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taught in the California institutions. It is clear also, from the standpoint of time, that some of the courses have doubtful benefits. There are courses in the system which require enrollment for two years or longer, and some which handle only a few students at a time when many need and await training. Short-term courses, which can appreciably help large numbers of people, are optimum and should be preferred when instructional offerings are planned.

Two general conclusions are also in order: (1) greatest benefits for most inmates occur when vocational training emphasizes broad and basic skills and principles, rather than specific and narrow skills which have restricted labor markets; (2) training should be tied in closely with the employment opportunities of the community, and, therefore, must be kept current.

A recently completed study showed that only 35% of California's prison vocational trainees were employed while on parole at the occupation for which they were trained in prison. Many of these parolees were disappointed that their training did not give them jobs with pay as high as they anticipated. A large number asserted that they valued their training in that it helped them use their time constructively in prison, and gave them skills they felt proud to have mastered. Fewer parolees asserted that the training gave them a means of earning a good living. From their high rates of job attrition, it was evident that much of their non-use of new skills was due to the retention of a short-run perspective towards work; they had not acquired a deep commitment to an occupational career just by the learning of new skills.

A prime lesson to be acquired from this research is that such follow-up of prisoners receiving vocational training should become routine for continuous guidance of prison training programs. Efficient forms can be developed for feedback information from parole officers on parole jobs of trainees. Data from such forms can be tabulated by the Research Division and transmitted to the prison training staff. Such response from parole officers would be stimulated by communications to them on the releasee's training record in prison. With such mutual feedback, training staff would be less in the dark about the value of their efforts. Any evidence of gross deficiency in using a type of training could then result in more intensive follow-up of trainees from a given trade by vocational education specialists. The specialists would identify the precise nature of training inadequacies, and would evaluate alternative possible remedies.

The second lesson to be gained from this research is, of course, that training alone is not sufficient for post-release employment. Relevant counseling, placement assistance and especially, work furloughs, should all be tested further as procedures for promoting full utilization of vocational training by those with job problems.

Related to this issue is the work furlough program presently operated by the Department of Corrections. At present, the Department has approximately 180 work-furloughees assigned to those institutions whose physical locations make work furlough programs possible. There is ample evidence

as to the value of work furlough.⁸ The Department of Corrections is to be commended for having initiated work furlough and is encouraged to expand the concept.

Greater enrollment in educational programs should be encouraged. Unless there is great expansion in correctional industries, it appears that many inmates will remain less than fully occupied. Probably the best relief for this situation, and the one which has the richest potential, is expansion of educational programs. This would require additional staff in some facilities, and additional space and equipment in others. Federal funding is helpful here, and California should make certain that it is getting its share. Generally speaking, every man not having some marketable job skill, if he can be motivated at all, should receive skills training appropriate to his ability. Also, if he can progress in general education in prison, he should be given every encouragement to do so. In order to interest those not inclined toward further training, inmates now in educational programs should be encouraged to recruit others. New courses should be promoted by counselors and other staff, and in prison news media and posted announcements as well. Monetary payments and other tangible rewards and recognition for course completions, however, can be the most effective incentives in adult prisoner education.

V. TREATMENT PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

Counseling

Counseling programs are found in all California institutions. They are important in giving inmates an opportunity to air their feelings and work out their emotional problems, as well as for handling a variety of personal difficulties (e.g. financial, legal or family problems on the outside) which may otherwise be neglected. They also facilitate post-release planning and communication with relatives. Finally, counselors provide progress reports and recommendations on inmates for institution officials and for the parole decision-makers, the Adult Authority. If counseling helps an inmate learn to get along with others or resolve his feeling about authority, for example, it may contribute as much or more to his post-release employment success as the most thorough trade training.

Counseling in California prisons is more extensive than intensive. Counselors typically have caseloads of hundreds, which preclude individual counseling and limit involvement even in group work. Some counseling is done by correctional officers. This is a commendable practice except that some inmates claim that they are counseled mainly by new officers, apparently as a staff training or indoctrination method. This probably has more value for the officers than it does for the inmates. Some group therapy is also available, but this is limited by the size of the professional staff. Intensive group or individual counseling seems to be rare outside of psychiatric settings and a few special short-term situations.

During the 1950s and early 1960s California prisons became well-known for their group counseling programs. These were extensively publicized in national correctional meetings and publications, where they were presented as rehabilitation programs. With the growth of correctional research in the late 1950s, government and foundation grants as well as State funding were devoted to the expansion of group counseling, and to an assessment of its rehabilitative effectiveness. This research applied to both the group counseling by briefly trained line staff scheduled only about once a week and to intensive daily sessions involving different sized groups, with professional and line staff, that became known as "therapeutic communities". The measurements, however, proved disappointing.⁹ What became evident from the research and had been pointed out earlier by some observers, was that such counseling programs tended mainly to serve institution management functions and readily became largely irrelevant to rehabilitation needs. However, they did permit free and orderly discussion and resolution of grievances and tension among inmates and staff. But most of the successful ventilation of emotions in these groups, and the constructive discussion, revolved around institution life. When discussion dealt with the outside world there prevailed a mixture of fantasy, rationalization for crime and anti-authority ideologies, with conversation dominated by the most aggressive and unrealistic spokesmen for these anti-rehabilitative points of view.

At the same time that California invested in the promotion of group counseling as rehabilitation, it largely ignored research evidence on the rehabilitative effectiveness of some other types of counseling for some inmates. The PICO (Pilot Intensive Counseling Organization) Project demonstrated by a rigorously controlled experiment in 1960 the differential effectiveness of counseling on different inmates. This experiment involved assignment of one trained counselor (generally a clinical psychologist or psychiatric social worker) to every 25 inmates during, on the average, the last nine months of their confinement. Those inmates selected in advance as "amenable" to counseling because they seemed bright, verbal and anxious to change, had appreciably less post-release reconfinement on criminal charges if assigned to these special counselors when in prison than if without counselors. On the other hand, for those considered "non-amenable" to counseling because they seemed indifferent or opposed to counseling and not anxious to change, greater post-release reconfinement on criminal charges occurred for those assigned the added counselors than for those without such counselors. Reconfinement costs saved by reduction of subsequent criminality in the amenable more than paid for the cost of one counselor per 25 inmates for nine months.¹⁰ Analogous conclusions had emerged earlier from research in a Naval prison,¹¹ and are suggested by the one positive rehabilitation effect demonstrated for group counseling: that inmates of middle risk categories--not the best and not the worst types by usual recidivism rates--had less than the rest of their risk group's post-release criminality rate if they were in counseling groups for a long period with no change in the staff member assigned to their group.¹² Similar results also were found in Massachusetts prisons.¹³ All these data suggest that counseling can be rehabilitative if readily available to those inmates who want it, and if provided in a manner that fosters a close relationship between the inmate and the counselor. However, counseling usually is irrel-

evant or even has negative effects if it is a prescribed program replacing other programs and is forced on inmates not seeking it.

Some California prisons have facilitated this constructive counseling aid by scattering the offices of counselors in the cell-houses or other inmate residences, instead of concentrating them in an office building where inmates can see staff only by special appointment. In the cell-houses one can overhear evidence of an affectionate personal relationship, such as an inmate calling to a counselor, "Hey Louie, I gotta see ya'." One can infer that the counselor is more likely to see inmates only when they are amenable to counseling aid, and will learn much more about the inmates' prison experiences in this type of arrangement, than he would in the seclusion of an office elsewhere. More of this type of ready access to counseling and familiarity with the counselor should be provided for those inmates anxious to have it.

The counseling staff in each California institution should be increased toward the recommended American Correctional Association ratio of one counselor for every hundred and fifty men. In several of the institutions, there are counselors who handle between three hundred and four hundred men each. This is too large a caseload even for group work, and it is especially inadequate for personal counseling. It is impossible for the counselor to know many men in a caseload of this size. With the excessive caseloads prevailing in some institutions, the number and length of contacts are insufficient. More staff is required if the condition is to be improved.

It is not suggested that one counselor to a hundred and fifty inmates is always the correct ratio. Certain types of people require greater attention and a more richly staffed counseling program is necessary to provide it. More important, in situations where inmates are released temporarily to the community, as in work furlough or community correctional centers, counseling is most strategic to rehabilitation. Here the counselors are dealing with problems feared or experienced in the community where rehabilitation must occur, and they are problems which are immediate.

More sub-professionals should be added as associate counselors to do many aspects of the counselor's job. In California, some specially-trained sub-professionals are now used in counseling, and this effort is to be commended. The training of correctional officers for individual counseling functions should be expanded, since California's experience at its conservation centers with this plan seems to be satisfactory. These men can handle the routine problems of most inmates, as well as prepare routine reports and inquiries. When their background is similar to that of the inmates they frequently can gain rapport more readily than professional counselors. This relieves the professional counselor of many of the time-consuming tasks and frees his time for more in-depth counseling.

No ratio of counselors to prisoners will provide adequate counseling services in some prisons, because work other than counseling, especially writing reports, is a major responsibility of the counselor's job. In California much less time should be spent by the counselors in preparing

reports for the Adult Authority. This time can be better used in the counseling of inmates. It is difficult to alter this simply by issuing an order, however, as these reports are tangible products in which the counselors take pride and which the Adult Authority views as essential. The reports tend to be the only part of the counselor's work which is visible to his superiors, and on which he is evaluated; his communications with inmates are not observed, and their rehabilitative or anti-rehabilitative effects are not readily known.

Actually, most of the information in progress reports to the Adult Authority already exists in the inmate's file. Many of the progress reports repeat what was previously communicated to the Adult Authority in prior reports. Improving case records for both information to decision-makers on current individual cases and for evaluation of policy on large numbers of past cases requires a collaborative effort by research, classification, counseling and paroling officials. Much of the information most useful to them all (e.g., on criminal record, work record, drug and alcohol record, educational record, etc.) can be standardized in a limited number of categories of minimal ambiguity and maximum relationship to post-release behavior, drawing on the base expectancy and analogous follow-up research already completed in California. A face sheet prepared at Reception can summarize all of the most relevant pre-prison information in an efficient "check-off" format, which modern copying equipment can duplicate as often as necessary, so it never has to be written up again in subsequent reclassification and parole considerations. A "comment" space can be left on any such form for any brief remarks staff may feel are important to qualify the standardized categories checked off to describe an individual. Similarly efficient "check-off" forms can also be developed for describing progress in the institution, supplemented by narrative remarks.

Efficient and scientifically tested case record and report procedures release much counselor time from paperwork to work with inmates. The information that "check-off" forms in most instances contain is more useful than that in traditional lengthy narrative reports because the efficient forms employ a standardized language among the many who use them, because information is found more quickly in them than in verbose narrations, and because errors are found and corrected more quickly than they are in prose essays. Such forms have been developed in the Washington State Department of Institutions and the New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission. At first their use was resisted by clinically-oriented caseworkers enamored of their literary creativity, but they soon became popular among all service-oriented staff. They have also proved invaluable for research on factors relating programs to outcome for particular types of cases.¹⁴

Clinical Services

Clinical services include the activities of psychologists and psychiatrists in the diagnosis and treatment of mental abnormality and disturbance. The trend in corrections is away from the attribution of mental disorder to the majority of offenders, but there are those who show demon-

strable abnormality and others for whom this is a definite possibility. Conventional programming will not reach those whose problems are symptomatic of deep disturbance. The California Department of Corrections provides special services for these people. The institution at Vacaville is specifically charged with handling these disturbed persons, and is available for transfer of inmates from the rest of the system. Other institutions, with a few exceptions, have staff psychiatrists or at least some type of contractual service with community psychiatrists. The Department has difficulty hiring psychiatrists for some institutions primarily because of their locations. This is especially a handicap since the Department must take care of its own psychotics. The practice of transferring such patients to the Department of Mental Hygiene, found in other states, is not operative in California.

Additional beds and staff should be provided for the psychiatric program. Space is not now available for the medical-psychiatric housing of all inmates needing it. Earlier plans for a new medical-psychiatric facility have been abandoned by the Department. The estimate is that 4,000 inmates in the prison system would benefit from this type of program, but Vacaville has only 1,400 beds.¹⁵

There are unquestionably many mentally ill people confined in California prisons and this situation will worsen. This is partly the result of a recent change in mental health laws allowing more mentally sick patients to be diverted from the Mental Hygiene Department to the Department of Corrections. These mentally ill persons are now found in large numbers in several institutions. Some are actually in the general group, and others are confined in segregation areas. Of these, some are acutely ill and in need of intensive care and treatment.

The most desirable solution to this problem would be the construction of a new specialized facility for these people. If the inmate census moves up again, and a new institution must be built, it should be of this type. If this is impossible, then the Department of Corrections must consider the utilization of some beds in its present secure structures. This might require the movement of some inmates out of the general population of a high security institution, providing beds can be freed for this purpose. If the total inmate count of the Department is reduced, as will be suggested, this conversion of some existing facility to a specialized mental treatment facility might prove feasible. While this move would no doubt require some expenditure for remodeling and, of course, for professional personnel, it will make room for many of the psychiatric patients who are not being given the attention the Department recognizes they need.

The problem of recruiting trained clinical service staff should not be overlooked. It is surprising that California prisons have been able to recruit, hire, and retain as many psychiatrists and other professional people as they have. But there are personnel shortages in the clinical services area. More positions should be authorized and more of these people employed. To do this, it should be clear that more realistic and competitive remuneration has to be offered clinical personnel.

Religion

The Department has provided excellent facilities for religious worship in almost all of the institutions. Chaplains of the major faiths are employed and they can be valuable members of the prison staff. It is recognized that many prisoners can find religion a source of consolation and a positive influence toward beneficial change.

Distinctive facilities for congregate worship should be provided in all institutions which do not now have them. Three institutions do not have an appropriate place for religious services. Places for worship, properly designed and furnished, can be an eloquent reminder to the prisoner of the existence and inspiration of religious institutions on the outside.

Libraries

The California Department of Corrections has recognized the value of library services. All facilities have some library space and several have a good selection of books. The library is a valuable adjunct of formal education, and a source of information and recreation to those who use it. Two recommendations are in order:

1. Although most of the libraries are adequate in size, a few institutions should be provided with more and better space. The standards, so far as size is concerned, depend on the size of the institution. The guide should be "Objectives and Standards for Libraries in Correctional Institutions," a publication of the American Correctional Association which contains the best thinking in this field.
2. The number and quality of books should be supplemented. In most of the libraries, the quality of the books, particularly in the reference areas, is marginal. This condition may be improved in more than one way. Arrangements might be made, as in other jurisdictions, to work with nearby community libraries to obtain a greater supply of books. Some states use a bookmobile arrangement through the help of the State Library offices. California prisons get State Library service upon request, but this is for individual books and materials. A bookmobile service which circulates among all of the institutions, exchanging books on a regular basis, could supplement the existing program. The Library Service and Construction Act should be used more, if possible, for the improvement of institutional libraries.

Recreation

The Department of Corrections has obviously devoted considerable attention to the area of recreation, which generally has adequate staff

and good facilities. One institution has no gymnasium, however, and this is a weakness in its recreational program. It is also suggested that a larger number of organized and supervised group recreational activities be developed. Some programs have less structure and supervision at present than is desirable. Some inmates complain that there is a lack of recreational equipment.

VI. WORK VALUES AND CORRECTIONAL INDUSTRIES

Work Assignments

A major value of work for the prisoners is the opportunity it affords for inculcation or reactivation of positive attitudes, skills, and habit patterns. Also, inmate work helps to achieve effective and economical institutional administration. Work provides great potential for building morale and is essential in the maintenance of security and discipline. It has been observed that regular work during imprisonment for even as little as one year would be the longest work experience most youthful prisoners have ever had. More important, it has been found that relationships of inmates with work supervisors are most often cited by successful ex-prisoners as the primary rehabilitative relationships they experienced in prison.¹⁶

The California Department of Corrections has its share of idle prisoners. The exact amount of idleness is impossible to determine, as no studies or projections of realistic needs for inmate work opportunities are available. In all large institutions, however, the idleness problem is evident. It is true that not many employable prisoners are completely idle, but it is evident that in order to prevent complete idleness of some, there is an overmanning of work assignments, resulting in the partial idleness or "featherbedding" for many. While this may be the only immediate alternative, such a choice is not a good solution to the work problem. Only in the forestry camps is overassignment of inmates to jobs generally avoided. This fact is noted here as one disadvantage of the Department's recent actions to reduce its camp program.

Each institution should undertake manpower utilization studies of inmate work forces. A plan resulting from such a study would suggest that one of more of the following courses of action would be feasible to prevent idleness and provide fuller work assignments. Each institution would:

1. involve more inmates in full-time educational programs.
2. perform additional maintenance and construction work. Much of this work needs to be done. Prison officials know this, of course, but in addition to inmates for this work, they must have adequate maintenance and equipment money.
3. extend services to other agencies in State government in fields such as dental prosthetics, data processing, silk screen work, office services, warehousing, auto repair, body bumping and painting, microfilming, etc.

4. expand present correctional industries and bring in new ones where justified.
5. expand work furlough, as has been previously suggested.

Some of the above actions require extra-departmental support. Some would come face-to-face with vested interests, but if California is serious about improving its prisons and work programs, then the objections must be contested and the idea of work expansion promoted. It is certain that the Department would welcome support.

Often the public is not realistic in its evaluation of the difficult task of changing people who have had little success in life. Many prisoners are poorly motivated and do not even wish initially to learn how to work. Correctional officials recognize this characteristic as one of the chief obstacles in obtaining cooperation from inmates in working toward self-improvement.

To help meet this problem, more visible rewards should be tried in California. The inmate wage scale should be overhauled. Wages are too low in institutional work assignments and industries to motivate appreciable work return from inmates. In some cases production incentives would help, but inmate wages are generally too low.

Industries

California Correctional Industries consists of nine program operations--woodworking, metalworking, textiles, food processing, laundry, miscellaneous manufacturing, dairy, other farm, service departments--and involves nine institutions. Approximately 3,100 inmates and 275 civil service personnel are employed.¹⁷

A central office staff of 39 provides overall management and coordination, engineering and marketing services, and sales and sales order processing. More than 900 different standard products and a variety of custom-made items are sold to public agencies. The Department of Corrections is its own best customer. As in most state-use prison industry, they have only begun to utilize the potential market of the state colleges and universities.

The industries program operates under the direction of the Correctional Industries Commission, and is composed of the Director of Corrections who serves as Chairman, two representatives from organized labor, two from private industry, one from agriculture and one from the general public.

The Department of Corrections' industrial program attempts to accomplish three objectives:

1. to contribute to the overall departmental rehabilitation program by providing work background, skills, and work habits in industrial and agricultural enterprises for inmates who would benefit from such assignments.

2. to provide constructive employment to inmates as an alternative to idleness.
3. to reduce costs of maintaining the correctional program by the sale of products and services to public agencies.

Despite criticisms, California's scheme of correctional industries appears altogether consistent with the current and emerging correctional philosophy toward rehabilitation and reintegration of the offender in the community. Work habits may prove to be more important than skills. Goals related to improving the financial condition of the inmate and to institutional maintenance and production are considered less important, but nevertheless desirable. Primarily, any industries program should be evaluated on its contribution to the fulfillment of rehabilitative goals. Procedures and policies which impede these goals should be corrected or modified. But if industries in California are to be justified on the basis of their contribution to rehabilitation, it is imperative for them to demonstrate that they are having a measureable effect in that direction. There should be greater coordination of vocational training and industries by the Department of Corrections, and also closer post-release follow-up of both in order to provide adequate information regarding their impact.

More markets would be helpful and should be sought for California's prison industrial program. The small variety and size of current available markets limit production. The State consumes only a fraction of the many kinds of goods sold in the public market, and the California Department of Corrections has pointed out that its share of state consumption is less than 1%. Recent suggestions for private ownership and management of some prison industries, and the repeal of Federal laws barring prison-made goods from interstate commerce, should be studied carefully. Another plan under discussion deals with community-based correctional industries, and includes contracts or agreements with existing non-profit organizations for the provision of sheltered workshop training of parolees. California has already tried a few experimental programs involving employers and training institutes in inmate training programs. To reject or accept these new approaches outright without objective and careful consideration would be unwise. In any case, 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.

The role of the Correctional Industries Commission has been a subject of concern and conflicting views among authorities. The Commission was created by Statute in 1947, and has, in the majority view, worked well in coordinating the efforts of correctional industries by involving the commercial sector, organized labor, agriculture, and the general public. The minority view is that the current Commission set-up is cumbersome, and that its tasks could be accomplished more expeditiously by the Department itself.

The Prison Task Force feels that, in the final analysis, the Commission does fulfill an important role, and that, by change of name and expansion of membership, could become even more productive. It is suggested that the Commission be re-named the Correctional Industries and Training

Commission, and that its membership be expanded to include two persons who are expert in the field of vocational training; one such member should be the Chancellor of the California Community Colleges, or his designee; another member, representing secondary schools, should be the California Superintendent of Public Instruction, or his designee. California has a nationally-respected network of almost 100 community colleges, and innumerable high schools, both of which offer substantial expertise in the area of vocational training; expertise which would represent valuable assistance to vocational training and correctional industries.

The Department's administration should indicate full support for prison industries and more closely integrate industrial operations with the total institutional programs. Execution of this recommendation would benefit correctional personnel, both in industries and elsewhere. It is not likely that the gap is as wide as some staff claim, but the fact that many believe there is a problem should be weighed. A good degree of coordination is required if industries is really to be a part of the total institutional program. Greater involvement of industries personnel is needed in each institution, especially in major decision-making committees. Training programs should include industrial and non-industrial personnel. Some of this cooperation occurs now but more is needed in some institutions. Statements and actions of support from policy-level administrators would help reduce the isolation of industries. Several issues in closing the gap between industries and institutions deal with the role of the inmate.

1. The development of favorable work attitudes and useful job skills is the primary goal of prison industry. Institutional assignment procedures and policies must be compatible with this orientation. In prisons, the ideal treatment classification is not always possible. But while other criteria (custody, institutional needs, discipline) will take precedence over treatment in certain instances, they should not do so routinely. All industrial and other personnel must agree that assignments to industries should be made primarily on the basis of inmate needs. Complete acceptance of this principle will reduce friction and ultimately better satisfy all.
2. Inmates assigned to industries should be expected to work approximately eight hours a day at a good pace. In California, this performance varies with institution. The institution must help by doing its best with the inmates' scheduling and activities. It is a major administrative problem in every prison to keep work, counseling, education, etc. from interfering with each other. If prison industries is to realize its goals, interference must be kept to a minimum. Free world jobs do not allow constant interruptions. Careful scheduling must be followed, with other programs generally offered at non-conflicting times so as not to interrupt work, school, or training schedules. California's use of counselors in the evenings should be expanded. Inmate call-outs should be controlled and regulated.

At the same time, industries personnel must recognize that they should support other institutional programs. They must realize that some of their best inmate employees will move on to other assignments and degrees of custody. Goals must be common and shared by all personnel.

3. Production in California industries could be improved. The slow pace is quite evident in some of the factories and the work day (actual time worked) is short. Production suffers because there are few motivating factors encouraging inmates to work hard. Incentives and rewards based on productivity would help in this respect. It has been suggested that paid vacations, participation in social security and unemployment benefits might be a way of compensating prisoners and increasing the probability of a successful post-release adjustment. While these suggestions have not been well-received, it is clear that monetary payment levels should be high enough to make inmates feel their work is worthwhile and meaningful. An increase in the California base pay levels and possibly some incentive pay plans related to productivity are in order. Increased inmate savings as a result of better earnings could decrease the financial assistance needed by inmates after transfer to Community Correction Centers or to parole, as well as the number of economic post-release crimes they commit.

An eight hour "pace" under conditions similar to those in free industry should be the target. The quality of work expected of inmates is now generally good, and high standards should continue. The assumption that all this is conditioning for successful adjustment in the free community is logical. Work done at too slow a pace can undermine its rehabilitative potential. Involvement of private industry on an advisory level is useful to maintain comparability of prison and outside employment practices. This already is practiced to a large extent in California, but more could be done to approximate outside methods, technology and work conditions.

Training considerations should be given greater priority by prison industries. It is impossible to determine how much weight this aspect is given, but nowhere is it given enough. This point cannot be overemphasized. A system that offers little opportunity for training or future job placement should be modified. California's current effort to coordinate industries with institutional vocational training will be helpful. Correctional industries should allocate time and resources to industrial training.

Until the fund of knowledge on the impact of prison industries is augmented, it is reasonable to hope that these programs will develop job skills, shape attitudes favorable to work, and help people adjust to community life. Meanwhile, it certainly is desirable to keep prisoners occupied and defraying expenses, if

possible. Emphasis should not be placed on profit and loss at the expense of rehabilitative goals. It is unrealistic to expect prison industries to match the profits of its business counterparts in the free community, but prison industries should be businesslike. Questions such as the following should be answered:

Is the central office staff too large?

Is prison industries accepting too many custom jobs which affect product and profit?

Is the pricing of industries products based on sound business practices?

Why has the overhead increased so greatly from 1966 to 1970?

Why are inventories so large?

VII. CUSTODY, SECURITY AND DISCIPLINE

The Department is legally charged with the security and control of prisoners. Although at times this responsibility appears to be at odds with the rehabilitative mission, it is doubtful that any correctional administration which ignores this charge or treats it lightly will survive. Nowhere is the prevalence of order over chaos more precarious than in large penal institutions.

The custodial forces of prison are given the primary responsibility for preventing escapes and maintaining order. The former task calls for surveillance to maintain the physical integrity of the perimeter, to exclude weapons or tools for escape, and to detect escape plans. This is a vital operation but its essence is technical--a matter of efficient and diligently conducted routines.

Maintenance of internal order is another matter entirely. It involves proper routines also, but human elements and emotions are much more involved. This is a crucial matter in California. A large number of violent incidents, including several homicides, have occurred in the last year and a number of collective disturbances have also occurred. This has led to considerable adverse reaction both inside and outside the Department. There is much tension in some institutions.

Preservation of order is essential. Both staff and inmates have the right to demand that their safety be assured. No positive programs can be conducted successfully in an atmosphere of tension, danger, and actual disruption.

There are a number of specific suggestions in this section aimed at improving institutional control and reducing incidents of violence. These suggestions are based on a custodial rationale which may be spelled out fairly briefly. In institutional control such a rationale may be even more important than the details, since it is vital that all practices be an integral part of a reasonable and consistent operational philosophy.

The basic principle is that maintenance of order and control should be preventive where possible, and should not depend on force or show of force except when absolutely necessary. Force cannot always be dispensed with, but if it is used unwisely, it exacerbates rather than alleviates the problem. Minimization of force is called for, not out of leniency, but simply for best results in maintaining order.

There appears to be a tendency in certain of California's more secure institutions to place heavy reliance on forceful and severe disciplinary measures. These measures may be self-defeating. Prisoners, probably more than men in other institutions, will try to preserve identity and pride. If the game is implicitly defined as one of threatened force or penalty, prisoners will often play by those rules, including some men who might have preferred and been dependable in a more reasonable relationship based on mutual trust. Not only does control by force and threat of force foster rebelliousness, but it reduces the inclination among prisoners to be involved in positive programs and to cooperate with staff in anything. This may be happening in some--not all--California institutions.

Reference to force should not be misinterpreted to mean that prisoners are deliberately brutalized. There are as many safeguards against such practices in California as in any correctional system. Unquestionably, a few employees will at times exceed their instructions and go farther than necessary in handling a disciplinary problem. There is, however, no Departmental design or plan to brutalize, but, to the contrary, the Department remains alert to any possible mistreatment of inmates by staff, and, if such mistreatment is found, corrective action is taken. However, a few of the prisons manifest a kind of "institutional lag"; while the growing emphasis by the Department has been placed on the goal of rehabilitation, some custodial practices have not kept pace with this emphasis.

Principles of Maintaining Order

Custody operates in three ways to maintain order and reduce dangerous incidents. It uses prevention, intervention and disciplinary sanction. Custodial operations in California need improvement in all three of these areas.

Prevention. A show of potential force can assist in preventing some problems, but a demonstration of confidence is better. Officers show confidence by mingling unarmed with inmates in the yard rather than by standing armed and out of reach. Mingling does not invite a hostile return. Strong positive programs involving inmates, and the building of personal

ties between inmates and staff, are the best means of preventing disorder. At the same time, it should be recognized that some prisoners will respond only to power, but in no California institution is that true of most inmates most of the time.

Intervention. When incidents occur such as fights or assaults, they must be stopped. Here, too, a minimum of force should be used and it should be used selectively. Where good relationships have been established, a fight may often be stopped by a verbal order.

Discipline. Discipline for rule infractions should not be harsher than necessary. For serious rule violations, this means segregation. There has never been good reason to believe that long periods of segregation prevent future infractions. Actually, the opposite effect, or defiance, may be the consequence.

It is not implied that the above principles are novel or unknown to California prison administrators. It is suggested, however, that closer adherence to them should occur in some of the institutions. In many California prisons the relationship between custodial staff and prisoners is good, but in others improvements are both possible and necessary. This is said in full recognition of the fact that some violent and dangerous men must be dealt with. However, experience has shown that force or severity of discipline do not guarantee maximum protection for inmates and staff.

Obviously, the kind and degree of security and custody depends on the type of institution, with tighter controls found in the walled and fenced institutions, as long as they hold high custody risk inmates. Generally speaking, no inmate should be housed in a facility operated with more physical and managerial security than he requires. Ideally, the graduation of a completely free environment should be accomplished as rapidly as possible.

Custody and Security Modifications

The following observations apply primarily to the California prisons with physically secure perimeters. Some of the recommendations which follow could be discarded or ignored if one of the major recommendations of this Report were followed: the closing of San Quentin and Folsom prisons. Since it is not certain that this recommendation will be acted upon in the near future, the alternative suggestions which follow apply largely to these old plants.

Inside gun towers and gun walks. These methods of control are rapidly disappearing from the American prison scene. Not only do armed men, prominently posted inside an institution, create a possibility that weapons will be misused or fall into the wrong hands, but the psychological barrier between officer and inmate is made more formidable and pronounced. It inevitably adds to the impression of the "keeper" and the "caged."

Unquestionably, armed men in towers and armed men patrolling an institution give some members of the staff a sense of security. What these people do not perceive is that relationships and understanding will never improve under such conditions and terms. An impasse is made manifest; rigid demarcations are established with no means to change them. With the existence of gun walks, there is literally no common ground. Were most of these post officers required to be with the inmates, their attitudes concerning their own safety should change and it is reasonable to assume that their concern, patience, and performance would be enhanced. Detachment might be replaced with involvement.

The physical characteristics of the two institutions where these features are found present so many supervision problems that modification rather than complete elimination is suggested. Closed-circuit T.V. scanning could provide surveillance of the several critical areas, and officers could be dispatched to any trouble spot directly through the institution or by the gun walks. Many gun towers within the prison compound could be eliminated or manned only in emergencies.

Unneeded structures. Razing structures that are not needed would allow armed surveillance to be moved back to the wall posts where it is needed for escape prevention. This should certainly be done with the condemned industrial building at one institution, the removal of which would help unclutter the yards and improve vision.

Staffing patterns. Custodial officers should be in constant contact with inmates. Well-trained custodial personnel can have a positive influence on many inmates. To accomplish this objective, custodial personnel must be used judiciously, since there is rarely an excess of this category of staff. As many employees as possible should be on duty during the hours of peak inmate activity.

California institutions operate with 8 A.M. to 4 P.M.; 4 P.M. to 12 midnight; and 12 midnight to 8 A.M. shifts. This requires the night shift to get things moving in the morning--unlock, supervise breakfast, etc. A full, or near full, complement is needed to do this. It is suggested that a lightly manned 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. shift, during which the institution is secured, might be more effective and suitable. More personnel could be available for the remaining two shifts when activities are at a peak. Evening activities, if curtailed because of custodial staff shortage, could then be increased accordingly. Staffing patterns should be re-evaluated. Many custodial officers have office assignments; the gun walks and inside gun towers also take a large number of men. Unquestionably, more officers could be placed in positions of direct contact with inmates through a shift in assignments.

Handling violent prisoners. In California, as in most state prison systems, gas is used to control severely recalcitrant inmates. California authorizes this general practice on the ground that it reduces injuries to

inmates and staff. This is in some cases plausible and defensible. Whether too great a reliance is placed on the use of gas can only be determined by the careful analysis of each incident.

There seems to be an aversion on the part of most California officials to the use of mace, though it has been used successfully elsewhere. Where gas must be used, mace might fit some situations better for it does not contaminate large areas, and does not affect innocents for days afterwards. The use of gas is a source of much resentment among inmates, and as such tends to generate further incidents. In some cases, use of gas is symptomatic of a tendency for staff to use force at a distance. It may sometimes be a first rather than last resort, discouraging reflection on more permanently effective responses.

Weapons control. Weapons are used to prevent escapes and as a last resort in emergencies to protect both inmate and employee. Their visible presence on the wall may forestall escapes; inside, their visibility may actually detract from maintenance of order, as just argued. But any prison security plan must include appropriate weapons.

Weapons arsenals should be well kept, readily accessible, and adequate in size. Some California arsenals do not meet these standards. They are too small, and poorly located. Some are so small that officers cannot be equipped within the arsenal. Where California's arsenals are sub-standard, they should be modernized. At two of the prisons, space between the front sally port gates could be remodeled to provide an armory while simultaneously being used as a gate control station, as recommended in the following section.

Traffic and key control. Prisoners are used in two institutions to keep open inner main traffic gates. This practice invites trouble. Inmates are used, in addition to the officer who is present, because these main gates are old and manually operated. The best solution would be to remodel these archaic sally ports by providing gates electrically-operated from a security bubble. The officer in the bubble would control both the vehicle and foot traffic gates at one institution; at the other, vehicle gates are in another area and would not be involved. The armory could be located behind this bubble, since the area between the gates is secure. As mentioned, inmates are involved in key handling in some institutions. This is usually required by the condition of gates and cell locks. If the plants were new with modern equipment, inmates would not need to be utilized. Also, a simplification of custody procedures through a "systems analysis" of this area might allow for removal of inmates from these and other security sensitive jobs which many now hold. In any case, new cell locking systems should be installed to replace those now obsolete.

Contraband weapon control. California prisons have seen much violence in the recent past. Whatever the causes, weapons are used by inmates to injure and kill. Weapons are made and found in every American prison.

The best that can be done is to limit their number stringently. This can only be effected through vigilant supervision, good tool control, and strict enforcement. Tools and machines are used to make weapons. Industrial operations must, therefore, be given close surveillance. At one institution, industrial operations are found at two ground levels, which complicates tool control. It appears possible there, within existing structures, to consolidate all industrial operations in one area and one level.

Counts. Counts must be made. This is the only known method of determining if the institution's responsibility for the confinement of prisoners is being met. A good counting system is fast, accurate, and not too discommoding. California's count method, at least as observed in two institutions, was discarded by Michigan over fifteen years ago. The system was found to be too easily circumvented, and did not allow ready identification of unaccounted for prisoners. Essentially, this procedure counts all heads, adds them together and hopes the final total will be correct. If it is not correct, a slow and laborious person-by-person count for identification purposes must follow. This method is especially suspect when inmate clerks are involved. It also takes a good deal of time, which should be devoted to constructive inmate activities. The method of taking count should be updated; the "total count" method should be discontinued.

Emergency preparation and training. Each institution must maintain a comprehensive and objective riot control plan. Not all California prisons have updated plans. It is recommended that riot control plans at all institutions be reviewed and rehearsed.

The plan should be carefully developed by the staff of each institution, and tailored to the unique characteristics of the facility. Training should be routinely given in the general principles of riot control and to familiarize all personnel involved with the specific plan for their institution. These plans should then be tested by complete drills, including the call-in of off-duty personnel. Until this simulation is held, no one will be aware of the shortcomings of any paper plan. It is a mistake to believe that because every disturbance is different in some ways, no general plan is feasible. Naturally, plans must be flexible and contain alternative actions. But there are basic categories of response to every large disturbance. These involve personnel, equipment, standing orders, and a detailed analysis of the entire physical plant.

In a collective disturbance the objective is to restore order as quickly and smoothly as possible. A good plan is the best way to protect lives of inmates and staff. It is a precautionary, and possibly a preventive measure. Staff who know they are prepared to handle emergencies will react more calmly and efficiently to possible trouble.

Disciplinary hearing and reports. Disciplinary actions are initiated by reports. Some of the California prison staff expressed the belief that the report system needs examination. It appeared to them that relatively

insignificant and minor rule violations are sometimes used as the basis of unwarranted parole rejection by the Adult Authority. In this connection, it is recommended that as many rule violations as possible be handled by the line officer and supervisor.¹⁸ If the matter is serious enough to go 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. This change would get to the heart of individualized discipline. Some cases would not warrant this action, but some men would respond positively to it where it is appropriate.

Isolation, segregation and adjustment centers. Prevention is better than punishment, but a prison cannot operate without appropriate discipline for disruptive behavior when other measures have failed. The long-run effects of disciplinary policies are hard to assess. As might be expected, this is an emotionally-laden area where there are strong and divided opinions on this subject, and where reliable data are scarce. It is clear that as in the other phases of institutional order, good discipline must be fair and consistent, and take account of individual differences so far as possible. How effective are California's disciplinary policies and practices? The number of individuals "locked up" (1,224 on January 7, 1971)¹⁹ suggests there are problems. This is a very high percentage compared with other jurisdictions. If this tactic resulted in quiet and orderly institutions, it might be defended. But this is not the case. California has unique problems, but they do not fully explain the frequency and types of serious incidents. It is reasonable to ask whether the disciplinary policies may not be exacerbating rather than improving the situation.

At times drastic actions, such as long lockups, are necessary. The question is whether lockups are being used too frequently and what are the long-term consequences of this practice? There is a human tendency to apply increasing amounts of the remedy at hand when a little of it has not done the job. Lockup may have become a prescription too readily used so that the cure has become the cancer. Perhaps a cycle has been created that is difficult to break.

Segregation and isolation are found in all correctional systems. The difference appears to be in the degree of use. Thirty days confinement to an isolation cell is excessive. It is inconsistent with California's philosophy, and its value has not been demonstrated. It embitters those who are locked up rather than deterring them. It is true that most of the isolation sentences are less than the thirty day limit. But 29 day terms are fairly common. It is recommended that the maximum time institutions can assign in isolation be shortened to ten days.²⁰ Longer terms should require the Director's approval. Ten days should usually have as much effect as a longer period, which may have negative results. Other jurisdictions have moved toward shorter isolation time, and disciplinary problems have not increased.

Adjustment centers. The California adjustment center program ordinarily involves much longer lockup periods than does isolation. In these centers a large number are locked up for periods of several months and beyond. The original concept of the adjustment center appeared to be sound. These facilities were conceived of as segregated institutional areas for the housing and intensive treatment of problem inmates. In theory, this represented a progressive development in that it called for use of administrative segregation as a treatment rather than simply as a disciplinary measure. But like many new correctional conceptions, it was not sufficiently supported by resources, information, and programs. The term "adjustment center" is now only an euphemism in at least three of California's institutions. Even at the other centers, the value of their programs has not as yet been established; at two centers, however, there appears to be genuine intensive programming and an effort to move men out of the centers as quickly as possible. So long as some centers are nothing more than long-term segregation units without significant programming, little change in the occupants can be expected. Once a man gets started on the adjustment center cycle it is hard to get him out of it. He picks up a label which tags him as a threat and he is so judged by staff and other inmates. His file gets thick with unfavorable appraisals. The long periods in marked isolation are likely to send him from bad to worse; this seems likely in view of the adverse effects of the centers on the behavior of incarcerated men.

The objections to the existing program do not solve the genuine and important concern of management with discipline and control in the institutions. Segregation facilities cannot be dispensed with entirely. To date no one has suggested a workable plan to control certain inmates. The individual who wishes to destroy everything about him and demonstrates this desire repeatedly, the person who preys sexually on other inmates, the chronically assaultive person, and those who actively incite others to violence must be restricted. The administrator would be justly subject to great criticism if he made no effort to segregate the dangerous inmate.

The need is for balance in order to reduce any excesses or negative features of the centers. The following suggestions may apply:

1. The Director should issue a new policy statement, giving renewed emphasis to the importance of developing and using alternatives to long-term lockup.
2. The Department should initiate a special, intensive orientation and training program for all institutional personnel on this issue.
3. The wardens should immediately screen the cases of all men housed in adjustment centers to determine if any alternative placement is possible. The Director's Office should review these recommendations.
4. Initial placements in the adjustment centers should not be made without the approval of the warden or superintendent. The institutional Disciplinary Committee should submit a factual re-

port to the warden, with corroborated evidence where possible, and a rationale for the recommended action. The inmate should have the right to a hearing before the committee within three days of the report. Staff representation in behalf of the inmate should be tried.

5. Every 30 days (instead of the present 90) the Disciplinary Committee should review each adjustment center case. At this time the inmate should appear before the Committee. When an inmate is detained beyond thirty days, the Office of the Director should be advised and the case reviewed in the central office.
6. 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 one member of the committee, during the review of adjustment center cases.
7. The original concept of the adjustment center should be restored by increasing treatment efforts in all of these facilities.
8. Adjustment centers should be closed if the number of men housed in them is reduced. It is conceivable that some of these units, after thorough physical revamping (removal of heavy wiring, solid doors, etc.) could be used for regular housing.

The above suggestions which deal with classification, screening, and review processes would simplify present procedures. The aim is to fix responsibility and authority in these matters and to provide for greater accountability and flexibility. This should help insure that those who do not belong in the centers are not kept there.

VIII. INMATE CARE POLICIES: QUALITIES OF PRISON LIFE

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the stark nature of most penal institutions. With a prison go many undesirable things. Life in correctional institutions can often be destructive. The loss of freedom and independence, the everyday routine, and the lack of privacy result in a de-personalized human environment.

Institutional designs, particularly old institutions, create even more stress on prisoners. The aim at all times should be to make improvements whenever humanly possible. Conditions which make life more bearable must be diligently sought. The California Department of Corrections displays this concern through such programs as family visiting, the 72-hour pass, generally good visiting situations and fairly liberal privileges in general. The Department's compassion is commendable. Yet in the future it is probable that today's effort to normalize life in prison will be looked upon as a mere beginning. Today's efforts by California's institutions are hampered by their size, traditions, legal restrictions, long sen-

tences and other hindrances. Suggestions in this area which may be helpful are:

Clothing

California's clothing regulations should be liberalized. There is no good reason why inmates must wear institutional uniforms. Colorfast, pre-shrunk, washable garments are readily available in a variety of materials, colors and prices. "Civilian" clothing boosts morale and helps "de-institutionalize" the prison. Clothing could be brought in by families or sold in the inmate canteen, and regulations controlling prices and quality could be established.

Mail

Full and complete censorship of mail, which is retained in some institutions, is unnecessary and should be abandoned in favor of a spot-type censorship or some other modified form. There is no clear relationship between the type of institution and the degree of censorship. This seems unnecessary. The rationale that the outgoing mail is read by night shift officers and therefore is not an inconvenience is hardly a defense for the practice. It is senseless to do pointless things. If an inmate wishes to convey an illicit message to a correspondent, he will not normally put it in an outgoing letter which is to be read, but will find other means. Incoming mail must be opened and examined for contraband, of course, for the security of the institution, but the practice of reading everything that goes in and out is unnecessary and wasteful, and fosters inmate resentment.

Visiting

Visiting arrangements and schedules should be changed in some of the institutions. At the two reception centers for men, there is visiting by "phone". This is a highly strained situation which makes it impossible for more than one member of the family at a time to talk with the newly-arrived prisoner. The explanation given is that new admissions are not well known and an open type of visit might present hazards. This position is hard to defend and is inconsistent with experience elsewhere. In institutions of two or three thousand population, it is doubtful that the visiting-room officer knows each inmate well. Visiting is probably more important at the outset of the inmate's prison life than at any other time. Restricting communication to the use of these awkward instruments is a highly unsatisfactory arrangement. It creates a negative impression of the Department and its administration with the inmate and his family.

Generally the Department's visiting conditions and regulations are liberal. Many institutions have open areas arranged so that families can sit and visit with their inmate relatives, and in some they may share picnic lunches. This kind of arrangement should be expanded to most of the other institutions, at least for minimum security prisons.

Almost all institutions permit visits five days a week, but there is one notable exception where a shortage of staff is said to allow only three days of visits. The condition should be corrected so that inmates there can receive the same visiting privileges as inmates of other institutions. In all places, visiting opportunities should be maximized on weekends, usually the only free time available to potential visitors who are employed.

Family or conjugal visiting, tested boldly and successfully by the Department at its Tehachapi institution, should now be expanded to all institutions. It is receiving favorable mass media and legislative support, impressing almost everyone as both humane and rehabilitative, as well as a source of improved inmate morale. Expansion should still be somewhat cautious, building on experience at Tehachapi, whose staff might well be involved in training others in the administration of this program.

Telephone arrangements which permit collect calls to families and friends should be installed in more of the housing units in selected institutions. This feature exists in one major institution and some camps. It is being used in a few other states with excellent success. There is no good reason why pay phones or some similar arrangement could not be initiated in all of the minimum, and at least some of the medium security institutions. Such a program costs the Department nothing and elevates inmate morale.

Living Arrangements

The Department should move firmly in the direction of the elimination of all double cells. At the time of this survey, the Department of Corrections was closing what amounted to a full institution and had cut back some of the forestry camps. It is understood that this is an economy measure; but it is disturbing to realize that the doubling-up situation, which is very bad in California and involves over 3,8000 men,²¹ will not be improved at all. There is no need to dwell on the evils of putting two men into cells scarcely large enough for one. Aside from the homosexual implications, forcing men to pair up in a small cubicle, double-bunked, in which there is hardly room for one to turn around, is inhumane. The closing of any institution is debatable strategy when it results in the perpetuation of conditions elsewhere that are inhumane and should not be tolerated. It is argued that the population in walled institutions cannot be reduced because beds there are needed for the dangerous type of inmate now received. However, the validity of this contention needs to be demonstrated before it can be accepted as conclusive. As the Department has argued for years, California's prison system will remain far from ideal as long as it cultivates the illusion that physical restrictions rather than absorbing programs and good staff maintain order in an institution.

Basic amenities need to be better provided in living quarters. Many men are living in cells which have only cold water. In several places all cell furnishings and fixtures are inadequate and tawdry. Living units in the older walled institutions, and in some not so old, could benefit from brighter colors. Bed blankets need not be grey.

In general, a systematic program aimed at enhancing the esthetics of the institutions would be worthwhile. Some changes would require a fair amount of expense, but others very little. Bright colored paint is not any more costly than dull; it has been used effectively in certain places but not in others. Better lighting can enhance interior areas. (In older institutions, this is badly needed and would be expensive). Treating hard surfaces to cut down noise is also desirable. Modesty toilet panels, consistent with security, might be provided in group areas. Inmate-staff committees are useful sources of suggestion for esthetic decisions. Such committees improve relationships between the staff and inmates involved, and give inmates more motivation to maintain the appearance of beautified facilities.

The implementation of humanitarian measures, major and minor, often involves small things which make life more liveable. This is not simply generosity. When men dislike their surroundings, they react predictably, in prison and after they leave.

Staff and Inmate Relationships

Collaborative relationships between staff and inmates should be developed as much as possible wherever this is at all compatible with other prison functions. As mentioned earlier, interviews with ex-offenders successful in legitimate post-prison careers indicated that they regarded personal relationships with certain staff, particularly their work supervisors, as the most important rehabilitative influence. Comparison of inmate-staff and inmate-inmate relationships in different institutions of many types reveals that control of inmates by other inmates hostile to staff objectives varies inversely with social distance between inmates and staff.²² When staff are not readily accessible to inmates, and not trusted, manipulative inmates can effectively claim to have "inside dope" and contacts to control the prison life of other inmates, peddle this alleged information and influence, and promote an inmate code of minimal cooperation with staff.

Inmate advisory councils exist in a few California prisons, with council members elected by the other inmates for a specified time under a variety of representation formulas. There is some staff fear of manipulative inmate cliques controlling the councils. Staff clearance or a good disciplinary record is sometimes required for eligibility to council membership.

In some Federal prisons a more persistently satisfactory system of organizing an inmate role in institution management is to have inmates and staff on all regular committees in charge of some aspects of prison life. These may include committees on sanitation, safety, decoration, and athletics--which affect the conditions of inmate life, and in which inmate custody or the confidentiality of information on individual inmates is not jeopardized. Inmates can be informed of budget limitations to which the committees are restricted, and can often make more useful contributions to committee work than many staff. More importantly, inmates feel a responsibility for the successful accomplishment of committee objectives, and identify with staff.

The most important source of good relationships between inmates and staff is still their daily face-to-face interaction. The best foundation for good relationships between inmates and staff exists when: (1) inmates are treated individually and collectively with respect, courtesy, and good humor; (2) inmates receive opportunities and privileges within the prison system, irrespective of race, creed or national origin; (3) staff show a sincere concern about the inmates; (4) inmates can readily and calmly communicate with staff; (5) inmates are given the maximum tolerable opportunity to make decisions for themselves in their daily activities instead of having to take orders without question on every detail.

There is no panacea for every type of tension that prison life can generate--especially the recurrently disruptive homosexual, ethnic and political tensions--but the five principles above, plus dispersion and absorption of troublemakers in constructive programs, are the best ways of keeping these tensions minimal.

IX. SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

While the primary business of a corrections system centers on the handling and treatment of its charges, many supportive services are required to accomplish this; some are essential to doing the job, others facilitate it. Personnel services are an example of the former, research the latter. It is important to examine California's use of some of those services which have much to do with the type and quality of overall performance.

Personnel and Training

If correctional programs are to be sound, they must be well staffed. Personnel throughout the system must be qualified and carefully selected. Capable employees are not obtained by accident; they must be sought through effective recruiting and they must be prepared for career advancement through an ongoing training program. To retain competent people in correctional service, job satisfaction and promotional opportunities must be available.

The State of California has many essential elements for the development of high caliber personnel, including a merit system, good employment conditions, recruitment, employee development programs, and generally adequate salaries. The organization of the Department is along modern lines, and there are no major staff shortages. The Department seems to be sufficiently autonomous and independent to be administered soundly.

What a corrections department emphasizes is often revealed by its distribution of personnel. If a department is overcommitted to the custodial function, for example, it will have a relative excess of security employees. This is not evident in the California Department. That it emphasizes rehabilitation is reflected in the number and quality of treatment personnel.

A good staff is developed by good training. There must be both initial and in-service training for all personnel. The Department's training funds have been depleted somewhat by a recent legislative action, of doubtful value, requiring almost all institutional employees to receive training in the use of gas. Only selected persons need this; training funds could be better used for other matters. In addition, the type and quality of in-service training varies considerably from one institution to another, dependent on institutional leadership. Only where training receives high priority is a satisfactory job done. The central office should play a more prominent role in deciding who is to be trained and what the content of the training courses should be, to insure that they are adequate at all institutions. It should clearly define the role of the training officer, since this role differs from one institution to another, and some training officers assume the job without any special preparation. Another suggestion is that more training should be developed for other than custodial personnel. Some of the other classes of employees complain that they are included in neither planning nor training, and that training needs of the total institution are not met.

Ideally, there should be State coordinated correctional training centers established to provide year-round, comprehensive programs to train all correctional workers and administrators.

The Department has recognized the value of more minority representation in the field of corrections, and has increased the number of its minority employees in recent years. The increase has been small, but it represents a hard effort at a task that is much more difficult than is realized by those who have never tried to do it. Not only is corrections lumped with law enforcement by members of minority groups, but the geographical location of institutions is often a drawback. In the past years there was little effort to recruit minorities in any phase of law enforcement, criminal justice, and corrections, so the tradition is lacking. The central office has assigned staff to attempt to recruit minority group employees and has instructed the institutions to do the same. Responsibility for such recruitment effort should be fixed in one person at every prison. The institutions do not have personnel officers who, in most other organizations, would be responsible for recruitment and hiring and who ordinarily would be asked to work on this task. Instead, the responsibility has usually been diffused, often to all department heads. Therefore, results depend upon the interest, enthusiasm, and energy of too many people--some busily occupied with other responsibilities. If the head of the institution cannot personally oversee the matter, he should designate one person or a small group representing different minorities to assume this responsibility.

Medical Services

Prison medical services are vital, and concentrated attention must be given to the development of a good program. California has tried to do this, and any general criticism of its total medical service program is unwarranted. The medical care and attention given the average California prison inmate is unquestionably better than that received by the average citizen.

Each institution has a good dispensary, adequate to its needs, or a complete hospital. Although medical staff is hard to get and there are several vacancies, these facilities are reasonably well-manned. Outside consultants are widely used. The range of medical services is excellent.

In one major respect, the services are more expensive than need be. More of the prisons have complete hospitals than is necessary. At the time of inspection, there were only a few bed patients in several of the hospitals.

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. To keep hospitals fully modern, heavy money outlays must be made almost annually. To staff each hospital adequately, certain basic personnel must be employed. An arrangement almost equally efficient and certainly more economical than the present one would be to make an institutional hospital responsible for major medical care for two or three nearby institutions. Several hospitals in the Department can then become dispensaries with attendant savings. Serious illnesses and major surgery can be handled by transfer as needed.

It is also suggested that in some locations, community hospitals should be used in emergencies or as the need arises. This arrangement would save money. It gives institutions having only dispensaries ready hospital coverage. The inevitable criticism of prison medical services would be lessened. No money would be saved, however, if the present practice of custodial coverage at the community hospital in virtually every case is continued. This practice is unnecessary and should be used only for serious offenders.

The renovation of the hospital at San Quentin should be completed. The state of the project makes any discussion of the wisdom of major renovations at this institution academic. Roughly three-fourths of the work has been completed, and the money should be provided to complete the project.²³

The Department Director of Medical Services reports that Vocational Rehabilitation money is not being used to supplement the medical budget. It is urged that this be done. Other states have obtained these funds to improve the quality of medical services, especially in the areas of prosthetics, corrective surgery, and diagnostic evaluation.

Food Service

Mass feeding, in the armed services, prisons or elsewhere, invariably results in some complaints. Food prepared in large quantities cannot satisfy individual ethnic, religious, or family habits and tastes. Reasonable criticism is minimized, however, if meals are adequate in quantity, quality, variety, sanitation, and nutrient value.

California accomplishes this by adhering to recognized principles and standards of food service, including menu planning, central purchasing,

cost control, maintenance of sanitation practices, and enunciated standards for preparation and service. All this is facilitated by a food administrator, in the central office, who supervises and reviews the food program. Technical printed material is distributed to the institutions to help upgrade knowledge and skills.

One criticism of the Department's food service applies to the surroundings in which meals are prepared and served. This is directly attributable to the often mentioned ill-planned, antiquated structures in the system. In these facilities the dining rooms are unattractive and the kitchen layouts are inefficient and hard to supervise or keep sanitary. Their use of dining room tables for card playing and other games between meals impedes maintaining them in a desirable condition.

Surroundings have an enormous influence on morale. Projects to make the food service areas more attractive should be developed, as responsibilities of inmate-staff committees. Lighter colors, background music, planters, murals are all possible ways to normalize eating conditions and to make meals more pleasant.

Research and Data Processing

Research and data processing will be considered together since they are administratively in the same unit and their functions are closely related. The statistics section is directly under the Department's Director of Research.

The principal function of a statistics section is to provide descriptive information about the agency's operations. Usually this is done on a routine basis. The research component's activities on the other hand, are primarily evaluative and analytical. There can be no neat line between these functions, however, as research uses statistical outputs, and may refine statistical categories.

The products of California's statistics and research sections have a deservedly high reputation. In both quantity and quality they are unexcelled by other states. The information turned out shows an efficient return on the investment, so it is not an indictment of the existing activities to point out that more needs to be done. The investment should be systematically and intelligently increased. Until this is done, the Department's management will be forced to rely too much on intuitive and educated guessing. Without the facts, the Department is unable to refute charges and criticisms which may be shallow and unjustified, and it cannot properly answer legitimate questions. Nor can it rationally defend its own needs or plans for the future. These problems are not hypothetical. Claims are now being published to the overall effect that none of the Department's programs has any rehabilitative value. Without better data, these charges cannot be adequately disputed. The Department should know what works and what does not, for different types of inmate. Some programs should be discontinued in favor of others. Resources are too limited to invest them in programs of questionable value.

Statistics-data processing. The California statistical reports are designed to be of practical use to the administrator. Data collection and processing procedures appear to be clear and thorough. Confidence may be placed in the accuracy of reports which are the end result of this process. The reports and tabulations are clearly presented--simple but not oversimplified.

There are, nevertheless, many descriptive tabulations the administrator needs which cannot be provided with the present system. No reports can be given on program involvement, either in summary form, or by way of tracking individuals through the system. "Program" here should be broadly construed as referring to treatment, work, custodial, and residential status. Program levels cannot be monitored nor programs evaluated. There is also no satisfactory way to answer many of the routine administrative questions which may arise: e.g., "How many men are there--today--in trade training courses? What are their characteristics? What percent complete trade courses? How many parolees use such training?" These are significant questions; they can only be answered at present by special studies or by manual routines. Without such answers many administrative decisions must be made on the basis of guesswork. As already indicated in the section on counseling, the conversion of narrative reporting to precoded check-off forms will result in better information for both statistics and case decisions.

The existing "unit records" type system should be replaced with a computerized information system which emphasizes program type data for management purposes. A change of the kind recommended is not simply, nor primarily, a matter of "adding a computer." It is a mistake to start deliberation with the hardware. Normally, the place to start is with a thorough study of management decisions, categories of data, and their relationship to decision outcomes and to the kinds of reports needed. California is fortunate in that the groundwork for this planning has been laid by its "Correctional Decisions Information Project" (CDIP), which is soon to issue a final report. Lacking this report, any endorsements must be tentative. However, it appears likely that the recommendation being made here could very well be implemented by adopting the CDIP plans which concern management functions.²⁴ Given high priority needs for construction and increasing operating costs, it is understandable that expansion of information systems tends to be deferred. However, the continued assigning of low priority to records-keeping and information systems will mean that twenty years from now everyone will still be in the dark about what really works and what does not. There will still be the need for the development of an adequate system of information. It should be recognized that a truly productive data system can suggest efficiencies which may defray much of the system cost and which will put the whole corrections endeavor on a sounder financial basis.

Research. A review of California research reports indicates a high level of professional quality and a genuine concern that research should have practical value. The practice, sometimes seen in agency research sections, of producing reports for someone's thesis rather than to assist the agency, is not present.

The highest priority for research is also the development of an automated management information system. Such a system is not limited to the production of routine reports. Evaluative results can be obtained on request from an automated information source once it is operational, which would now take months of laborious data compilation to accomplish. This facilitation of research is greatly needed. When programs are condemned for lack of efficacy, it usually only means that no effectiveness has been demonstrated. This may be mostly due to limitations of resources for evaluation. Evaluations done "manually" characteristically take one or more persons from six months to several years to complete. They cannot economically include extremely large samples. Under these constraints, it is obvious that most programs go unevaluated most of the time, and that those which are evaluated would need to make a large impact to show up as worthwhile.²⁵

The only feasible solution appears to be to move to automated techniques. The automated data system which has already been recommended 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, as this is probably the most persuasive type of budget justification data.

A somewhat different kind of research, done only on a limited scale in California Corrections, is systems analytic research. Hard core operations research techniques have done little in the past to improve treatment programs in any human services agency, but there is promise of increasing efficiency by studying logistic and administrative operations. Greater use of systems techniques should produce savings which can be put into program improvements.

An additional type of corrections research involves setting up experimental programs. This is the only rigorous way to test a new technique or concept, and it is not always very expensive. It is mostly a matter of limiting a new program at first to a fraction of those considered eligible for it, selecting this fraction randomly, then comparing the subsequent records of those selected with the records of those not selected. Without such experiments, many promising ideas will never be properly examined for value. At least some such experimentation should be ongoing--a little less sporadic than it has been--in the California system. Some funds expended for traditional programs of unknown value should be diverted into rigorously examined experimental pilot programs. LEAA money may be available for this kind of effort.

X. ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

The California Department of Corrections has the essential elements of sound administration. The enabling legislation is broad and flexible. The Department is headed by a professional administrator, and there appears to be no unwarranted political interference.

The Department's administration has a clearly enunciated and progressive statement of philosophy. There are rules and regulations to guide all institutional personnel. Procedures manuals have been prepared to guide staff. Planning and research functions are ongoing and considered important by the Department.

The operating budget of the Department has been generally adequate. This is not to suggest that the Department has received all the money it has needed, particularly in the areas of maintenance and capital outlay. California's present financial circumstances must certainly have major effects on the Department's planning and operations.

The Department is staffed by qualified people selected upon a merit basis. Career personnel from all divisions are eligible for promotion to all levels of management. Lateral moves in the interest of executive development are common.

The principle of "line and staff organization" is followed. There is division of functions among the staff. The role of the technical specialist, and there are a good number of them, is recognized, and they are used to provide specialized guidance and counsel. They do not issue direct orders.

Patently, the Department desires to be progressive. A willingness to take risks is displayed. Examples include: the 72-hour pass, family visiting programs, and the community centers.

Any department, controlling nearly 40,000 offenders and with 7,000 employees, necessarily has some administrative concerns. Consistency of philosophy, policies, and practices throughout an organization of this dimension is extremely difficult to maintain. Some of the differences among institutions, however, might be reduced. More specific and definite Department-wide standards need to be implemented in certain areas. Policy statements should be reviewed and simply written to eliminate ambiguities.

While institutions can be handicapped if regulations and guidelines are too detailed and restrictive, some of the suggestions made in this Report might not have been in order had all institutions met similar standards of practice. For example, there were good in-service training programs in some places, but not in others. Adjustment center programs and policies vary more than can be accounted for by differences in the inmate populations, in physical plant, or custody level; they could be corrected by applying sound policies more uniformly. The guidelines provided in classification manuals and directives are often worded in such a qualified and general manner that they can be cited to justify poor as well as sound practices. Where the institutional administration is highly competent this presents little problem, but where it is less adequate, standards of performance are usually lower.

A related problem in institutional - central office relationships may be that too many layers of authority, individuals and committees, are involved. For example, the admission policy and criteria for the adjustment centers could conceivably involve the following committees: Adjustment

Center Committee, Segregation Unit Committee, Institution Classification Committee, Disciplinary and/or Classification Committee of any program unit, and the Adjustment Center Segregation Unit Sub-Classification Committee.²⁶ There is the danger that Departmental policies may sometimes misfire in practice when responsibility becomes this diffuse.

The classification and transfer procedure personnel involvements are just as numerous. This complex machinery diffuses both control and responsibility and presents communication problems in general. It may widen the gap between policy and performance.

The lines and responsibilities of administration should be simplified.

XI. PHYSICAL PLANT

Most American prisons have major physical plant deficiencies. They are either poorly located, too big, too old, or atrociously designed. The size and location of prisons are often politically determined.

There are few prison facilities with a readily perceptive harmony of design between the buildings and the philosophy of rehabilitation. The unhappy practice of adding beds to already badly designed institutions to save money is common. Such additions are often made to institutions too big to begin with.

Not surprisingly, the oldest institutional plants are usually worst. They are not functional, and today's programs do not fit into them. Simple comforts are often missing. Control measures, such as good locking mechanisms, are usually lacking. Sanitation, simply because of the age of the institution, is a struggle to maintain. Since there is never enough maintenance money for prisons, the deterioration is accelerative. Major remodeling is seldom attempted, often because its cost would be prohibitive if adequate, and often an adequate remodeling is impossible because of the terrain in the location of other structures.

The unfortunate end result of all this is that a correctional administration like California's, which tries to be progressive, has to live with a legacy of inadequately designed institutions which imposes almost insurmountable obstacles to achievement of that aim. These handicaps do not go away; they increase with age.

Changes in Plant Use

Some California institutions are such classic examples of prison obsolescence it is hard to believe much good can be accomplished within their perimeters. There are many serious problems. The following recommendations are of major import:

1. At the time of inspection, the California Men's Colony, West Facility, was scheduled to be closed. It is old, of frame construction, and a serious fire hazard. It should never be re-occupied.
2. Manifestly, San Quentin and Folsom should be abandoned.²⁷ Several recommendations calling for improvements in these institutions are made in this Report. These were included only because there seems little certainty that these facilities will be closed in the near future. They should be closed. So long as they exist, they impede California's correctional efforts and tarnish its image.

They are immense, yet do not have adequate space for modern programs. They are not secure or safe. Decent living conditions are almost unattainable in them, and they are ugly and depressing.

Any major remodeling, in either facility, would cost many millions of dollars. If there is a choice between remodeling and a new facility, the latter choice is by far the better.

3. In the event California builds more prisons, they should be small in size, located in metropolitan areas, and unlike any of its designs to date. One wonders, when the problems and rehabilitative results are measured, if large institutions really do save money. The "telephone pole" design institution, of which California has several, is impractical and oppressive to the senses, with its long corridors, repeated doorways, shut-in atmosphere and great size. Some of California's staff, so long conditioned to compromising by necessity, speak of another California Men's Colony, East Facility, as the best answer to any needed future construction. This is an institution of 2,400 men, broken up into four sections of 600 men each. It is self-deception to believe that in all important respects this is like having four small institutions. Men's Colony, East Facility, is a better design than its predecessors, but still has serious imperfections. For example, major trouble, highly contagious in prisons, would probably not be contained by this kind of plant, where the housing sections are contiguous and visible to each other. Also, as inmates point out, some buildings (gymnasium, library) used in common by all four sections are only available once or twice a week to each inmate. California should not be content to settle for this type of compromise construction when it has seen what problems physical plants can present.
4. As will be indicated in the next chapter, California is beginning to catch up with some other states and with Federal prisons in the use of community-based penal institutions. The latter are sometimes called "halfway houses," though this designation is also applied to residences for parolees and even to homes for homeless prison and jail discharges. There are important differences in the functions and the administrative problems of these diverse types of residential institution, despite their

all being labeled "halfway house". Further confounding of practices with much different implication occurs in California because of "work furlough". As discussed earlier, "work furlough" includes 72-hour leaves shortly before parole to enable a prisoner to make home and job arrangements, and it also refers to daily release from prison to work at a job in a nearby community, starting a few months before parole. In most prison systems where these practices exist, the former is just called "furlough" and the latter called "work release".

Community-Based Institutions

The chart on the following page indicates that only two of all Department of Corrections' institutions (San Quentin and California Men's Colony) are conveniently near, i.e., within ten miles of, major population centers. While this poses serious handicaps to effective reintegration, it can be partially overcome by developing small, community-based facilities and programs, notably work furlough and pre-parole residential centers.

There are two major functions of work furlough, in its "work release" form, of departing daily to a job. These are: (a) for diagnosis, to improve judgment of a prisoner's readiness for parole by observing his behavior on daily release to the community instead of in a unnatural setting of a prison; (b) for treatment, to accustom him to life outside of prison on a more gradual basis than occurs if he is abruptly released to almost complete freedom by parole or by discharge at prison. Work release has been severely limited in scope by the fact that prisons are usually located in semi-rural or rural areas where there are not many jobs, and community conditions are significantly different from those of the metropolitan areas to which most of the prisoners will return when paroled.

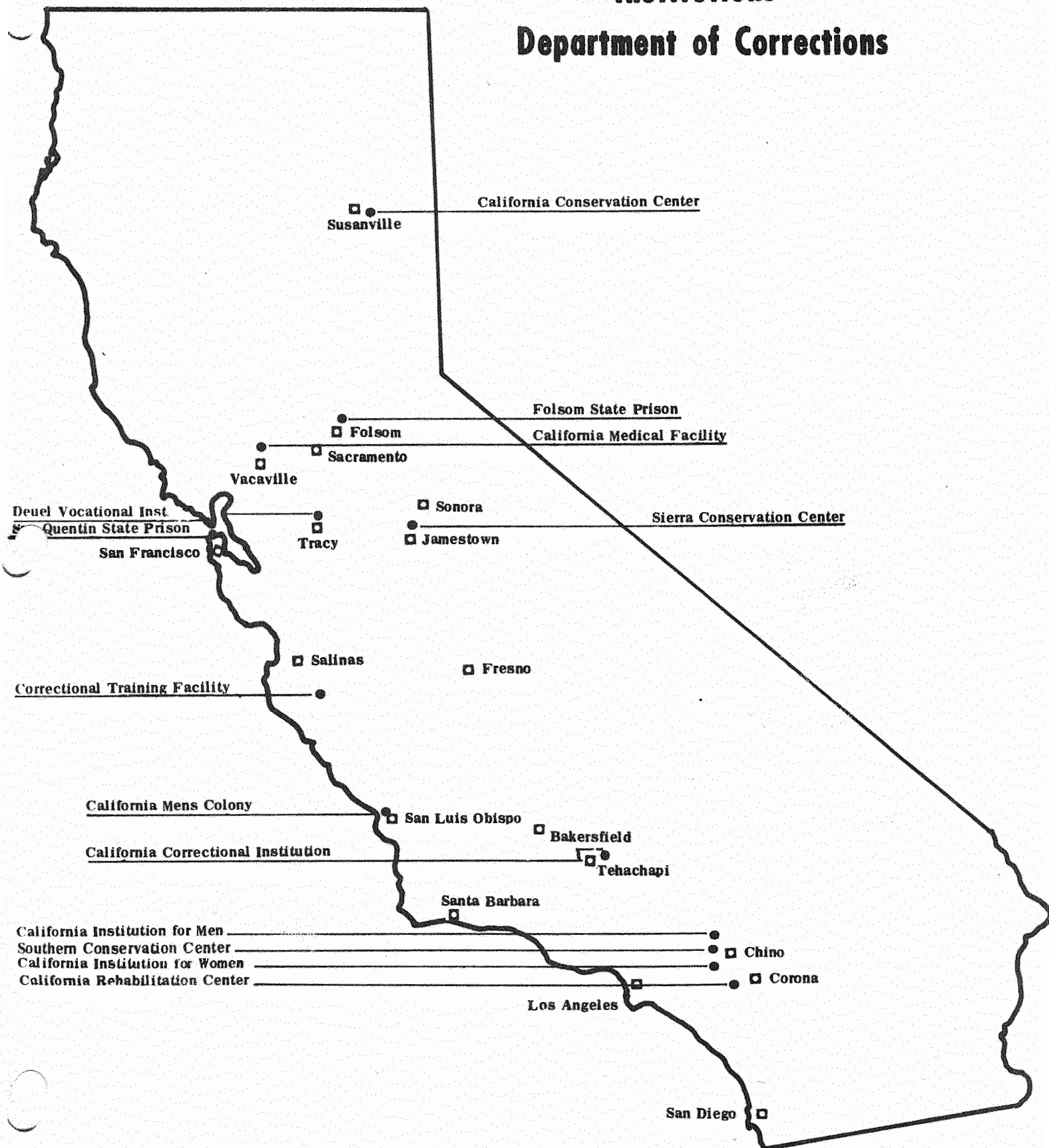
The idea of having a prison system include small residences in the centers of the large cities, to which its prisoners would in a few months be paroled, was pioneered in several cities in the early 1960s by the U. S. Bureau of Prisons. In such centers - as in those this Federal agency has operated for nearly a decade in East Los Angeles and also, for a few years, within the Long Beach YMCA - the residents go out daily to seek jobs and to work at them. Residents are gradually given more frequent leaves for family visiting and for recreation. Most important, counseling is focused on the real and immediate problems of life in the community, rather than--as in prison--on adjustment to institutional life or on plans or concerns about a "hypothetical" future. Finally, those in the community residential centers who misbehave may be dealt with promptly. Depending on the severity and cause of their infractions, they may be denied recreational passes, be transferred temporarily to jail, or have their parole date deferred, and--if the deferral is for an appreciable period--be sent back to prison. Thus, in these community centers there can be an immediate diagnosis, counseling, and if necessary, disciplinary reaction.

The first community residences of the California Department of Corrections were created primarily for parolees, rather than for prisoners. This

CHART I.

Institutions

Department of Corrections



California Correctional Institutions for Adults

California Conservation Center, Susanville -- About 310 miles northwest of San Francisco via Reno; medium-minimum security; 1,200 inmates; special training for inmates slated for later assignment to an outlying 80-man conservation camp; dormitory housing; Merle R. Schneckloth, superintendent.

Folsom State Prison, Folsom -- About 15 miles east of Sacramento on Highway 50; state's second oldest prison; cell housing; maximum security; 2,400 inmates; Walter E. Craven, warden.

California Medical Facility, Vacaville -- On Highway 80 between San Francisco and Sacramento; psychiatric programming for 1,400 inmates; state's northern reception center; cells and dormitories; L. J. Pope, M. D., superintendent.

Deuel Vocational Institution, Tracy -- On Highway 50 about 60 miles east of Oakland; medium security; for younger offenders and hard-to-manage juveniles; 1,650 inmates; cell housing; emphasis on academic and vocational training; L. N. Patterson, superintendent.

San Quentin State Prison, near San Rafael -- A half hour drive from San Francisco via Highway 101, state's oldest and largest prison; medium-close security; 3,900 inmates; cell housing; L. S. Nelson, warden.

Sierra Conservation Center -- Near Sonora and west of Yosemite Park; medium-minimum security; 1,200 inmates; pre-camp training; dormitory housing; Howard Comstock, superintendent.

Correctional Training Facility, Soledad -- Just off Highway 101 about 25 miles south of Salinas; a three-unit medium-minimum security institution; 3,400 inmates, each unit a separate program but joint use of central services; cells and dormitories; C. J. Fitzharris, superintendent.

California Mens Colony -- On Highway 1 near San Luis Obispo; a two-part institution; minimum security unit for old men; medium security facility divided into four 600-man sections under separate program administrators; total of 3,700 inmates; cells and dormitories; H. V. Field, superintendent.

California Correctional Institution, Tehachapi -- About 50 miles southeast of Bakersfield via Highway 466; a two unit medium-minimum security institution for 1,400 inmates, heavy emphasis on group living; dormitory housing; G. P. Lloyd, superintendent.

California Institution for Men, Chino -- About 60 miles east of Los Angeles; minimum security; 1,300 inmates; unarmed perimeter; location of state's southern reception center; E. J. Oberhauser, superintendent.

Southern Conservation Center, Chino -- Medium-minimum security; 550 inmates; pre-camp training; dormitory housing; W. T. Stone, superintendent.

California Institution for Women, near Chino -- State's only facility for women felons; reception center, psychiatric unit; housing in individual rooms, cottage style design; 900 inmates; Mrs. Iverne Carter, superintendent.

California Rehabilitation Center, Corona -- Inpatient treatment for narcotic addicts in the state's civil commitment program; 2,400 residents includes 325 women; heavy emphasis on group counseling; dormitory housing; Roland Wood, superintendent.

may have been a serious handicap. A person not yet on parole who gets into the community corrections center before parole compares himself with his reference group of inmates still in prison, and therefore, feels rewarded and obligated by the community center. Conversely, the parolee restricted to such a center compares himself with the reference group of less-restricted parolees and resents restrictions there. California's early experience was with a Federally funded parole residential unit, in East Los Angeles, for narcotic parolees. It was not spectacularly successful.²⁸

The State's subsequent experiences with parole residences have been better, although these centers still have the rehabilitative handicap of collecting the most difficult parole cases in one place. Since 1970, the Central Correctional Center in Los Angeles, California, has followed the Federal pattern, now duplicated by several states, of having a community residence primarily for a cross section of prisoners in their last few weeks or months before parole. It also may briefly shelter a few parole emergency residents, but it functions primarily to assist a cross section of male and female prisoners to prepare for parole in the Los Angeles area. It has already repeatedly demonstrated clearly rehabilitative advantages, especially with difficult cases, during an unusually stressful period of release from prison (aggravated by high unemployment rates in the community).

Experience in various parts of the United States has shown that community correctional centers can operate successfully in a variety of relatively small sizes and in diverse physical settings, including leased or purchased small hotels, leased sections of large hotels, sections of residential YMCAs, a few units of a large apartment building and separate family-type houses. No exact figures can be given for the number of community-based facilities the California system needs or can use, but it is clear that the most important type of facility expansion needed by the Department is in a variety of small community correction centers to facilitate release in all major cities of the State.²⁹

XII. SOME DISTINCTIVE PROBLEMS

Any discussion of the present California system should recognize the problems that are more or less distinctive of this State.

First, as mentioned in the Introduction, no other state approaches California in number of incarcerated felons. This large number is due partly to the size of the general population and the State's high crime rate, but it also results from the long prison terms. A recent inquiry of five comparable states³⁰ revealed that none has median terms as long as those in California. California generally keeps men about fifty percent longer than do these other states. Size of the total prisoner population creates a variety of administrative problems and adds directly to operating expense.

Second, the size of the individual institutions is very great. Most states have no prison with as many as 1,800 inmates; none has more than two, except California, which has eight.

Third, California's correctional system, perhaps because of the State's political climate, is obliged to operate in a flood of publicity. While public concern and awareness are essential, prison operations tend to be sensationalized to an unwarranted extent. In a system of this size more incidents will occur than in a small system, and each gets considerable publicity, especially when it evokes a barrage of claims and charges. Such publicity makes minor events generate tremendous external and internal pressure for policy change. Isolated occurrences may thereby dominate the prison system for long periods without reference to the system's total condition and needs. Little can or should be done to restrict publicity itself, but the publicity an event receives should not determine its impact on routine procedures.

A fourth matter of current importance is the probation subsidy act. While this legislation has reduced prison intake, the intake is now alleged to contain a higher proportion of assaultive individuals and multiple offenders. The true nature of this intake change is not clear, although the increase in problem cases has been emphasized by Department personnel, and it is partly substantiated by research. Crimes against persons increased appreciably between 1960 and 1968 as a proportion of all grounds for commitment to prison. There was also an increase of commitments to prison of persons with three or more prior jail or juvenile commitments. Finally, there was a marked increase of persons admitted to prison when 20 to 25 years of age--the peak age range for assaultive crimes--even though median age of new prisoners admitted remained constant at just under 32 from 1960 to 1968. 31

It is especially clear that the prison intake has been reduced in numbers, far below what had been expected. At present, then, a major problem arises in planning for the future. Probation subsidy has been expanding, but it may be nearing its potential limit and it could even be eliminated entirely if local or legislative dissatisfaction grows. In short, it is a program which has given the Department of Corrections a much needed breather from new construction, but which now has an uncertain future.

Reduction in the Median Term

The probation subsidy experience has shown that many men can be kept out of prison entirely. A logical corollary would seem to be that many men would benefit from less imprisonment. The gap which now tends to exist between no prison at all and several years of confinement seems indefensible. There are many advantages to reducing prison terms. Putting these together suggests the possibility of a broad-scale restructuring of the California penal system which cannot be accomplished in any other way.

If prison terms were cut back to a median of two years or less, instead of the present 35 months, the count would be cut by at least 8,000 men. The population would be more amenable to programs of rehabilitation not only because of the smaller number, but also because of the shorter terms. The following specific results could be accomplished:

1. Double celling would be eliminated--a decline of 2,000 would completely eliminate the need for double cells.

2. The walled institutions could be reduced to manageable size and their worst living units closed. There are several alternatives: both Folsom and San Quentin could be closed, one closed and the other cut back, or both reduced to a more reasonable size. These alternatives are listed in what is probably decreasing order of cost savings but increasing order of operational convenience. Secure housing will always be needed for some men, but this should be available at other California institutions once the prison population is reduced.
3. Camps could be used more widely. When terms are shorter, a larger proportion of men are near their out dates and hence not so escape-prone; they can be given camp placement. It has already been suggested that more educational services be introduced into some of the camps. This would answer one major objection to them from a rehabilitation standpoint.
4. Community programs could be expanded. This is a distinct need, and it would be more prominent with a larger proportion of the prisoners near their release date.
5. Idleness could largely be eliminated. A reduction of institutional population would reduce the labor force without proportionately reducing the amount of work to be done.
6. Incidents would be reduced. Much of the frustration and pressure comes from the long terms. The dissatisfaction California prisoners most often express is with the indeterminate sentence, for knowledge that imprisonment will be for an unknown number of years is extremely frustrating. The uncertainty would not be so hard to accept if most men could see a high probability of release in a few years. A man with a chance to get out soon, if he stays out of trouble, is much more likely to avoid trouble. Also, the reduced count would contribute to keeping order simply by reducing crowding and the trouble it engenders.
7. Treatment programs could be made more intensive. A small part of the savings in operating costs from a reduced population would provide much better treatment programs. School waiting lists would be eliminated. Caseloads for counselors would automatically be reduced. Additional space could be devoted to psychiatric beds.

Shortening of terms of confinement is a course of action which all responsible authorities should work for in California. Those problems now most urgent would be greatly ameliorated, and at a cost savings.

Neither of two apparent alternatives to this plan are without problems:

1. Modernizing the present system through replacement. The cost, at over \$20,000 a bed for replacement of the walled prisons, would be enormous. At this rate gradually replacing the 2,800 bed facility at San Quentin would cost an estimated \$56,000,000. Even

then, there is nothing to suggest that new cells would alleviate many of the existing problems.

2. Marked further expansion of probation. It is suggested that counties could, to the degree possible, supplement probation with local community-based institutions, to handle those offenders for whom state prison is not necessary. However, these local institutions would have to develop more effective programs and provide various degrees of custody. Facilities for State charges need to be smaller and better tied to the communities, but there is also need for them to be under central professional administration and program diversification.

It is held, however, that for those offenders who have not yet been committed to State institutions, there is merit in the development of locally-operated, community-based programs and institutions. It is believed that the best treatment for such individuals can be provided at the local level, and that such effective local intervention should divert offenders from the State system.

In summary, the best solution (and there is almost no second best) calls as a first step for the drastic reduction of prison terms back toward what is elsewhere more customary. It is evident that long prison terms have not made California any more "crime free."

This change is urgently needed. It should be emphasized that reducing the count by shortening terms will work to the advantage of prison programming--short termers can be handled more readily and with less secure measures than the same number of long termers; it will give those committed to prison more exposure to programs which can do positive good--the illiterate can be taught to read and write; the unskilled can learn a trade; more of the mentally disturbed can receive psychiatric treatment; counseling can be intensified.

It has not been suggested that the indeterminate sentence be scrapped. Flat sentences do not necessarily solve problems, as other jurisdictions have discovered. The solution lies in using the indeterminate sentence more wisely, by a change in parole policy rather than a new criminal code. In no other way can affirmative action be brought to bear on so many California prison problems so economically, so quickly, or so feasibly.

¹Department of Corrections, Memorandum to R. K. Procnier, et al, from Marie Vida Ryan, July 31, 1970, State of California.

²Department of Corrections, Training Programs Index, State of California.

³Study Staff Questionnaire of California Institutions, December 5, 1970.

⁴John M. McKee, "Methods of Motivating Offenders", in Proceedings of the 97th Annual Congress of Correction, American Correctional Association, (Washington, 1968).

⁵Study staff observations of prison education programs in other states, notably Wisconsin, reinforce this observation.

⁶In respect to this issue, a representative of the California Department of Human Resources Development reported to the study staff, "Three-fourths of the men I have interviewed have a strong need of further or initial vocational training, due to either a total lack of skills, or having been trained in a trade that is in surplus in the current labor market."

⁷Robert M. Dickover, Verner E. Maynard, and James A Painter, A Study of Vocational Training in the California Department of Corrections, Research Report No. 40, Department of Corrections, State of California, (Sacramento, January 1971).

⁸Fred T. Hoover, Work Furlough Practices in California, 1968; San Mateo County Sheriff's Department, (Redwood City, August 1968); California Taxpayers Association, Work Furlough Programs in California Counties 1967-68: A Workload Study, State of California (Sacramento, June 1968); California Council, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Work Furlough-A Time-Tested and Tax Saving Program for your Community, (Oakland, April 1966).

⁹Robert M. Harrison and Paul F. C. Mueller, Clue-Hunting About Group Counseling and Parole Outcome, California Department of Corrections, Research Report No. 11, (Sacramento, 1964); David Ward, "Evaluation of Correctional Treatment: Some Implications of Negative Findings," Proceedings of the First National Symposium on Law Enforcement, Science and Technology (Washington, D.C.: Thompson Book Co., 1967).

¹⁰Stuart Adams, "The PICO Project" in Norman Johnston, Leonard Savitz, and Marvin E. Wolfgang, The Sociology of Punishment and Corrections, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1st Edition 1962 and 2nd Edition 1970). Also published as "Interaction Between Individual Interview Therapy and Treatment Amenability in Older Youth Authority Wards," in Inquiries Concerning Kinds of Treatment for Kinds of Delinquents, California Board of Corrections, (Sacramento, 1961).

¹¹See J. Douglas Grant and Marguerite Q. Grant, "A Group Dynamics Approach to the Treatment of Nonconformists in the Navy," Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 322 (March 1959), pp. 126-135.

¹²Harrison and Mueller, op. cit.

¹³Francis J. Carney, "Correctional Research and Correctional Decision-Making: Some Problems and Prospects", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 6, No. 2 (July 1969), pp. 110-122.

¹⁴See: Daniel Glaser, "Automated Research and Correctional Practices", California Youth Authority Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 4, (Sacramento) pp. 24-31; Robert M. Carter, Program Evaluation: One Model and a Program Approach (Pre-sentence Report) for Probation and Parole, Research Report, Vol. 2, No. 3, Department of Institutions, Division of Research, State of Washington (Olympia, April 1969).

¹⁵Department of Corrections Memorandum, State of California, (Sacramento, January 18, 1971).

¹⁶Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, Revised Edition, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), Chapter 5; David M. Lowson, City Lads in Borstal, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970).

¹⁷Department of Corrections, Correctional Industries Operations, State of California (Sacramento, June 30, 1970).

¹⁸An example of a policy useful in this area is the following: officers and assignment supervisors may be authorized to assign extra-duty tasks, forfeit recreation privileges, or order top-lock of minor rule violators without making a formal report and a consequent disciplinary hearing. Such penalty can involve no more than one 24-hour period and the shift commander or custody supervisor must be informed in each case. The writing of a formal report for minor infractions should not be considered until the man has demonstrated an unwillingness to respond to these techniques. The accused inmate, however, must always have the right to request a formal report and a disciplinary committee hearing in lieu of this action.

¹⁹Department of Corrections, Memorandum January 7, 1971, State of California. 241 men serving disciplinary sentences of 30 days or less; 983 men serving for own protection or protection of others.

²⁰It is understood that this change will be made shortly.

²¹Department of Corrections, Memorandum December 3, 1970, State of California. The Department is now starting an effort to eliminate all double-celling by the end of the 1971-72 fiscal year, as a response to anticipated declines in institutional populations.

²²Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, op. cit., Chapters 5 and 9.

²³Department of Corrections, Memorandum, February 11, 1971, State of California.

²⁴California Correctional Information System: Preliminary Information System Requirements NIMH Grant 5 R11 MHO2092-02, (Sacramento: Correctional Decision Information Project, April 1967).

²⁵Without going into great detail, let us assume that graduates of a given treatment program are followed up and it is found that half do not get into further trouble. If in fact 10% of those successes are due to the program and would have failed without it, a 200-man follow-up (100 "treatment" and 100 "control" cases) would nevertheless normally not detect this program impact. That is, the researcher would conclude that there is "no significant difference" by standard statistical methods. Since that much treatment impact often is unrealistically high to expect from any single corrections program, since most programs have much different effects for different types of prisoner, and since 200 is a large sample, it can be seen that it is difficult to prove correctional programs are effective by traditional research procedures. The point of this example is that one should not necessarily conclude that a failure to show significant results for a small-scale program follow-up means that the program is useless, especially if the follow-up research cannot use a rigorous experimental design.

²⁶Department of Corrections, Inmate Classification Manual, State of California (Sacramento), Chapter V.

²⁷Additional support for closure of San Quentin and Folsom may be found in James Robison, Technical Supplement #2, The California Prison, Probation, and Parole System, 1969, Office of Research, California State Assembly (Sacramento, 1969), p. 112.

²⁸Several research reports have been published on this initial experiment. These include: Gilbert Geis, "The East Los Angeles Halfway House Two Years Later," in Rehabilitating the Narcotic Addict, Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, H.E.W., (Washington, D.C., 1966), pp. 231-7; Sethard Fisher, "The Rehabilitative Effectiveness of a Community Correctional Residence for Narcotic Users", Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 56, No. 2, (June 1965), pp. 190-6.

²⁹For additional information about California's community correctional centers, the reader is referred to the Parole Task Force Report, Correctional System Study, State of California (Sacramento, 1971).

³⁰Illinois, Ohio, New York, Texas, Michigan.

³¹Public Systems, Inc., A Study of the Characteristics and Recidivism Experience of California Prisoners, (San Jose, 1970) Chapter 2.

CHAPTER IV

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS FOR PRISONS

The preceding chapter described the current State of California prisons. It is appropriate now to undertake a national--and even international--review of recent trends and programs in prisons, and of influential commentary and proposals on prison change. The observations are submitted in the hope they may be helpful to California's prison administration. It is also recognized that some of the trends and programs discussed may already be planned or operational in California.

I. PRISON MANAGEMENT AND THE TEAM APPROACH

The "team approach" in prison management may well be the trend that one should note first. Its necessity is perhaps most lucidly indicated by the following still valid remarks made a decade ago by Clarence Schrag, in discussing traditional staff relationships in prison policy formation:

"Frequently persons in highest authority are far removed from the scene of contact between staff members and inmates where the relative worthiness of alternative decisions regarding specific situations are based chiefly on facts reported by subordinates. Therefore, administrative judgments are sometimes jeopardized by the distortions of fact that tend to occur when reports are repeatedly reviewed, digested, and passed upward through the ranks of the administrative hierarchy. In addition, the highest authorities may be among the last persons to learn about the impact of their decisions upon the relations between staff members and inmates...."

Again, the officers who are most immediately affected by correctional policies are the ones who play the least part in policy formation. The task of low-ranking officers is to carry out orders, not to evaluate them. Feedback, such as criticism of directives received, is minimized, and in some institutions no official procedure for such reverse flow of communication is available. When reverse flow of critical comment is tolerated, it is...not treated as a matter of policy...."

Probably the most important recent step in team management is the change from a single classification committee for an entire institution to separate treatment teams for the various components of the institution. Traditionally, the warden or an associate warden chairs the classification committee which consists of heads of each major staff component--the director of education, the director of industries, a chaplain, the chief medical officer, the senior custodial captain, the psychologist or psychiatrist (if the institution has one) and perhaps one or two others. The mix varies somewhat in different institutions, and changes over time in each. The

committee meets for a few hours at intervals which vary greatly in different prisons. Seldom are these conferences more frequent than once a week; often they are held but once a month and there are postponements even on such schedules.

At committee meetings a case file is on hand for every inmate to be considered and every committee member is given a copy of the latest case-work report on each inmate. For new inmates, the committee decides on an individual program of assignments to housing, work, education and other activities, with reception center proposals presumed to be their first consideration. However, institution needs and the committee's judgment of the inmate also affect its decisions. For inmates not new to the institution, the committee may consider proposed changes of assignment, transfers to another institution, recommendations to the parole board, or other matters. Often the committee gives long-term inmates a routine program reviewed periodically, but it seldom does this as frequently as once a year.

Under this institution classification committee system, caseworkers usually divide the inmate population by some randomization procedure, such as each having all inmates with certain last digits in their prison number, a procedure scattering their caseload all over the institution and minimizing the proportion whose prison experience they can observe at first hand. Actually, the caseworkers seldom leave their offices to obtain information: they receive copies of disciplinary reports, education reports, medical reports, reports on work performance, and so forth. Usually the work and conduct assessments describe almost all inmates as "good" or "average", especially--as is often the case--when they are prepared or filed by inmate clerks. Finally, the caseworker calls in the inmate for an office interview and this interview is the main basis for his report to the classification committee. This report is transmitted to all the top officials forming the committee, who depend on it for their appraisals of the inmate. Incidentally, these reports are also usually their primary basis for appraising the caseworker, so it is understandable that he often devotes his main attention to polishing the reports rather than to enhancing his influence on inmates.

As the classification committee considers each inmate, the caseworker who prepared the report on that inmate is present to summarize his report orally and to answer questions from committee members. When consensus on a decision is reached, the inmate is called in and it is discussed--usually briefly--with him. On some decisions the inmates are not called in. All of this contributes much to the integration of different staff points of view, but only in the smallest prisons does it involve, for most inmates, staff who know them personally. A classification committee often spends no more than ten or fifteen minutes per year on the average inmate in its institution.

The classification team system, by contrast, gives each caseworker a caseload consisting of all inmates in a particular section of the prison's residential, work or education facilities. If possible, it gives him an office at his caseload's location. He is part of a team for these inmates, the team including also the senior line staff of that unit, and lower level

representatives from each of the major staff components--education, medical, and so forth. The team may also include or call in line officers dealing directly with the inmates it is considering, or have a team member consult these officers outside the meeting. Often a representative of central management sits in on team meetings, especially when such teams have completely replaced the institution classification committee. The teams, however, may coexist with a central committee that considers only those cases on which a team recommends transfer to another institution or other major action. The classification team members see each inmate casually almost daily, in their normal prison life, and know all the inmates and staff in each inmate's social environment. This places the team members in a much better position to assess each inmate, to discuss problems with him on the basis of personal relationships, and to consider his case frequently. The team may be authorized to make most disciplinary as well as classification decisions without reference to a central committee. This can make large prisons much less impersonal than they otherwise would be.²

More team structuring of all unit staff for prison casework decisions and responsibilities at lower line levels is considered worthy of exploration.

II. INMATE INCENTIVES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Expansion of inmate incentives and responsibilities is the development most clearly associated with institutional evidence of rapid rehabilitative change in many inmates. This expansion has both an individual and a group form. In its individual form--often designated "behavioral modification"--it is a revival of the nineteenth century "mark system", rendered sophisticated by its new roots in Skinnerian psychology. Programmed education, discussed in detail in the preceding chapter, is one of its applications.

When this approach is applied to almost all aspects of the inmate's life, it is often called a "token economy" system. This is best exemplified at the Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center at Morgantown, West Virginia, and the El Reno (Oklahoma) Reformatory, both in the Federal prison system. Using plastic "credit cards" or tokens, inmates in these programs are credited with points analogous to dollars for all education, training and work completed, are fined for misbehavior, and use their accumulated points to "buy" food, housing, clothing and recreation. Those without points initially get some "on credit", which they have to repay when their "earnings" come in; if they run out of points later they must "go on relief" and are issued without charge only minimal and unattractive food, housing and apparel. The objective is to simulate as closely as possible in the institution the outside world's achievement motivations, individual responsibility, freedom of choice, and budgeting requirements. While first undertaken at juvenile institutions, it now is being extended to prisoners in their twenties at El Reno and--with Federal research funds--at Alabama's Draper Rehabilitation Center. Where pioneered in mental hospitals it has been extended to almost all age levels, and this may follow in some prisons.³

The group forms of incentive and responsibility expansion consist of rewarding or depriving entire groups of inmates, such as dormitory occupants or work teams, on the basis of the individual behavior of all its members. This is frequently done through promoting competition between groups for a limited number of awards, but it can also be done for each group separately, on the basis of its meeting some specified standard. Such practices of group rewards and penalties shift from staff to inmate peers the responsibility to see that no inmate shirks his tasks or otherwise misbehaves. The unit's staff often acquire the role of coach or fellow team-member in relation to the inmates, helping their unit get benefits (this is similar to frequent practices in military training).

Group incentives are usually applied to a unit's housekeeping, but may also extend to other work, to schooling, and to a group's avoidance of individual disciplinary reports. One staff problem with these group motivation methods is that of seeing that the inmate pressure on those who impair the group's performance record does not become physically violent or otherwise excessive. Group motivation techniques sometimes convert a dormitory or cellhouse of the most aggressive "troublemakers" into the unit working hardest to win awards of extra hours, food, television, etc. This points to another administrative problem with both group and individual motivation techniques: that of keeping many sources of inmate pleasure--movies, television, desserts, extra hours, etc.--undistributed in routine operations, so that they may be valued as special rewards.

Many object to these special incentive procedures on moralistic grounds. Some staff argue that if inmates do not take advantage of school and vocational training opportunities made available to them, that is their problem. They argue that the State's obligation ends when it gives prisoners a chance to improve themselves. Inmates argue that anything the State provides in the way of pleasures for prisoners should be equally available to all, and that the incentive systems for behavioral modification treat them like children (or more accurately, like trained rats in a psychologist's experiments). From a public interest standpoint, neither of these arguments is relevant: what is important is whether or not these systems work. There has not been adequate long-run follow-up of these methods to assess their recidivism reduction value, but there has been considerable evidence that they accelerate prison education and improve conformity of inmates to institutional behavior standards. California prisons might benefit from greatly improved inmate incentive and responsibility systems, preferably initiated as well-planned controlled experiments to test their long-run rehabilitative value.

III. PRISON AND THE COMMUNITY

Making prisons more permeable to outsiders has been a slow but steady trend for several decades in California and elsewhere. This development reduces isolation of inmates from the outside world, thus diminishing their social and psychological difficulties on reentry into the community. Current and proposed increases in outside visitors to prisons suggests completion of a cycle in American prison history, possibly including a return to early patterns, subsequently abolished.

The Pennsylvania prisons of the early nineteenth century were distinguished by a visitors' society of prominent and pious men, seeking to persuade the offenders to be penitent. Subsequently, prison visiting declined and a more exploitative management, throughout the United States, brought manufacturers into the prisons to employ the inmates. The manufacturer paid the State a fee for this, with the inmates receiving little or nothing. It was only during the Great Depression of the 1930s that objection to criminals in prison working, when non-criminals outside were involuntarily unemployed, led to pressure from both business and labor to ban prison-made goods from public commerce. Federal legislation barring them from interstate commerce still stands and there are similar laws in most states.

In the years since World War II there has been an increase in prison visiting by representatives of religious organizations, self-help groups (e.g., Alcoholics Anonymous), hobby organizations (e.g. bridge clubs, Toastmasters) and service clubs (e.g., Jaycees, Kiwanis). All of these efforts reduce the isolation of prisoners from the outside world and give many of them contacts after release which launch their socialization into a non-criminal world. These revivals of prison visiting societies exist in California as elsewhere, and their growth should be encouraged. Even more impressive is the growth of family visiting, which California is the second State to adopt. It has long been used in Mississippi, but in a more purely conjugal form, rather than California's complete family visiting arrangements.

What could bring the cycle completely back to early practices is the proposal that private corporations contract to run prison industries, remedial education and vocational training. The prison industries suggestions include payment by the firms of wages comparable to those in their outside plants, with union membership and seniority rights. The State would then charge the inmates custodial costs and possibly require an approved allocation of most remaining earnings during imprisonment to savings and/or to dependents. Firms would obtain space, tax benefits or other inducements to participate in such undertakings.

The contracted education and vocational training arrangements are modeled on Jobs Corps and other anti-poverty enterprises, some of which already have been extended into prisons. These include performance contracting, in which the firm is paid only for the increments in test performance which result from its efforts.

All such proposals may seem far-fetched in the present climate of unemployment and business recession. Assuming prosperity returns during the 1970s, however, and that reduction of U.S. military commitments increases government attention to domestic problems, it is reasonable to consider these types of entry into prisons work by outside agencies. To permit industrial contracting, legislation may be necessary to modify existing restrictions on sale of prison-made goods, but contractor factories could be constructed adjacent to prisons and employment of inmates be administered as work release. In any case, California could explore possibilities of contracting with outside firms to augment the rehabilitative effectiveness of industries, education and vocational training during imprisonment.

IV. RELEASE FROM PRISON

Graduating release from imprisonment is a long-term trend which has remarkably accelerated in the past decade and will probably grow even more rapidly in the 1970s. This began with growth in the proportion of prisoners released by parole instead of by discharge at prison, a trend in which California has long led most other states. It was accelerated by extension of work release to a large proportion of felony prisoners. This was begun in 1961 by North Carolina, and was highly publicized. It has been adopted by many other states--including California--in the ensuing years, and since 1955, by the Federal prisons.

As discussed in some detail in the preceding chapter, the most effective and complete graduation of release from prison is achieved by community correction centers in the community of a prisoner's destination upon release, to which he may be transferred a few weeks or months before his parole. These facilities already are firmly established as a routine part of the Federal prison system, they are approaching this status in the District of Columbia as well as in several state systems, and they are rapidly growing in others. It seems certain that during the 1970s community correction centers will become an intrinsic part of most penal systems in states with large metropolitan areas. Although California has already established some community correctional centers, the State should plan now for the steady expansion of such correction centers in all of its major communities.

V. PROGRAM EVALUATION

Routinization of rehabilitation evaluation has been heralded for many years, but has been slow in development. One of several major reasons for this slow growth is the pursuit of police, judicial and correctional tasks by numerous separate agencies, many in different geographical units of government.⁴ Evaluation of the rehabilitative effectiveness of any agency requires the long-run follow-up of its cases through the records of other agencies that may handle them subsequently, but each agency tends to evaluate itself only by its performance with offenders during the period when they are under that agency's control. Thus prisons have been slow in evaluating their programs by the post-release behavior of their inmates. When this evaluation has occurred it has usually been on a special project basis, at high cost and for relatively small samples and short periods, rather than on a routine bookkeeping basis for all cases.

Improved and more unified electronic data processing of criminal records has been heavily subsidized by the Federal government in recent years, primarily through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in such programs as Project SEARCH. While this effort has given highest priority to accelerating retrieval of individual criminal records for police purposes, its potential for tabulating criminal career statistics for evaluation of legislative, judicial and correctional efforts at crime control is quite evident. Even when limited to the information included in FBI

"rap sheets", such a system could readily tabulate many correlates of percent of time reconfined⁵ for felons released in a past year. This could provide such information as percent of time reconfined during the three years following release, for example, of narcotic addicts civilly committed to a state rehabilitation center as compared with narcotic addicts sentenced to prison, or of any specific offense group (burglars, robbers, rapists, etc.) given probation as compared with the same offense group sentenced to prison, and with each comparison tabulated separately for persons in the same category of age, criminal record, county of commitment, ethnicity or time confined before release.

The foregoing types of routine tabulation would be tremendously useful to legislatures, courts and parole boards, as well as to prisons. Data more specifically relevant to guiding prison policies would accrue if this unified and computerized criminal record information were linked with routinely coded data on prison assignment and performance. As indicated in the preceding chapter, if institution case records were prepared in a largely precoded form, statistical information on prison treatment and performance would accumulate automatically, and many treatment personnel could then deal more with people and less with paper. Linkage of such precoded prison data with subsequent criminal record information would permit tabulations of percent of time reconfined during the three years after release of inmates, for example, those assigned to prison industries as compared to those assigned to full-time school or to those placed on farms or in forestry camps, and with each comparison tabulated separately for inmates in the same category of age, prior institutional confinement, criminal record, educational background and outside work experience. Such routine tabulations would be of tremendous value for the guidance of classification decisions and for allocation of prison funds to appropriate programs.

The Bureau of Criminal Statistics in California's Department of Justice has long held national leadership in the unified collection of criminal record information. There has been much close collaboration between the Department of Corrections and the Bureau of Criminal Statistics in some types of tabulation, but it has not yet been adequately extended to comparisons of percent of time reconfined for similar offenders committed to different types of agency, or of such offenders given different treatment within any agency. Evaluative research in California has for too long been pursued autonomously by the Department of Corrections, Department of the Youth Authority, and the Bureau of Criminal Statistics, with the latter much too uninvolved in the tabulations needed to guide correctional policy. This has resulted in wasting resources and diminishing the usefulness of evaluative statistics.

It is urged that the State consider:

1. that California's Department of Corrections, Department of the Youth Authority and Bureau of Criminal Statistics unify their tabulations of statistics for the evaluation of correctional policies, including sentencing and parole policies;

2. that the resulting tabulations use a criterion of percent of time reconfined, and convert its findings to estimates of the relative long-run costs and effectiveness of alternative policies;
3. that the Department of Corrections develop precoded case record forms to serve simultaneously both operational requirements and evaluative needs, and that information from these forms be integrated with unified evaluative statistics from the preceding recommendations.

FOOTNOTES

¹Clarence Schrag, "Some Foundations for a Theory of Correction", in Donald R. Cressey, (ed.) The Prison, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winton, 1961), p. 337.

²For further discussion see: Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, Revised Edition, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), Chapter 8; Charles R. Hagan and Charles F. Campbell, "Team Classification in Federal Institutions", Federal Probation, Vol. 32, No. 2 (March 1968), pp. 30-5.

³See: Teodoro Ayllon and Nathan Azrin, The Token Economy: A Motivational System for Therapy and Rehabilitation, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968).

⁴For other factors in this slow growth see: Peter G. Garabedian, "Research and Practice in Planning Correctional Change", Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 17, No. 1 (New York: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, January 1971), pp. 41-56.

⁵Advantages of this measure as a statistical index of rehabilitation, especially as a basis for cost-effectiveness estimation, are discussed briefly in Daniel Glaser, "Five Practical Research Suggestions for Correctional Administrators", Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 17, No. 1 (New York: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, January 1971), pp. 32-40, especially pp. 33-4.

CHAPTER V

A MODEL FOR PRISON OPERATIONS

General principles that constitute an abstract model for guidance of prison operations are presented in this chapter as one way of summarizing the implications of this Report.

I. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The primary mission of corrections, which it shares with law enforcement, is to reduce crime. The specific goals of prisons are incapacitation, deterrence, and rehabilitation. Prisons contribute to crime reduction if the confinement they impose incapacitates persons who otherwise would commit serious crime, and if rehabilitation occurs during confinement. Deterrence is achieved more by certainty than by severity of penalties beyond a minimum severity already exceeded in most prison cases through concern with incapacitation. Therefore, reduction of crime by deterrence depends more on the efficacy of the police and the courts than on prisons. Incapacitation is much more readily achieved than rehabilitation, and the necessity for incapacitation is determined by the extent of failure in rehabilitation. Therefore, the primary problem confronting prison management is that of increasing rehabilitation.

Two major constraints affect the pursuit of prison goals, the need to be humane and the need to be economical. Prisons must necessarily restrain the liberty of those deemed likely to commit serious crimes in the community. Any further restraint of a prisoner's rights to individual dignity and autonomy must be imposed only to the extent that is absolutely necessary to assure the rights and security of others, in and out of prison.

The need to be economical should first be balanced against the need to provide decent and humane living conditions and sustenance. After this minimal level, economy should ultimately be guided by an estimate of the total social costs of alternative policies that affect rates of rehabilitation. Every thousand dollars spent for rehabilitative services per prisoner per year should be weighed against the best available evidence that research can provide on the extent to which this expenditure will, in the long run, achieve a thousand dollars worth of social benefits. One should evaluate rehabilitation expenditures by estimating how much they:

1. reduce the time necessary to incapacitate prisoners;
2. increase the prisoners' employability and payment of taxes after release;
3. reduce the total social costs of crimes to victims, and the cost of law enforcement, adjudication, and incarceration, through reducing recidivism;

4. reduce the public's cost in supporting the dependents of prisoners, and the social and psychological harm done to these dependents by imprisonment of family heads or their spouses.

II. FUNCTIONS

The functions of prisons, to achieve the goals and objectives outlined above are:

1. To restrict the freedom of inmates by physical barriers and surveillance whenever these are necessary for reasonable assurance that a prisoner will not escape or endanger prison order, but to employ no closer degree of custody than this minimum necessity, and to maintain security by engendering and recognizing trustworthiness whenever possible.
2. To make the reception, diagnostic and orientation process for newly admitted prisoners contribute to rehabilitation by continually following up cases to check on the relevance of reception reports and recommendations, and by making the duration of the reception process no longer than necessary.
3. To operate prison schools so that they provide:
 - a. individualized instruction that maximizes each prisoner's rate of learning, while constructively taking into account the inmate's prior educational experience, his personal characteristics, and his cultural background;
 - b. both tangible rewards and, where possible, widely acceptable credits and diplomas, to an extent that is contingent on the student's educational progress in prison;
 - c. group relationships among students and teachers that promote a climate of learning for all;
 - d. the foregoing in either full or part-time study, for all prisoners.
4. To provide vocational training for inmates in all fields in which their post-release employment or subsidized training opportunities would be significantly increased by the amount of such education that can readily be completed during their minimum probable term of imprisonment, and to provide it in the manner specified by the preceding statement on prison schools.
5. To make all the work of prison maintenance and industries a part of vocational training programs wherever this is both feasible and compatible with the preceding statement on vocational training.

6. To collect, analyze and disseminate regularly information on the post-release utilization of prison education and training.
7. To assign inmates as quickly as possible to the programs which contribute most to their rehabilitation.
8. To make prompt, personal counseling available to all inmates when they desire it, from a counselor who is or can readily become familiar with their individual circumstances in and out of prison, and to supplement this by group counseling whenever this seems useful for rehabilitation or for increasing inmate adjustment to prison life.
9. To assign classification, planning, and disciplinary responsibility for each inmate primarily to small committees of those staff who have most daily contact with the inmate, but include representatives of all major functional components of staff (e.g., custody, work supervision, counseling, education, etc.).
10. To provide adequate clinical psychological and psychiatric services for that minority of inmates whose mental condition clearly justifies such service.
11. To provide appropriate facilities for congregated worship and the services of qualified chaplains for inmates of all faiths at every prison.
12. To provide libraries at each institution, stocked liberally with good books appealing to a wide variety of inmate interests, and supervised--at least partly--by trained librarians.
13. To provide inmates with organized recreational activities of types conducive to legitimate use of leisure time and to participate in non-criminogenic recreational groups in the community.
14. To facilitate and encourage inmate involvement in community recreational activity, where practicable, including games, shows, and contests in prison with guests from outside, and temporary release of selected inmates for such activities in the free community.
15. To operate prison industries in a manner which simulates outside industrial working conditions as closely as possible, but is integrated in the institution's total rehabilitation effort, so that its primary objective is to provide the work experience and training which will contribute most to the post-release employment of its inmate workers.
16. To maintain custody, order and discipline among prison inmates by preventive measures, especially reducing hostility of inmates toward staff and reducing the unity of those inmates who are hostile, but including also appropriate planning, equipping, and training for staff control in any potential disturbance.

17. To encourage and facilitate inmate communication by letter, phone, and visit with all outside persons not known to be probable collaborators in crime, and to encourage especially communication with persons believed to have a rehabilitative influence.
18. To provide decent, esthetic, and--when desired by inmates or required by management--private accommodations for inmates, with inmate involvement in the decoration and arrangement of their housing within acceptable limits from the standpoints of cost, taste, and security.
19. To promote staff-inmate collaboration in decisions on prison life and friendly personal relationships between staff and inmates, as long as this is compatible with essential standards of staff service, fairness and control.
20. To recruit and continually train competent employees for all required staff functions.
21. To provide all inmates with the medical and dental care necessary to keep them in good health and to correct any of their remediable physical defects or handicaps.
22. To serve nourishing and palatable food to all inmates in an attractive manner and setting.
23. To employ an automated management information system yielding both descriptive and evaluative statistics on inmate and staff characteristics and activities.
24. To evaluate treatment programs and policies by controlled experiments wherever possible.
25. To issue clear administrative guidelines delineating the responsibilities of all units and positions in as simple and precise a manner as possible.
26. To graduate the release process by maximum development of community correctional centers as well as by work release and furloughs.

