal corrections facilities, 2000*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice.
- Steurer, S. J., Smith, L., & Tracy, A. (2001). *OCE/CEA three state recidivism study*. Lanham, MD: Correctional Education Association.
- Sutcliffe, K. M., & Vogus, T. J. (2003). Organizing for resilience. In K. S. Cameron, J. E. Dutton, & R. E. Quinn (Eds.), *Positive organizational scholarship* (pp. 94–110). San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- The Sentencing Project. (2002). *Recidivism of state prisoners: Implications for sentencing and corrections policy*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Tolbert, M. (2002). *State correctional education programs: State policy update*. Washington, DC: National Institute for Literacy.
- Travis, J. (2002). Invisible punishment: An instrument of social inclusion. In M. Mauer & M. Chesney-Lind (Eds.), *Invisible punishment: The collateral consequences of mass imprisonment*. New York: The New York Press.
- Tyler, J.H., & Kling, J.R. (2004). Prison-based education and re-entry into the mainstream labor market. In S.D. Bushway, M. Stoll & D. Weiman (Eds.), *The impact of incarceration on labor market outcomes*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2006). *State and county quickfacts*. Retrieved November 13, 2006, from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37000.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2007). *Public education finances, 2005*. Washington, DC: Author.
- U.S. Department of Justice. (n.d.). *Number of persons in custody of state correctional authorities by most serious offense, 1980–2002*. Retrieved October 19, 2006, from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/glance/tables/corrtyptab.htm>
- Virginia Department of Corrections. (2003). *Relationships of prior educational level, security level and offense, and DCE program participation to educational performance and infractions and rates while incarcerated* (Technical Report No. 2). Richmond: Author.

- Walmsley, R. (2005). *World prison population list*. London: King's College.
- Walters, G. D. (2003). Changes in criminal thinking and identity in novice and experienced inmates. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 30, 399–421.
- Wang, X. (2007). *Statistical abstract of higher education in North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.
- Ward, M. E. (2001). *History of education in North Carolina: Addendum*. Raleigh, NC: Department of Public Instruction.
- Wescott, J. W. I. (2005). *A vision of an open door: The establishment and expansion of North Carolina's Community College System*. Retrieved February 13, 2008, from Digital Dissertations Database. (UMI No. 3175982)
- Western, B., Kling, J. R., & Weiman, D. (2001). The labor market consequences of incarceration. *Crime and Delinquency*, 47, 410–427.
- Wilson, D. B., & Lipsey, M. W. (2001). The role of method in treatment effectiveness research: Evidence from meta-analysis. *Psychological Methods*, 6, 413–429.
- Wilson, P. (1994). Recidivism and vocational education. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 45(4), 158–163.
- Witmer, H. I. (2006). *Adaptation to funding changes achieved with resilient organizational qualities in two Pennsylvania nonprofit health care organizations*. Retrieved November 18, 2006, from Digital Dissertations Database. (UMI No. AAT 3214899)
- Wright, M. C. (2001). Pell grants, politics, and the penitentiary: Connections between the development of U.S. higher education and prisoner post-secondary programs. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 52(1), 11–16.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Zahn, M., Kruttschnitt, C., & Kubiak, S. P. (2006). *Women and girls in the criminal justice system: Offenders and victims* [Congressional briefing]. Washington, DC: Consortium of Social Science Associations.
- Zedlewski, E.W. (1987). *Research in brief: Making confinement decisions*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Zook, J. (1993, December 15). Amendment would cut off Pell Grants to prisoners. *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

Zook, J. (1994, November 9). Effects of ban on Pell Grants for prisoners. *Chronicle of Higher Education*.