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result in a lessening of population pressures in jails as well as providing more appropriate services to youth.

The Jail Task Force, therefore, joins with the Juvenile Institution Task Force in making the following recommendation.

Recommendation

13. *Counties should immediately begin planning and establishing Youth Correctional Centers or similar facilities and programs as an alternative to jails wherever appropriate.*

XIV. RECOMMENDATIONS REQUIRING ONLY ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION

The Jail Task Force made a number of observations which are perhaps inappropriate for inclusion in the discussion of major issues and recommendations, but which are nevertheless important enough to include as a part of the overall report.

Administrator Attitudes and Quality of Program

Wherever this Task Force observed high morale, efficient functioning, and a sense of accomplishment on the part of staff, these qualities were directly related to the degree of concern and support demonstrated by the top level administrator (usually the sheriff). Where these qualities were absent or significantly reduced, staff frequently could not recall when they had last seen their department head.

Jail staff have a most difficult job to perform, often under very poor conditions. Regular visits by the department head, together with a strong demonstration of interest and support on his part, are essential to creating a climate where a good job gets done.

Recommendation. 14. To maximize improvements in staff morale, effective programming, and efficient operations, department heads should demonstrate a greater interest in and support for those staff who are involved in the corrections functions.

The Cloak of Secrecy

A number of jail administrators expressed the need not to hide incidents which occur in the jail, such as homosexual rapes by inmates, disturbances, and assaults. A few, however, felt that the less the public knows, the better. This latter attitude, probably based on fear of public criticism, is a very shortsighted view, because ultimately it is the community which

shares the responsibilities for conditions in the jail. The more the public knows of jail conditions and problems, the more support the sheriff is likely to receive when he asks for funds to improve conditions.

Recommendation. 15. Sheriffs and correctional facility administrators should establish a policy of public relations in which the public, through the appropriate news media, is allowed free access to facility programs, problems, and incidents.

The Correctional Officer vs the Deputy

A number of counties have established the classification of "correctional officer" to take the place of the "deputy" in jail operation. This may be a very good idea; however, two counter-productive problems appear to be accompanying the establishment of this classification. First, it is a dead-end classification with no provisions for career development, thereby limiting recruitment to persons who are not looking toward the future, except to retire, and to people who will move on to other jobs as the opportunity arises.

Secondly, the correctional officer classification was originally intended to be a way to save the county money. Correctional officers are paid up to \$100 less per month than are their counterparts, the deputies. However, because it is a "dead-end" classification, most staff are at the top step of their salary range which is above the pay, in most instances, of the deputy in his first year of service. Thus the overall effect is that salaries are higher for jail operations where correctional officers are employed. Also, this difference in pay subtly tells personnel in jails that their jobs are not as important as other functions in the sheriff's department.

Recommendation. 16. A county electing to establish a "correctional officer" classification to staff corrections facilities should ensure that such personnel are paid and trained at least on a level equal to that of the "deputy sheriff" and that there are provisions for a career ladder to supervisory and administrative positions.

Staff Training

According to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, training is one of the most crucial needs in the system. The Commission has observed:

"Changing corrections into a system with significantly increased power to reduce recidivism and prevent recruitment into criminal careers will require, above all else, a sufficient number of qualified staff to perform the many tasks to be done."³⁶

As stated in Chapter III of this Report, one of the major concerns of the jail staff was the lack of opportunity for training. While 35% of the jail staff had completed at least 2 years of college, most of them reported little or no opportunity to receive training specifically for the various correctional roles they fulfilled. In fact, as stated elsewhere in this Report, even the jail administrators felt a sense of isolation from the mainstream of correctional efforts, and did not know what sorts of programs and staff existed even in neighboring counties. There is little doubt of the need for in-service training for all staff in county jails. In addition, sheriffs should encourage and make provisions for their jail staff to visit other correctional operations, both State and county. There should be a free exchange of ideas, problems, and programs, in corrections and detention, as there is in the detective and narcotics divisions of most counties.

Recommendation. 17. Correctional administrators should make provisions for at least supervisory and administrative corrections staff to visit other correctional operations at both the State and county level for the purpose of staff and program development.

XIV. DIVERTING INMATES FROM THE JAIL

Although the issue of intake is technically not within the scope of this study, it has become apparent during data collection that the presence of vast numbers of inmates in jails, including a high percentage of unsentenced inmates, materially decreases the amount of limited resources which are available to those persons who are clearly the subject of this study--namely the sentenced offender. It is the view of the Jail Task Force that services to sentenced inmates could be substantially improved if efforts were made to reduce the overall jail population.

It is suggested that jail populations could be drastically reduced and services to sentenced inmates greatly improved if counties were to make greater use of O.R. programs, citations, sentence modifications, county parole, and work furlough. In addition, as stated previously, alcoholics and other persons who do not pose a serious threat to the community, should be removed from the jail population.

Recommendation

18. Counties should develop and expand programs aimed at minimizing confinement in jails, such as O.R., use of citations, sentence modification, county parole, and work furlough. They should also implement non-criminal processing of alcoholics and other types of persons who do not pose a serious threat to the community.

FOOTNOTES

¹Municipal Police Administration (Washington, 1969), p. 288.

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³Board of Corrections, A Study of California County Jails, State of California (Sacramento, April, 1970), p. 85.

⁴Board of Corrections, The County Jails of California: An Evaluation, State of California (Sacramento, June, 1957), p. 95.

⁵Board of Corrections, A Study of California County Jails, op. cit., p. 89.

⁶Interview with Mr. Ronald Beattie, Chief, Bureau of Criminal Statistics.

⁷California Department of Justice, Criminal Justice Information System - 5 Year Implementation Plan (Sacramento, May, 1970), pp. 31 and 49-52.

⁸California Department of Justice, Adult Criminal Detention, Bureau of Criminal Statistics, (Sacramento, 1970).

⁹M. Robert Montilla, "Opportunities for Action Research", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. VI (2), July, 1969, p. 127.

¹⁰Board of Corrections, Report of The Committee to Study Inspection of Local Detention Facilities, State of California (Sacramento, December, 1969).

¹¹Board of Corrections, Minimum Jail Standards, State of California (Sacramento, November 1963; reissued June, 1969).

¹²Board of Corrections, Report of the Committee to Study Inspection of Local Detention Facilities, op. cit., p. 77.

¹³Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 79-82.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 171.

¹⁶Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Crime and Delinquency In California, 1969, State of California (Sacramento, 1970), p. 137.

¹⁷California Committee on the Older Girl and the Law, Girls and Young Women in Conflict with The Law In California, (Sacramento, December, 1958), p. 8.

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¹⁸Department of Corrections, "Master Plan For Womens Facilities 1966-1976", July, 1966 (Mimeographed).

¹⁹President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 73.

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²¹Don Gottfredson, Systematic Study of Experience, Research Report #2, Research Division, Department of Corrections, (Sacramento, December, 1961).

²²Daniel J. Freed and Patricia Wald, Bail In The United States: 1964, United States Department of Justice (Washington, May, 1964), pp. 60-61.

²³President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections, op. cit., p. 64.

²⁴Royal Oak Municipal Court, Concerned Citizens and a City Criminal Court, Project Misdemeanor Foundation (Royal Oak, 1969).

²⁵California Legislature, Report of Assembly Interim Committee on County and City Jails, (Sacramento, 1948), p. 78.

²⁶Institute For The Study of Crime and Delinquency, The Model Community Alcoholism Treatment Program, Model Community Correctional Program, Appendix Report, (Sacramento, undated).

²⁷United States Department of Justice, The St. Louis Detoxification and Diagnostic Evaluation Center, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, (Washington, 1970), pp. 65-66.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Royal Oak Municipal Court, op. cit.

³¹President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections, op. cit., p. 104.

³²Ibid.

³³Board of Corrections, A Study of California County Jails, op. cit., p. 12.

Footnotes

³⁴Institute For The Study of Crime and Delinquency, Youth Correctional Centers, A New Approach To Treating Youthful Offenders, (Sacramento, February, 1969).

³⁵Institute For The Study of Crime and Delinquency, Design For Change - A Program For Correctional Management, (Sacramento, 1968).

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CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM STUDY

PRISON TASK FORCE REPORT

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SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The numerous specific recommendations of the Prison Task Force, underlined throughout the text, are summarized here.

INSTITUTIONAL CLIMATE

1. *Insofar as possible, prisons should duplicate the demands and responsibilities of the free world, and should supply the motivations as well as the responsibilities of the general community.*
2. *Any future facility planning should emphasize efforts away from large institutions, and current efforts at prison management should devote more attention to the effect of large institutions upon the social relations among various types of inmates, and the social distance between inmates and staff.*

RECEPTION AND CLASSIFICATION

3. *The reception process should be shortened from the current period of six to eight weeks, to a period of approximately 30 days.*
4. *The reception and diagnostic process should be shortened and revamped, to include a systematic "follow-up", which would determine whether or not the recommendations of the reception process are carried out. Also, in the revamping of the reception process, there should be more definite separation of young offenders from old, and the less criminally oriented from the more sophisticated.*
5. *Efforts should be made throughout the system for a more differential allocation of institutional population based on program need. A careful typological analysis of the prison population and a thorough review of classification practices and policies should be undertaken in an effort to effect better institutional placement.*
6. *Efforts should be taken to coordinate more closely institutional programs with parole planning.*

EDUCATION

7. *The educational programs within the prisons should be strengthened, in order to create a "climate for learning". In this respect, inmate students should be paid a nominal sum comparable with prison industry scales, at a rate contingent upon their individual progress in education. Two or three hours of evening school should be available for optional participation in every institution. The use of newer educational techniques, methods and materials should be expanded. A resource center should be established from which a wide variety of*

Summary of Recommendations

instructional and informational materials could be distributed. Educational television, including closed circuit television, should be developed. The Department of Corrections should explore the use of nearby schools and their resources for certain prisoners who can safely be released to such schools. Vocational training equipment and facilities should be improved. Job training values of prison industrial and maintenance operations should be studied and exploited by development of training programs or integration with present vocational training. The vocational courses taught in each institution should be reevaluated and there should be routine follow-up of prisoners who receive vocational training, with the data acquired during the follow-up used in the guidance of the prison training programs. Greater enrollment in education programs should be encouraged.

TREATMENT PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

8. Efforts should be made to make available ready access to counseling and familiarity with the counselor for those inmates anxious to have such service.
9. The counseling staff in each institution should be increased toward the recommended American Correctional Association ratio of one counselor for every 150 men.
10. Less time should be devoted by counselors to the preparation of reports for the Adult Authority. Consideration in this respect should be given to the possible use of pre-coded "check-off" forms, such as are presently used in the States of New York and Washington.
11. Additional beds and staff should be made available for the psychiatric program, and more realistic and competitive remuneration should be made available to clinical personnel.
12. Distinctive facilities for religious worship should be provided in all institutions.
13. Some institutions should be provided with better and greater library space, and the number and quality of the books should be supplemented.
14. Gymnasiums should be available in all institutions and a larger number of organized and supervised group recreational activities should be developed.

INMATE WORK AND CORRECTIONAL INDUSTRIES

15. The work furlough program should be expanded.

Summary of Recommendations

16. Each institution should undertake manpower utilization studies of inmate work forces.
17. The inmate wage scale should be revised upward.
18. Additional markets should be sought for California's prison industries program.
19. All expansion of prison industries to new markets should be concentrated in industries which need operations and skills similar to those required in free world employment.
20. The Correctional Industries Commission should be renamed the Correctional Industries and Training Commission and its membership should be expanded to include two experts in the field of vocational training, the Chancellor of the California Community Colleges, and the California Superintendent of Public Instruction, or their designees.
21. The Department of Corrections administration should indicate full support for prison industries, and should more closely integrate industrial operations with the total institutional programs. More involvement of industry's personnel is needed in each institution, especially in major decision-making committees. Training programs should include industrial and non-industrial personnel. All industrial and other personnel must agree that assignment to industries should be made primarily on a basis of inmate needs, and inmates assigned to industry should be expected to work approximately eight hours a day at a good pace. Training consideration should be given greater priority by prison industries.

CUSTODY, SECURITY AND DISCIPLINE

22. In certain institutions, consideration should be given to the use of "closed circuit" television scanning as a means of maintaining surveillance, in which case some gun towers within the compound could be eliminated or manned only in emergencies. Consideration should also be given to the razing of some unneeded structures which now appear to impair vision of staff.
23. Consideration should be given to the possible reallocation of staff and redesignation of shifts to provide greater staffing during critical daytime hours.
24. In those instances where chemical agents must be used to restore order, consideration should be given to the use of mace instead of gas.
25. In those instances where an institution's arsenal is sub-standard, it should be modernized.

Summary of Recommendations

26. *In those institutions which have archaic sally ports, electrically operated gates should be provided. Also, new cell-locking systems should be installed to replace those systems which are now obsolete, and inmates should be removed from any gate assignment which involves them in security-sensitive positions.*
27. *The method of taking count in California prisons should be updated and the "total count" method should be discontinued.*
28. *Riot control plans at all institutions should be reviewed and rehearsed.*
29. *Insofar as possible, inmate rule violations should be handled by the line officer and supervisor. If the matter is serious enough for referral to the disciplinary committee, the committee should still have the authority after hearing the case, to withhold the report from the offender's official prison record. Whatever the disposition, the inmate should be advised.*
30. *The maximum time for which an institution can assign isolation should be reduced to ten days. Any period of inmate isolation beyond ten days should require the Director's approval.*
31. *In respect to adjustment center programs, the Director should issue a new policy statement, giving renewed emphasis to the importance of developing and using alternatives to long-term lock-ups. The Department should initiate a special, intensive orientation and training program for all personnel regarding this issue. The wardens and superintendents should screen the cases of all men housed in adjustment centers to determine if any alternative placement is possible. The Director's office should review the recommendations. Initial placement in the adjustment centers should not be made without the approval of the warden or the superintendent. The Institutional Disciplinary Committee should submit a factual report to the warden with corroborated evidence where possible, and rationale for the recommended action. Inmates should have the right to a hearing before the committee within three days of the report. Staff representation on behalf of the inmate should be tried. Every 30 days the Disciplinary Committee should review each adjustment center case, at which time the inmate should appear before the Committee. When an inmate is detained beyond 30 days, the Director's office should be advised and the case should be reviewed in the central office. The Disciplinary Committee should have the authority to release men from the adjustment center at any time. In the interest of efficiency, the size of the committee should be reduced to three persons with the program administrator acting as a member of the committee. The original concept of the adjustment center should be restored by increasing treatment efforts in all of these facilities. Adjustment centers should be closed if the number of men housed in them is reduced. It is conceivable that some of the units could be used for regular housing, after a thorough physical revamping.*

Summary of Recommendations

INMATE CARE

32. *Prison clothing regulations should be liberalized to permit inmates to wear civilian clothes.*
33. *Full and complete censorship of mail should be abandoned in favor of spot-type censorship, or some other modified form of censorship.*
34. *California Department of Corrections' generally liberal visiting arrangements and schedules should be extended to all institutions.*
35. *Family or conjugal visiting, now offered in some institutions, should be expanded to all institutions.*
36. *Telephone arrangements which permit collect calls to family and friends should be installed in more of the housing units in selected institutions.*
37. *The Department of Corrections should move firmly in the direction of eliminating all double cells.*
38. *The Department should consider a systematic program to enhance the esthetics of the institutions.*
39. *Cooperative and collaborative relationships between staff and inmates should be developed as much as possible whenever this is at all compatible with other prison functions.*

SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

40. *The central office should play a more prominent role in determining who is to be trained and what the content of the training courses should be, and also to insure that they are adequate at all institutions. More training should be developed for other than custodial personnel. Ideally, there should be State coordinated correctional training centers established to provide year-around comprehensive programs to train all correctional workers and administrators.*
41. *Responsibility for recruitment of minority persons should be fixed in one person at every institution.*
42. *The Department should consolidate its hospital services. A plan should be developed to replace some of the hospitals with dispensaries so that when geographically feasible, some hospitals can serve several institutions.*
43. *When possible, community hospitals should be used in emergencies or as the need arises.*

Summary of Recommendations

44. *The Department should utilize funds from the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation to improve the quality of medical services, especially in the area of prosthetics, correctional surgery, and diagnostic evaluation.*
45. *The Department's existing "unit records" type system should be replaced with the computerized information system which emphasizes program type data for management purposes. Such a system should be designed to include follow-up data along with current data on programs and offenders, so that separate programs may be evaluated as to their relative effectiveness for different types of offenders in the long-run. Cost effectiveness estimates of the long-run economic consequences of specific programs for different types of offenders should also be undertaken.*
46. *Some funds should be devoted to experimental pilot programs; the possibility of Federal monies for this kind of effort should be explored.*

ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

47. *More specific and definite department-wide standards need to be implemented in certain areas. Policy statements should be reviewed and written in a clear and concise manner to eliminate ambiguities.*
48. *Within the Department, the lines and responsibilities of administration should be simplified.*

PHYSICAL PLANT

49. *The California Men's Colony, West Facility, should never be reoccupied.*
50. *San Quentin Prison and Folsom Prison should be abandoned.*
51. *In the event California builds more State institutions, these should as far as possible be small, community-based facilities (e.g. community correctional centers). The Department should also explore further contractual arrangements with private persons and social agencies, such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Volunteers of America.*

LENGTH OF CONFINEMENT

52. *The State should reduce the length of terms served by persons committed to the Department of Corrections.*

"....Prisons in America have done far better at postponing crime than at preventing or deterring it."

Newsweek Magazine

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The last recourse of any correctional system, other than the death penalty, is imprisonment. California today has more prisoners than any other state, reflecting the fact that in most of the past half-century it has been a leader among the states in both population growth and crime rates. Presumably its high crime rate is a product of this population growth, for mixed with its stable and law-abiding newcomers has been an above average proportion of delinquents, criminals and others unsuccessful in older communities who sought "greener pastures" here. The newness of many California neighborhoods has also been criminogenic, for they are clusterings of strangers, with more anonymity and less informal social control than characterize long-settled communities of stable population, such as those of non-metropolitan New England.

California's penal system has not only had a rapid development for several decades, it has also had a national and international reputation for program innovation. Nevertheless, this State's prisons, like those everywhere else, have repeatedly frustrated and disappointed both their administrators and the general public.

Information for this study, to evaluate California's prisons and recommend changes, came from a number of sources. Most important were site visits made to all major institutions of the Department. In these visits approximately equal time was devoted to interviews of assembled staff and to inspections of the facilities. In the group interviews a cross section of virtually every staff component was included. On the inspection tours employees encountered in each area were interviewed individually concerning the practices and programs at their respective institutions. The group discussions were characteristically open and informative. In each discussion some sixteen program and problem areas were routinely covered, and staff were asked to volunteer their own perceptions of additional problems and priorities.

After the visits, written questionnaires were sent to each institution to elicit more formally quantified data on program enrollments, custody levels, lengths of stay, staff training programs, and other areas where it was considered important to verify interview data, obtain more current status information, or get exact counts in verification of published data.

An additional segment of the study involved interview of some randomly-selected 325 inmates to obtain their views of the problems and needs of the system. The views of ex-offenders were also solicited.

Interviews were conducted with central office personnel to obtain top administrators' views of priorities and long range plans, as well as to secure information on central office administrative functions.

Finally, a review of the current literature on the California Department of Corrections was made. This included departmental publications and research as well as legislative research and some criticisms of the Department disseminated by outside groups.

Data from all of these diverse sources are presented where they are relevant to a particular prison management topic, instead of being collated separately by source. The rationale for recommendations is presented, including all available sources of insight, rather than relying on any single source of data-questionnaires, for example--which would be procedurally neater. While recommendations reached in this way are in part judgmental, the most plausible inferences from available evidence must be relied upon, whenever there is no indisputable scientific data on an issue.

In summary, this Report endeavors to list the objectives of a sound prison system, to explain how California attempts to meet these objectives, and how, finally, these objectives could be better accomplished. Specific recommendations are underlined throughout the text.

CHAPTER II

THE MULTIPLE GOALS OF PRISON OPERATION

All components of criminal justice, including corrections, have one ultimate mission: to reduce crime. The prisons component is expected to contribute to this aim by pursuing three goals: (1) deterrence of the potential offender; (2) incapacitation of the dangerous individual by removing him from the community; (3) reformation of this individual prior to his release. A fourth function often demanded is satisfaction of the public's passion for revenge. Though pressures for retribution often cannot be ignored, satisfying public indignation does not contribute to crime reduction. The first three goals, therefore, are the concern, with the fourth viewed as an occasionally unavoidable constraint in pursuit of the first three. Society places two additional constraints on the pursuit of these goals which cannot be ignored: prisons must be operated economically and humanely.

All penal policies should be examined in terms of their consequences for these goals and constraints, but it must be recognized that there may be conflicts among these objectives and restrictions. Often one concern cannot be met without jeopardizing others. Each goal must be recognized but none overemphasized at the expense of the others. A few comments on general issues and major problems surrounding the achievement of prison goals will serve as a background for later recommendations.

I. THE GOAL OF DETERRENCE

Deterrence is often said to be a goal of imprisonment. It may be divided into general deterrence, to keep all those who contemplate committing a crime from trying it, and individual deterrence, to keep a person who has committed a crime and been caught from doing it again. While prison doubtless deters some potential offenders, general deterrence is difficult to measure. Estimates of the general deterrence potential of prisons are unreliable and doubtlessly exaggerated.

Since not many of the felonies committed result in the perpetrators going to prison, it is a wonder that some persons have great faith in accomplishing general deterrence by long prison terms. Legislation has been introduced in California and elsewhere, some of which has been passed, to deal with various outrages by long mandatory prison sentences. Experience everywhere has shown that unusually long sentences do not reduce the crime rate, and in fact might result in its increase. While there is no question that prisons have some general deterrent value, it is also obvious that if a man believes he will be sent to prison for an act, he will usually either: (1) not commit the act, regardless of whether he expects his time in prison to be one or two years or ten or twenty, or (2) be so out of control that he will commit it regardless. Both of these circumstances are common. A robbery usually occurs because the offender believes that he will not be caught, much less sent to prison. Clearly, the length of the sentence he does not expect to serve is no deterrent. Most murders are committed in a rage against close friends, spouses or other kin; the murderer makes no

attempt to flee and has clearly not considered the punishment which may result from his crime.

The use of long prison terms to decrease crimes by deterrence of other people is clearly unrealistic. It is implicitly based on a model which presumes that the offender balances how long he will be in prison against the expected rewards of his crime. This model is a fantasy. If a potential offender thinks about the prospect of imprisonment, it is usually of the risk of any appreciable term; he considers the probability of imprisonment much more than its duration.

It is not suggested here that prisons have no general deterrent value. Penalties do deter up to some optimum point of severity for general deterrence purposes, for the particular offense and type of potential offender. If no one ever went to prison or jail and even the most serious offenses resulted only in fines or in probation, it would doubtless encourage a small minority of the general population to engage in crime that they would otherwise not contemplate if penalties were more severe. The point stressed here is that there is no reason whatever to expect long prison sentences to be more effective than moderate ones in deterring most people from trying crime. If the fact of imprisonment is reasonably certain, a one or two year sentence will be sufficient to deter nearly everyone from almost any unlawful act that is deliberately conceived. Prison sentences, no matter how long, are ineffective for acts perpetrated in such passion that there is little deliberation about their consequences. If the very long sentences found in California are to be justified, they must be justified on grounds other than general deterrence.

Individual deterrence, the released prisoner's avoidance of crime from fear of reimprisonment, differs from general deterrence and is especially difficult to measure. Investigation suggests that individual deterrence varies greatly among prisoners, depending upon their adaptation to incarceration and their preoccupation with the outside world. While almost all prisoners want to get out, some are highly involved in their daily pursuits within the institution, have little contact with persons on the outside, and do not seem to think much about the outside. Others are absorbed in thoughts of their outside world and are always "doing hard time". Those deterred work hardest at trying to get out early by participating in rehabilitation programs in order to impress the parole board favorably, whether or not they have other interests in these programs. One cannot know how much of inmates' post-release avoidance of crime is due to deterrence and how much is the result of rehabilitation programs. On the other hand, dreams of success at crime may also motivate a few prisoners in the avid pursuit of rehabilitation activities in order to impress parole authorities favorably. Therefore, inmate recidivism occurs in spite of apparent rehabilitation and presumed deterrence by imprisonment. Society is left with incapacitation as the one goal of imprisonment for which attainment is unambiguously measureable.

II. INCAPACITATION BY REMOVAL FROM THE COMMUNITY

The second goal listed for prisons was the incapacitation of dangerous individuals by removing them from their potential victims. Some men commit serious crimes and remain dangerous for a long time, as efforts fail to change them. This category includes both persistently violent men and highly professional property offenders. For some people of this sort, prisons are the only answer available, and for a few, a long term may be appropriate for the purpose of incapacitating them. It should be noted, however, that it is expensive to confine very many for very long, and few require it. Much of the cost of the California prison system results from its use of unusually long sentences. If rehabilitation were accelerated, incapacitation could be briefer, and if rehabilitation is impeded by some forms of incapacitation, perhaps alteration of these forms will be desirable. That will be a later concern of this discussion.

III. THE GOAL OF REHABILITATION

There has been much criticism of prison systems in California and elsewhere for alleged failure to rehabilitate. While improvements in this area are needed, it is important to recognize intrinsic difficulties surrounding the entire rehabilitative enterprise in prison. Four of these constraints are discussed in this section.

The Limited Impact of Prison

The prison system has a limited scope of impact. There are limits to the extent that it can affect the outside community where the offender's problems are generated, and to which he must return. In prisons one frequently observes great improvement in the behavior traits presumed to have been the cause of an inmate's crime--such as low interest or capacity in work, or emotional instability--only to see these traits recur during parole in the community. Both recidivism and rehabilitation are functions of social influences not operating exclusively in prison. It is comfortable to fault the prisons for recidivism rates, but to do so may show a failure to understand the problem fully.

Prison Compared with the Community

Prisons, especially as large as those found in California, make demands upon behavior different from those made in the community. The environment, the pace, the sources of social status and of self-satisfaction, are different from those on the outside. It is difficult to find enough work to keep prisoners busy. Many learn how not to work rather than how to work, and they do not participate sufficiently in the decision-making on matters which directly affect their lives. There are almost irresistible pressures to conform to the inmate value systems, and institutional necessi-

ties force other conformities. While these forces cannot readily be eliminated, they can be ameliorated and sometimes made supportive of rehabilitation, rather than opposed to it. Nevertheless, the best place to prepare a man for responsible community life is in the community. It is a mistake to bring him to prison if that can be avoided. If he must be imprisoned, it is appropriate--even in prison--to maximize his contacts with those aspects of outside community life which will contribute to his rehabilitation.

Characteristics of Prison Inmates

The men coming into prisons have deep and ingrained problems which resist change. It is widely claimed that those now sent to prison present worse problems for rehabilitation than those sent there formerly, because the better risks are increasingly given probation and not sent to prison. A look into the files of any California prison reveals that almost all who are committed there have records of extensive prior criminal involvement. These are mostly persons about whom there was despair while they were still in grade school, and continually thereafter. It is unrealistic to expect wholesale reformation of those who pursued crime so early and for so long a time. To say that forty percent or fifty percent or any percent is a high failure rate with such a population is pointless. High compared to what? No one can say what is a "good" recidivism rate. Some prison systems around the country report better success rates than California's, but many of their successes are with men who should not have been in prison in the first place, and would not have been in prison in California. Furthermore, according to the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, California has the highest rate of serious crime of any of the fifty states. Recidivism, therefore, must be reduced in a highly criminogenic community population. The assessment of California's prison system with respect to its recidivism rates must be made on the basis of what the system is doing with its cases. Internal statistical comparisons can be meaningful, but system-wide, overall rates should not be used pejoratively.

Lack of Information on Program Effectiveness

The behavioral sciences have not presented the prison administrator with any array of rehabilitative techniques that is consistently effective. Ideally, correction must always be a research enterprise, operated so that knowledge is gained from its experience. A major concern of this system study, therefore, is to increase the ability of prison management to learn quickly and validly from its failures as well as from its successes.

Summary

These difficulties are listed in order to put the problem of rehabilitation in California prisons in proper perspective. Discussions of rehabilitation often overlook these considerations and are therefore naive. The public tends to assume that progressive prison programs with their onward and upward cast do, in fact, move all men onward and upward and that all is well; or else it looks a little closer and discovers that all is not

well and it rejects the whole enterprise. If people can be brought to see the difficulties of the task realistically, they might settle for modest gains and be more supportive of attempts at improvement.

California has done an excellent job over the years in correcting the public image of prison goals as purely punitive. The emphasis of its public information efforts has appropriately been placed on rehabilitation. The importance of rehabilitative effort can hardly be overemphasized. However, the result has also been to oversell everyone--including correctional professionals--on the real or perceived rehabilitative efficacy of prisons. It is time to correct that impression. It is not clear, rehabilitatively speaking, whether prison operations are an overall gain or a loss. Those who claim to know the answer never give impressive evidence. Anyone with correctional experience is convinced that he personally knows men who were reached by prison programs. He has seen the free world dropout catch fire in the prison school, finish high school inside, and go on to finish college outside. And he has seen the man with a long criminal record and no apparent motivation to change get caught up in a trade course and become a journeyman and a solid citizen on the outside. Some of these successes might not have happened without the prison programs. But in more cases, no observable change occurs, or inmates leave prison less suited for society than when they came in. That is why it is not clear whether prisons have, on balance, a net rehabilitative effect.

From these facts some observers conclude (and this thinking apparently lies behind some of the reports to the California Legislature) that prisons should virtually be eliminated. A more realistic conclusion would appear to be that while their use should be minimized, prisons cannot be abolished. Whatever the overall rehabilitative effect, there are many men who pursue crime until they are arrested; nothing encourages repetition of an offense as does success in benefitting from it and not being caught. Often they do not require long confinement. But whenever a period of incapacitation is warranted, everything possible should be done to foster rehabilitation during confinement, as well as afterwards. To make this effort is a social responsibility. An appropriate analogy would be to medicine's concern with each individual patient, rather than business' concern with overall or aggregate success or failure rates. A business is a failure if it loses one dollar more than it earns, but men succeed or fail separately, and there is no aggregate break-even point in helping them. If nine of ten succeed, society has still lost one; if nine of ten fail, the one who succeeded because of the system's effort has no less value.

IV. PRISON TREATMENT AS THE TOTALITY OF ITS IMPACT

When staff members of California prisons are asked what the major rehabilitative features of their institutions are, they respond with a catalogue of specific treatment programs, such as academic education, job training, and counseling. This is a predictable response because these programs are labeled "rehabilitative". There is a natural tendency to feel that to the extent that an institution has such programs, it is mounting a meaningful

rehabilitative effort, and to the extent that it lacks them, it is not. But one should not be misled by such labels and categories.

Admittedly, for purposes of administration, the system must divide its operations into parts. While some parts carry the treatment label and some do not, to the inmate imprisonment is all one epoch in his life. If what happens to him ultimately is a consequence of prison programs, it reflects the net effects of all attentions given him and all failures of attention during his confinement. The system may reach a man in the counseling group and lose him in the yard; elevate him in the school and crush him in the block. The system may reach him in the block, too, as research has shown. All prison experiences either add up, or fail to result in rehabilitation. Thus, all practices should be examined for their impact on rehabilitation, and not just programs specifically labeled "treatment". This is particularly true in California where excellent programs are sometimes established under circumstances almost certain to subvert their positive effects. Reference is made especially to the physical situations in which men are placed, and to the matter of excessive sentence lengths. If programs labeled "rehabilitative" have not worked in the past, it may be because their effects were nullified by these conditions.

In California, as elsewhere, educational programs are the mainstay of treatment programming for most inmates. Most men coming into California prisons have significant deficiencies in employment skills and in school performance, so the efforts to instruct them have real justification. Yet it is becoming increasingly apparent that programs aimed solely at improving abilities, such as job training and academic instruction, will not guarantee the inmate's use of these abilities to achieve a law-abiding life outside the prison. To an extent which varies tremendously with different offenders rehabilitation may require the diminution of attraction to crime as a source of income, the development of confidence in ability to succeed at legitimate occupational pursuits, the growth of ease and enjoyment in previously unfamiliar or uncomfortable types of social situations, or the control of hostile passions or of alcoholic, narcotic, or sexual appetites. All of these problems for correctional concern, and educational or vocational deficiencies, are distributed somewhat independently of each other in the diverse population with which the prison must work.

If attempts to correct the causes of recidivism are to succeed, two conditions are needed which are notably lacking in contemporary penal institutions:

1. So far as possible, prisons must duplicate the demands and responsibilities of the free world, and supply the motivations as well as the responsibilities of the general community.
2. It is essential for staff to get to know the man. Large institutions are unable to achieve this. Any future planning of facilities should give more serious attention to the question of size. Current efforts at prison management should have a clearer understanding than heretofore, of its effects on the social relations among various types of inmate, and the social distance between inmates and staff.

Ultimately it is the way inmates are treated--no more, no less than that--which is most important. It is useless to put people in a particular program which is meant to reform them if they are not treated as worthwhile humans in general. For convenience of uniformity, for administrative simplicity, for a host of dubious advantages, the whole effort can become a sham. To the inmate this amounts to hypocrisy implemented. It must fail. But what does "the way people are treated" mean? Primarily it means that the system must treat men as worthwhile individuals wherever possible. This seems a truism--that people be treated with personal interest in them as humans--but some prison practices militate against this and these practices could be eliminated. Of course, an institution cannot operate completely differently for each man. Many inmates make neurotic and unreasonable demands, and some standardization can be justified for fairness and efficiency. But wherever possible, individuality should be allowed. Uniformity is sometimes a necessity; it should never be made an ideal.

Further, if a system exists where institutional housing is not fit for humans, where the weak cannot be protected, and where the duration of confinement is too long, then it cannot change men. If society is to change those whom it confines, the prisons must simultaneously make more or better demands on their inmates and give them more incentives to meet these demands than has ever been done in the past. First of all, however, it must be ascertained that society has an adequate moral and ethical stance from which to make these demands. This cannot exist until the system treats people as it should in all respects.

The above points are intended to establish a more realistic picture of prospects and problems in achieving rehabilitation. If it is accepted that, despite its difficulties, the job must be attempted, it is time to turn to some of the more specific issues which are involved in getting the job done more successfully in California.

CHAPTER III

CURRENT CONDITIONS AND RECOMMENDED IMPROVEMENTS

The Department of Corrections has published excellent summary descriptions of its institutions and their operations. There is little to be gained by reporting them here. This chapter will discuss only those features which seem most relevant to enhancing achievement of correctional goals.

The administrative and operative structure of the Department is not neatly divided according to its goals, as it is not desirable to have one set of staff whose sole responsibility is rehabilitation, for example, and another whose only concern is keeping people confined. Such a separation, where practiced, has usually resulted in friction among staff and in failure to meet the goals. The responsibilities for achievement of all prison purposes needs to be shared to a considerable extent by all staff, although emphasis on different goals will vary from one part of the prison organization to another.

Of the three major goals named earlier, deterrence may be excluded here. Prisons deter by their existence, not by their techniques. No staff or operations are assigned to this function.

The two remaining goals have at least rough structural counterparts. The institutions have separate treatment and custody staffs with respective major responsibilities in rehabilitative programming and in keeping dangerous men incapacitated. In practice, these staffs have other functions as well, but these are the two primary functions to be discussed here.

I. THE REHABILITATION SERVICES

To achieve the rehabilitative function of prisons, California has relied mainly on what may be called traditional correctional treatment programs (which still do not exist in many state systems). These are: vocational education, academic education, counseling, religious instruction, self-help organizations, psychiatric treatment and work activities. These are the mainstays of what is commonly regarded as the rehabilitative effort, although other programs--such as recreation, medical services, and hobby activities--may also have some rehabilitative value and are important for other reasons.

These programs are present to some extent everywhere in the system. All major institutions and many camps have some trade training, some academic schooling, and some group counseling. Psychiatric care is not so extensively available, primarily because of the cost, the difficulty in securing psychiatrists, and because a majority of inmates do not need psychiatric attention. The mixture of programs varies. Walled prisons place less emphasis on treatment-designated programs than do other large institutions, and the facilities for young inmates provide greater access to trade training than is available at those housing older inmates. But

in many respects the difference among institutions is one of rather small degree. Some programs could be developed more adequately if more concentrated in specialized institutions, instead of being distributed almost equally to all facilities. The number of institutions in the California system allows for such specialization in considerably greater degree than is practiced at present.

The above are the treatment programs in which most inmates may become involved. The major ones will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. Emotionally disturbed inmates, those with medical needs, narcotic addicts, and other special problem cases receive other forms of treatment of varying degrees of adequacy, for their particular problems. Not all those needing psychiatric care can be accommodated in the facilities presently devoted to that purpose, however, and even with the large number of academic and vocational classes, the majority of inmates needing and desiring these programs at any given time are not receiving them intensively. Most have work assignments which make only limited demands, with little challenge and regard for good performance. In some cases, idleness continues to exist. Many who have completed a trade course, and who are not interested in further academic work, perform routine and unskilled work for the balance of a three or four year term. It is, in fact, difficult to see how they could otherwise occupy their time. This is not primarily a problem of lack of treatment programs, but simply that the rehabilitative enterprise neither needs nor can use all the time it has to fill for many cases in California.

II. MEETING THE INCAPACITATION GOAL

The responsibility for keeping those inmates judged to be dangerous to the community from escaping--one of the major functions of prisons--is centered in the custody staff. Yet this is not the major responsibility of most of these employees in terms of time or effort. Perimeter security is not especially difficult to maintain for most inmates. The effort expended by custody is primarily aimed at the maintenance of internal order and safety. These conditions really contribute more to the rehabilitative goal than to security of the outside community, since safety and order are preconditions for rehabilitation, as well as serving humanitarian requirements.

So far as specific measures dealing with the incapacitation goal are concerned, the system has five broad levels of security ranging from "maximum" to "camps", there are also subdivisions within these categories. The distribution of felons among the major levels (as of June 30, 1970) was as follows:

Maximum	1.3%
Close	2.4%
Medium	55.9%
Minimum	29.1%
Camps	11.3%
	<hr/> 100.0%

Most escapes are from minimum or lower custody levels. While the escape rate for the system as a whole is not high compared with the rate in some other states--less than one per hundred in residence per year--the rate from camps and more especially from community centers, work furlough and weekend furlough settings runs high. For these, the escape rate is from five to twenty times the average for the system, or higher than for similar settings in other jurisdictions. It is not clear why this should be, but two conjectures may be offered. The long sentences may lead to a kind of accumulated deprivation which seeks release at the first opportunity (especially for those who do not have an out date from the Adult Authority); or, it may be that qualifications for camp placement are not primarily factors relating to escapes, so that the best risks are not placed in camps. But this is purely speculative and beyond the scope of the present report. In general, the goal of isolation of offenders from the community seems to be accomplished by present measures. While there are a fair number of walkaways, they are from settings not made available to the most dangerous types, the walkaways have not contributed measurably to the State's crime problem.

III. RECEPTION AND CLASSIFICATION

Initial classification consists of diagnosis and subsequent placement recommendation. Though not a treatment process itself, classification is essential to the effective application of treatment, since it attempts to determine which programs are needed by each person. It also gives an indication of the degree of custody required for each person, and this has bearing on the available treatment options.

Classification procedures must be as discriminating and sensitive as treatment and custodial programs are diversified. The California system has a relatively wide range of programs. For this reason, accurate diagnosis is essential to insure that programs are efficiently used.

Classification procedures should not defer entirely to the available options. Classification recommendations which cannot be followed reveal types of additional correctional programs which are needed, and are thus valuable indicators for progress and change.

Reception

The reception process should be shortened. When the courts commit a person to a penal institution, he is first sent to a reception center or housed in the receiving unit of a prison for a short period of time. In California this runs from six to eight weeks, which is more time than is actually needed. All tests and examinations can be completed in a thirty-day period or less for a new inmate, and still less for a returned recidivist on whom frequently there is ample recent information on file. Upon completion of the initial classification study, transportation problems are often encountered. Every effort should be made to solve these problems by

a regular schedule of adequate interprison busses, properly guarded. At the women's institution there is no sound reason why the new admissions cannot be transferred to the adjacent main institution after a brief reception period, even though the evaluation is incomplete. The women will go only to this one institution. From the fifth week on, there is virtually nothing of a constructive nature to occupy the new admissions in the reception centers and it is especially important to start them on their institutional programs.

The whole reception and diagnostic process in California prisons needs shortening and reworking. In many Federal prisons an Intake Screening officer often recommends a full program for a new inmate within a few days of his reception. Some follow-up study then occurs soon after the inmate is on initial assignment, where he can be observed in situations more comparable to his future institutional stay than is his life in the reception center. Delaying assignment pending in-depth study occurs in some cases, but only where unusual need for it is indicated by the Intake Screening officer.

The recommendations of the reception-guidance center should be followed up systematically to see if they are carried out, and if not, why not. At present, no routine check is made to determine what happens to the program recommendations of the reception-guidance staff. Regular determinations of how the guidance center's recommendations are actually carried out should reveal deficiencies in the staff reports, in the institutions, or both. The recommendations sometimes appear to be made without full knowledge of the programs available. Assignment to a particular prison often seems to be made more on the basis of institutional job needs and vacancies than on inmate need. This is partly justified in the institutions by the fact that recommendations from the reception-guidance center are often sketchy, specifying little more than custody level. In some cases there is no clear connection made between the social-psychological data obtained by tests and interviews and the recommendation, if any, for treatment. This limits the usefulness of the reception center reports to the receiving institutions. In the reception centers, there should also be a more definite separation of young from old, the less criminally oriented from the sophisticated.

Composition of the Prison Population

Whether there should be a more or a less homogeneous population in a penal institution, aside from reception centers, is often a complex question, on which experts may reasonably disagree. The fundamental law of sociology and social anthropology is that social separation produces cultural differentiation. This means that people in separated groups become homogeneous in cultural traits, and different from people elsewhere. That law explains not only why there exist separate languages and cultural beliefs in the world, but also why young offenders, addicts and other prisoners of similar background tend to preserve and accentuate their shared deviant beliefs when grouped together in an institution. It is also repeatedly demonstrated that to group inmate troublemakers within a prison is to ask

for continual trouble from them. If possible, they should be dispersed so that each could be more readily controlled by being absorbed into a diverse group and by being placed in a program of maximum individual appeal.

Change in inmates' character, often rehabilitative but sometimes anti-rehabilitative, is most probable when they have close involvement and identification with persons of different background and even of different age from themselves. Conversely, reinforcement in their past types of criminal orientation is most probable when their grouping is only with persons of the same criminal background, age and area. Anti-rehabilitative impacts of some inmates on others can be noted and dealt with most readily by staff counseling when the worst inmates are scattered. Programs can often be most adequately staffed and equipped--whether for vocational training, education, psychiatric or other services--if inmates who need those programs, even if there is much diversity in their characteristics, are concentrated in one institution. Inmates there may then share constructive interests in the program. California prisons are relatively unspecialized, although their large number permits considerable specialization in programs.

Therefore, a greater effort to establish more differential allocation of institutional population based on program need throughout the entire system is indicated, and a careful typological analysis of the prison population and a thorough review of classification practices and policies could result in better institutional placement.

Institutional Programs and Parole Planning

Institutional programs should be more closely coordinated with parole planning. Ideally, parole planning should begin at the time of admission, i.e., in the reception center. This is not always possible but it is desirable. Too often no planning is initiated until a few days before the prisoner's release. This kind of hasty planning will inevitably have shortcomings.

Once a relevant, solid institutional program has been set up for an inmate, periodic reviews should be made to determine if the program continues to be pertinent to the man's community plans.

The earlier the field agent can become acquainted with the prisoner, his family and community situations, the better should be the results. Based on the agent's findings, it would sometimes be in order to change or modify the prisoner's institutional program. Direct involvement of the field staff would be helpful in another way. Feed-back from the field personnel should aid the institution in the improvement of its programs.

IV. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

It is almost a truism that today education is indispensable. Without it, a man may be virtually unemployable. With adequate training in an

acceptable skill, his employment opportunity, at least in periods of full employment, has often been almost assured. While some persons without training who have good work attitudes and motivation will be employed, and often will be trained by employers (especially during periods of prosperity), it is still valid to assert that a trained person usually finds it easier to obtain a decent, well-paying job than an untrained one. Work skills aside, general academic education is a near necessity in meeting the complexities of daily life. Add to these facts the observation that a large percentage of men coming into prison are school dropouts, severely deficient in both specific and general training, and the importance of prison education programs becomes abundantly evident. Since prison provides ample time to be filled and a minimum of distractions, it should offer prisoners a maximum opportunity for educational advancement. For many inmates education also provides a satisfying and wholesome diversion.

Yet, despite the strong case which can be made for it, there is much to suggest that correctional education as presently constituted, has often been rather unsuccessful. The evidence grows that education for prisoners should be custom-tailored to their diverse needs, and that too much reliance has been placed in prison on a traditional educational approach designed for youth. What works in public schools in the community does not necessarily work in prison for adults of diverse educational backgrounds and with school a predominantly distant and unhappy experience.

Basic to success in correctional education are: (1) information about the inmate pupils and their individual potentials; (2) an awareness of the society from which the prisoner comes and the society to which he is going; (3) individualized instructional material; (4) incentives to educational achievement; and above all, (5) a "climate for learning". The climate to which reference is made is not merely that of the classrooms--it should be an attribute of the entire prison. An institution director and staff at all levels who encourage learning are not just adventitious products of recruitment; they must be assiduously developed. Such an institution climate calls for leadership and commitment from all personnel, in addition to patient teachers who can relate to prisoners and challenge and involve them. Without such a climate men "sleepwalk" through school. With it, once it is obtained, the institution is seen as a better place by inmates and staff alike.

In California, as in all large correction systems, the quality and type of education vary considerably from institution to institution. California's best is very good indeed. Many of the educational programs encountered are rich in opportunity. The scope of education available to most inmates is sufficiently broad, from training in literacy to the fifth grade level to high school and high school equivalency programs, as well as college correspondence courses. There is also a commendable amount of vocational education.

There are some 150 trade courses taught in Department of Corrections facilities, and these take from six months to two years to complete, the customary length being nine to twelve months.² Over 1,000 men are enrolled full time in trade courses with a slightly larger number enrolled on a half-

time basis.³ The variation in degree of sophistication required for different courses is good; the courses range from low skill to highly skilled levels. However, in some cases, especially at the largest institution, there are waits of six months or more to get into these courses. This is a major source of low morale and behavior problems among prisoners. If a program will challenge an inmate, he should be placed in it as soon as possible rather than be required first to achieve a record of good behavior in a waiting period during which he is placed with a concentration of inmates not in such programs, having poor behavior records, and pressuring him to misbehave. The waiting period is often a trap from which many prisoners fail to escape as they are no longer eligible for the potentially beneficial programs when the waiting period expires, or they have lost their motivation to participate in such programs.

Although full-time enrollment occurs less in academic than in vocational programs, more students take part-time academic programs, ranging from basic literacy training through high school level courses. Some college courses are also available, but mostly through correspondence.

In the interest of improving education and training for California prisoners, the following suggestions are made:

Inmate students should be paid a nominal sum, comparable with prison industry scales, at a rate contingent on their individual progress in education. This would encourage many to go to school who would otherwise prefer to take paid work assignments when their primary need is educational. Reimbursement of students will tell the inmate that the prison administration considers education as important as producing goods or services for the institution. It has been well demonstrated with individualized programmed education and tangible incentives linked to rates of unit completion that prisoners can experience success in schooling, often their first success, and several years of schoolwork completion in one year.⁴

Two or three hours of evening school should be available for optional participation in every institution. California has done exceptionally well in this respect. Yet there are still some institutions with no evening classes. Evening courses should not be a substitute for full-time education. Men who are tired from a day's work cannot absorb learning at maximum capacity. Evening classes, however, would be attractive and beneficial for many on work assignments who need training, and for others to enrich their educational experience. Those who have attained literacy can continue their basic education in the evening. Evening classes also present an opportunity for cultural enrichment courses--art, music, literature, etc. California could further expand its use of volunteer teachers in evening classes.

The use of newer educational techniques, methods and materials should be expanded. As already suggested, programmed education is especially effective with prisoners, whether in the form of programmed texts or teaching machines. It divides training tasks into separate units, each sufficient to be a challenge but not a frustration, and a new unit is not begun until the previous one is mastered. Thus, each student experiences continual success and advances at his own pace. He competes with his own record

rather than with others. This contrasts with traditional classroom teaching where getting behind the class in one unit makes one increasingly unsuccessful in subjects where each unit's mastery depends on mastery of prior units. The normal ego defense against failure is withdrawal from and derogation of the activity in which one fails; it is this that many prisoners have experienced and from which they change only with a contrasting experience.

Other useful education devices include basal series, educational television, language and mathematics laboratories, learning carrels, slides, films on tapes, all of which should be more widely used in California penal facilities.⁵ Some programmed materials are particularly appropriate for self-study, since they are essentially individual self-study procedures. Many courses of this type are available in various vocational and technical fields. Yet it was noted that only a few institutions used programmed materials extensively. Within the Department of Corrections, a resource center for lending a wide variety of instructional and informational materials should be provided to service smaller facilities; larger prisons should set up their own centers.

There is substantial recognition among correctional educators that individualized instruction cannot be effective in settings designed only for group learning. Educational facilities can be sometimes rearranged for more efficient use of modern types of instruction, but they often must be remodeled to create learning laboratories with teaching machines and learning carrels to utilize programmed, self-directed and machine materials.

It should be stressed, however, that classroom instruction should not be abolished; it should simply be coordinated with individual instruction, and made more flexible. If a person works alone constantly, his learning atmosphere soon becomes lonely and this often makes him stagnant. Group and individual activities blended together by an effective teacher generate the most motivation and satisfaction in learning.

Educational television, including closed-circuit television, should be developed. It is possible for local public schools and universities to assist here. This would provide a wider variety of courses than are now available, and it would, with California's giant facilities, make education available to men in locations of the institution other than in the classroom. In keeping with the belief that greater involvement of resources outside the correctional system is called for, it is suggested that the California Department of Corrections explore the use of nearby schools and their resources for certain prisoners who can safely be released daily to them. There is much successful precedence for this in other states.

Camp inmates have complained about a lack of educational programs at their locations. The camps are set up for inmate labor on forestry and other outside work projects, and therefore have an explicit policy of excluding men who need to finish school at the central institutions. Yet further education programs could benefit many of these men in the camps. Little in the way of educational opportunities is now offered.

Michigan has tried to improve camp educational opportunities by contracting for the use of school facilities and teachers from nearby school districts. The programs (largely vocational) are conducted in the evening and the men are bussed to the schools where the classrooms and the trade-training shops are located. These programs are largely voluntary, for the man who has worked in the forests or elsewhere for a full day and then desires to go to school in the evening must be highly self-motivated. Evening academic and "enrichment" courses are also conducted at the camps with teachers, paid and voluntary, who come to the camp. At some camps the educational training is conducted by faculty of nearby community colleges. These types of educational programming would not be needed at all camps if camp or potential camp inmates were screened for educational interests and learning ability, then placed in camps designated for these programs.

Vocational training equipment and facilities should be improved.⁶ Some of the prisons are well equipped for such training but others are not. In some, the space is inadequate, equipment is obsolete or lacking, and instruction is attempted with obsolete material. Most of the institutions have the nucleus for good vocational training programs and relatively small sums of money would modernize them and permit much more useful training. In some prisons new training facilities are needed as there are waiting lists for assignment to training, due to lack of adequate space.

Job training values of prison industrial and maintenance operation should be studied and exploited by development of training programs or integration with present vocational training. Some prison work assignments have much training potential for specific skills, in addition to providing work habituation. Building maintenance, for example, is a service occupation with considerable outside employment market. To develop this type of vocational training, each specialized vocational assignment must be analyzed to see what combination of skills might be involved, to what extent and in what logical sequence, to relate to specific free world employment requirements. Class work in related theoretical and technical areas should also be given to place the assignment into proper context. Indeed, many types of work assignments can be coordinated with more formal classroom vocational training, including institutional cooking and baking. The Department of Corrections has made some beginning in this direction. Examples of this potential include mechanical drawing, where those who are learning can do sheet metal layouts for maintenance, and welding, where learners can be used in some institutional repairs and alterations. There is a tendency in any prison system, and it was noted in California, to use the vocational shops primarily for maintenance rather than training. This means that only inmates who already possess the skills required are assigned to them, thus subverting their use as a school. This is a condition that repeatedly erodes the educational impact of prison programs and against which continual vigilance is necessary.

The vocational courses taught in each institution should be re-evaluated. It is evident that some courses are taught because of tradition, or of outside pressures, or for other reasons apart from their rehabilitation value. Courses which cannot be utilized by the students after they leave the institution are patently wasteful. Many such courses are