

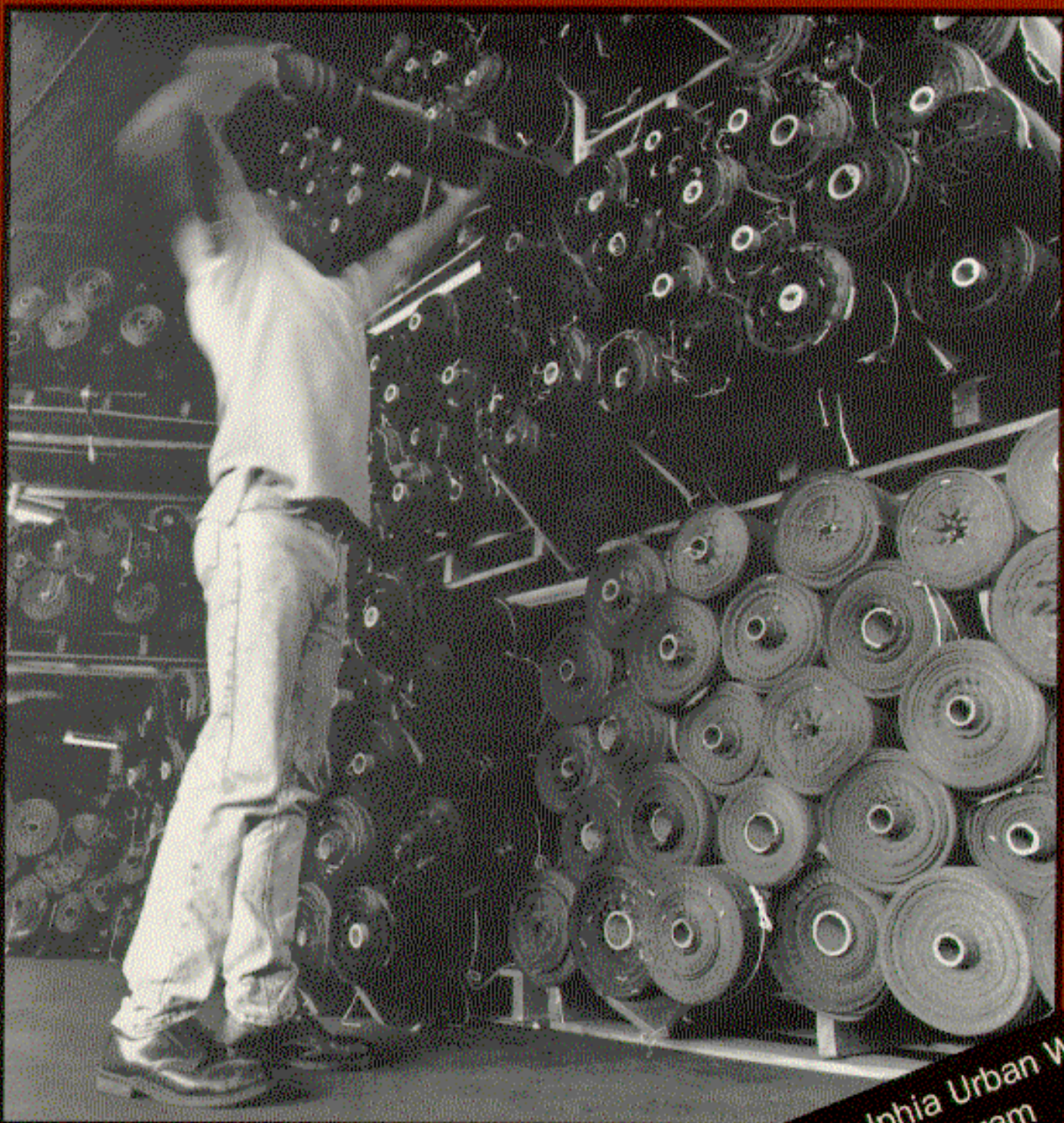


Federal Prisons

JOURNAL

VOL. 3, NO. 2

Fall 1991



The Philadelphia Urban Work
Cadre Program

Federal Bureau of Prisons Mission Statement

The Federal Bureau of Prisons protects society by confining offenders in the controlled environments of prisons and community-based facilities that are safe, humane, and appropriately secure, and which provide work and other self-improvement opportunities to assist offenders in becoming law-abiding citizens.

Cultural Anchors/Core Values

■ *Bureau family*

The Bureau of Prisons recognizes that staff are the most valuable resource in accomplishing its mission, and is committed to the personal welfare and professional development of each employee. A concept of "Family" is encouraged through healthy, supportive relationships among staff and organization responsiveness to staff needs. The active participation of staff at all levels is essential to the development and accomplishment of organizational objectives.

■ *Sound correctional management*

The Bureau of Prisons maintains effective security and control of its institutions utilizing the least restrictive means necessary, thus providing the essential foundation for sound correctional management programs.

■ *Correctional workers first*

All Bureau of Prisons staff share a common role as correctional worker, which requires a mutual responsibility for maintaining safe and secure institutions and for modeling society's mainstream values and norms.

■ *Promotes integrity*

The Bureau of Prisons firmly adheres to a set of values that promotes honesty and integrity in the professional efforts of its staff to ensure public confidence in the Bureau's prudent use of its allocated resources.

■ *Recognizes the dignity of all*

Recognizing the inherent dignity of all human beings and their potential for change, the Bureau of Prisons treats inmates fairly and responsively and affords them opportunities for self-improvement to facilitate their successful re-entry into the community. The Bureau further recognizes that offenders are incarcerated as punishment, not for punishment.

■ *Career service orientation*

The Bureau of Prisons is a career-oriented service, which has enjoyed a consistent management philosophy and a continuity of leadership, enabling it to evolve as a stable, professional leader in the field of corrections.

■ *Community relations*

The Bureau of Prisons recognizes and facilitates the integral role of the community in effectuating the Bureau's mission, and works cooperatively with other law enforcement agencies, the courts, and other components of government.

■ *High standards*

The Bureau of Prisons requires high standards of safety, security, sanitation, and discipline, which promote a physically and emotionally sound environment for both staff and inmates.

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Federal Prisons

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From the editor

While welcoming the Bureau of Prisons' new director (and the *Federal Prisons Journal's* publisher), Kathleen M. Hawk, we would like to acknowledge the foresight and support of our retiring director, J. Michael Quinlan, who made this publication possible. We wish him success in retirement and hope to see his byline in these pages in future issues.

This issue has an international flavor, with a look at Moscow jails just weeks before the Soviet Union dissolved itself, and an examination of the Israeli prison system as it copes with the strains caused by the 5-year-old *intifada*, or Palestinian uprising. In addition, John May, who has oversight responsibility for eight British prisons, examines sex offender programs in American prisons.

Our next issue will be devoted to "management and leadership." As always, we welcome your comments and suggestions for future articles.

A Time of Transition

Kathleen M. Hawk

Through this issue of the *Federal Prisons Journal*, I would like to take the opportunity to introduce myself to our readers as Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. I was honored to be sworn in to this position on December 4, 1992, as the Bureau's fifth director, J. Michael Quinlan, stepped down in preparation for retirement.



Left to right: J. Michael Quinlan, Director 1987-1992; Kathleen M. Hawk; Norman A. Carlson, Director 1970-1987.

Assuming the directorship of the Federal Bureau of Prisons is a very challenging responsibility—one that I take on with utmost gratitude and profound respect. I know the Bureau throughout its history has been a well-managed agency, with an outstanding staff and a strong, positive organizational culture. The Bureau's staff work well as a team at, and across, every level of the organization. These are aspects of the Bureau that have supported every director throughout its history. I intend to ensure that these organizational traits will carry on, and the Bureau will continue to serve the public in a highly professional, cost-efficient manner.

As I assume my new duties, I benefit greatly by following in Mike Quinlan's footsteps. His leadership over the last 5 1/2 years has been of immense value to the Bureau as it has gone through the most rapid period of growth in its history. Despite a near-doubling of the inmate population between 1987 and 1992, the Bureau protected the public by maintaining safe, secure, humane facilities. Despite the addition of more

than 20 new correctional facilities and major organizational modifications, under Mike Quinlan's direction the Bureau remained a career organization that retained its sense of "family." We all owe an enormous debt of gratitude to him for his personal and professional efforts, and we all wish him and his family a fruitful and enjoyable retirement, in which he intends to pursue academic and other interests, including involvement in the field of corrections.

In a time of rapid change and growth in our profession, we now find ourselves in transition. Responsiveness, consistency, and a strong policy orientation have been some of the most stable and productive characteristics of the Bureau over the years. The Bureau is a well-run organization, thanks to those factors and its highly capable and professional staff. To meet the demands of growth facing the Bureau in the immediate future, we must continue to pursue our current initiatives in areas such as human resource development, high-quality drug treatment, literacy and work programs for inmates, with a high level of organizational efficiency.

Maintaining the Bureau's close working relationship with other law enforcement agencies will also be a high priority. We will continue to be responsive to the needs of the courts, the Congress, and our many constituent groups. In short, I am committed to maintaining and enhancing the Bureau's professionalism, and continuing the prudent stewardship of the public resources placed in our care.

There is no doubt we will face new demands in the future. The inmate population continues to grow. Indeed, resource issues will influence every aspect of Bureau operations. In many ways, our greatest challenge will continue to be developing creative, yet cost-effective ways of offering vital inmate programs, both in and out of traditional institutional settings.

The Bureau has a tradition of being able to meet and overcome challenges. We are able to do this because of our outstanding staff—people who are highly professional, energetic, dedicated, and loyal. I have always been proud to be a part of the Bureau, and look forward to the great privilege of serving as its sixth Director. ■

On December 4, 1992, Kathleen M. Hawk, Ed.D., was sworn in as the sixth director of the Bureau of Prisons. Dr. Hawk began her career with the Bureau in 1976; among her other positions have been Warden, Federal Correctional Institution, Butner, North Carolina, and Assistant Director, Program Review Division.



Atlanta-Oakdale: 5 Years Later

J. Michael Quinlan

The 1987 disturbances at the Federal Detention Center in Oakdale, Louisiana, and the U.S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia, were watershed events in the history of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Cuban detainees in Bureau custody had presented management problems since their arrival in custody in the early 1980's in the aftermath of the Mariel boatlift. Over time, a core group of about 2,500 detainees was found to require continued custody. Many of the detainees did not want to return to Cuba, even if it meant remaining in U.S. prisons. Thus, when the State Department negotiated the reinstatement of an earlier repatriation agreement with Cuba, the stage was set for potential problems in institutions that held detainees.

Within a day of the announcement that the repatriation agreement would be resumed, detainees at Oakdale rioted, taking over the institution and holding 36 staff hostage. Word of the Oakdale disturbance late Saturday reached the Atlanta detainees on Sunday. Late Monday morning, they rioted, burning industrial and other buildings and taking 102 hostages.

It quickly became clear that the detainees were not protesting prison conditions and were not retaliating against staff. During the 13 days of negotiations, detainees did not raise a single complaint about the quality of



A staff member comforts a hostage after release.

life in the institutions or about treatment by staff. Instead, the disturbances were caused by factors external to the institutions, which worked in favor of the hostages' safety. Time was on the Government's side; negotiating with patience and resolve toward a mutually agreeable solution proved successful. The Oakdale detainees surrendered on November 29; the Atlanta detainees on December 5.

During the disturbances, administrators in Oakdale and Atlanta received extraordinary support from Bureau staff working at other locations, from personnel assigned from other Federal, State, and local agencies, from the military, and from third parties such as the Bishop of Miami. The Attorney General worked closely with Bureau crisis managers and other top staff of the Department of Justice. This extensive intra- and inter-governmental cooperation is something in which all citizens can take satisfaction.

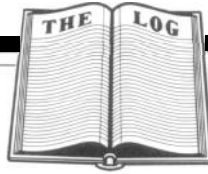
The hostages and their families were the real heroes of Oakdale and Atlanta. These staff members endured extreme risk with exemplary courage. Their loved ones suffered the agony of uncertainty as they waited for release. Both deserve our continuing respect and appreciation.

The disturbances clearly demonstrated the ability of the Bureau to protect society—no detainee escaped; no member of the public was harmed. While property damage was great, the human costs were low. Of the more than 2,600 inmates and detainees involved, only one was killed. In the most serious uprisings in the history of the Bureau (and perhaps in this country), 138 hostages were held for as long as 12 days without a single death or serious injury.

Bureau staff worked as a team to save the lives of fellow workers, and learned how to train even more effectively for crisis response. Administrators mustered resources from every level of the organization. As a result, the agency was even better prepared to respond when a similar incident occurred in 1991 at the Federal Correctional Institution in Talladega, Alabama.

In short, the Bureau's staff showed the American public what professionalism in corrections means—something every Bureau employee can look back on with understandable pride.

J. Michael Quinlan retired as director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons in December 1992.



Mentoring: A Concept With a Functional Role

Barry Sprin k

Where will the future supervisors and leaders come from to fill the many new positions that will be created in the Bureau of Prisons during the next few years? Most readers will agree that good supervisors are not *born* but developed. While formal training will play a large part in dealing with the upcoming "supervisory crunch," the staff the Bureau needs will really be developed through mentoring.

Although the term is in common use, many people have scratched their heads trying to figure out what it means, who does it, and how is it done. Is it a formal process (assignments, reports, meetings) or an informal association (guidance and help by peers or supervisors)? This article is primarily devoted to the formal process, although the broad concepts apply to the informal process as well. In its broadest sense, mentoring includes parental, school, church, and other critical influences in our lives; here we are dealing primarily with work mentoring.

It is important to define a few terms. According to *Webster's*, a *mentor* is "a wise adviser, teacher, or coach." A *mentor relationship* is a relationship that enhances career development. A *protege* is a person guided and helped in his/her career by another person. *CEO's*, or Chief Executive Officers, include wardens, superintendents, or agency heads. As used here, *supervisor* refers to line supervisors, assistant

department heads, department heads, division heads, or associate wardens.

When a person is initially selected as a supervisor in the Federal Bureau of Prisons, he/she is placed in probationary status, usually for 1 year. After 40 to 80 hours of supervisory training, the person is considered to be a supervisor. However, merely having completed the training does not mean the person is an *effective* supervisor; this is particularly true in the Bureau, as younger and younger supervisors and division heads are selected due to the pressures of growth.

There is an increasing need for mentoring at all levels, to develop good supervisors. As Wilson and Elman note in their article "Organization Benefits of Mentoring," "It is our opinion that mentoring is not and should not be a



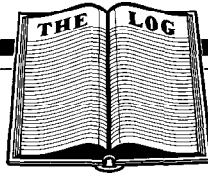
Illustrations by Anthony Woolridge

phenomenon restricted to lower or entry level personnel, but rather that it has a place at the very highest levels of organization (as in the grooming of the next CEO)."

Authors in the field of work and labor management express a variety of ideas as to who should be a mentor, beginning with fellow line staff and proceeding to the highest levels of supervisory personnel. One of the first questions is whether the mentor should be a volunteer or be appointed to the role. (The voluntary approach receives the most favor from literature in the field.) Administrators must understand that if the mentoring relationship is to be effective, it must benefit both parties.

If the mentoring program is not voluntary, the person selected to be a mentor should feel that he/she was selected because of his/her knowledge of the field and interpersonal communications skills. The selecting official should interview each potential mentor, explaining the expectations of the position and soliciting the interviewees' willingness to participate. (If involvement with the mentoring program counts toward interviewees' performance evaluations, they should be made aware of this at the interview.) If prospective mentors do not wish to participate, this should not be held against them—they may wish to get involved in the future as they see the benefits of the program for both mentor and protege.

People think of mentoring as taking place only with new employees. Granted, this is where it happens most of the time. However, many compa-



nies, institutions, and agencies are investing in programs that mentor line supervisors, department heads, and division heads.

CEO's should be encouraged to develop a mentoring program for persons beyond the entry level. This would be an excellent opportunity to let a department head demonstrate his/her talent in putting together a special program. (In fact, this would be an excellent example of a CEO's mentoring for the department head.)

A formal program should try to avoid having the mentor be the protege's immediate supervisor. This may not be difficult for an entry-level program, but what about the department head or associate warden? Nothing is written in stone, so be imaginative. Consider a long-distance relationship between facilities. A department head, division head, or even a younger CEO could be contacted over the phone by an older mentor. Remember, the mentor should not control the protege's paycheck, so that the protege can feel free to bounce ideas off the mentor, or ask questions that may be impossible to ask of an immediate supervisor.

Some tips on how mentoring should work in practice:

- Mentors at all levels must set the tone to ensure that undesirable traits—impulsive or tyrannical behavior—are not allowed to develop. At the same time, mentors and proteges should work on developing desirable traits, such as patience and humility.



- The person who supervises with praise and encouragement stimulates creative growth. It is imperative for an effective operation that individuals with these traits be selected for mentoring programs.

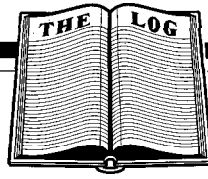
- Mentors have to fight the temptation to preach. Mentors, too, can learn from students. Sometimes one becomes so enamored with the sound of one's own words, one does not hear the things one needs to hear, and the program develops only "yes people."

- The mentor needs to be open to the protege's concerns about the relationship. Some proteges may not feel comfortable talking about how the relationship is moving. Confident mentors can ask for honest feedback. Listening to what is said is important—the relationship will be stronger for it.

In his *CEO's Guide to Creative Structure and Leadership*, Elliott Jaques talks of four levels of psychological complexity employees encounter as they move upward through an organization. For the new employee it is learning the ropes, starting with the tangible aspects of the job. The second level involves understanding the organization's symbols—learning the do's and don'ts of the agency, including the specifics that help build competence and improve performance. Third is the *why* of things—often intangible, but every workplace will have its own. Finally, the fourth level brings into focus how each lower level fits into the overall operations of the organization—the "big picture." In developing a mentoring program, it is especially important to teach the mentor how to deal with the protege at these different levels of complexity.

Most people have heard the term "quality time," usually referring to time spent between family members. This is probably one of the most important aspects of the mentoring relationship. Ed Ford, author and family counselor, refers to the time a couple spends together as quality time if they "don't just watch TV together, but talk and listen to each other." Time spent between mentors and proteges should be meaningful, not just filling a requirement.

It is good to have an agenda to work from but not absolutely necessary. You can start with "simple" things for the new employee (how do you get inmates to do what you want?), to something more complex for the older



employee, such as understanding the need for flexible thinking as policy changes occur.

As the protege asks questions, the mentor reaches back into his/her experience for the answers. A quick answer is easy, but it is better to get the younger person to think-to analyze the problem and look at options. This helps the protege develop confidence.

The mentor does not always have to agree. In fact, he/she can and should correct the protege when appropriate. There is nothing wrong with such correction. The smart protege will listen to the words of wisdom. It can build character at the same time.

Finally, a word about the informal mentoring process. It is generally less structured, although it should be taught at every level of supervisory training. It takes place every day in the form of answered questions and directions given to subordinates or other employees. Like the formal program, its success or failure is based in large part on the integrity and credibility of the mentors, usually senior peers or supervisors; it can occur even though neither supervisors nor subordinates may realize that mentoring is happening.

The sincere concern shown by the mentor can help build a

Fort Smith Jail, barracks building.

strong agency culture, ensuring that its core values are passed, like a runner's torch, from one generation of leaders to the next. Ultimately, it strengthens our agency's-any agency's-sense of family.

Barry Sprink recently retired as principal of the Education Department, Federal Correctional Institution, Phoenix, Arizona. He is presently a faculty associate at Arizona State University in Phoenix.

Notes

It is good to look back and remember our own mentors. Many thanks to mine: Dennis Hubbard, Dennis Luther, Sam Samples, Doug Lansing, and Charlie Winchell.

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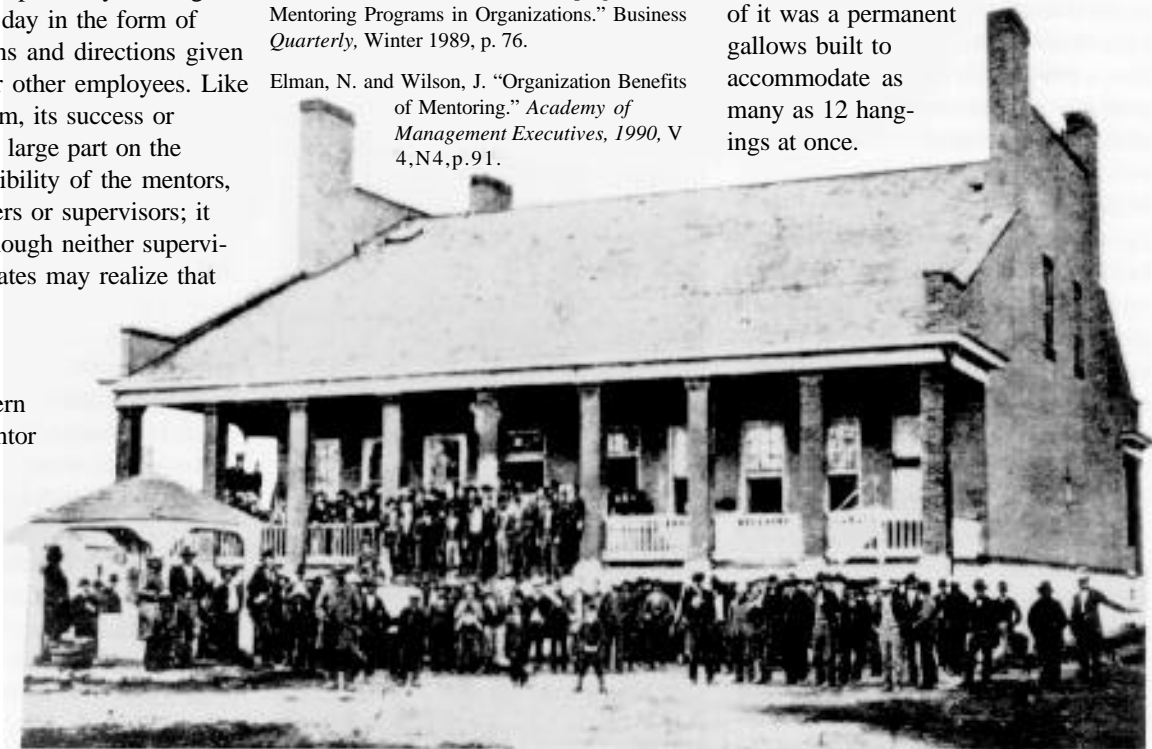
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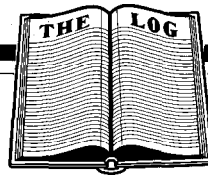
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The Fort Smith Jail— Federal Corrections on the Frontier

Paul W. Keve

It would be ludicrous to call it a "metropolitan correctional center," but one of the first Federal urban jails appeared more than a hundred years ago in the Arkansas border town of Fort Smith. Boldly prominent in front of it was a permanent gallows built to accommodate as many as 12 hangings at once.





Nor was U.S. District Judge Isaac Parker at all hesitant to use his gallows in appropriate cases.

The crucial importance of the Fort Smith jail derived from its location at the edge of the Indian Territory and from a tragic string of events that had its genesis in an act signed by President Andrew Jackson in 1830—the Indian Removal Act.

When Jackson became president in 1829, a festering problem waiting for him was the increasing demand that something be done about the “Indian problem.” Nearly 4 decades earlier the Cherokees had been given lands in northwestern Georgia, supposedly in perpetuity. But now white Georgians were demanding that they be evicted—ironically, not for any “uncivilized” behavior. In fact, the Cherokees had moved impressively toward being a stable nation; they had become industrious farmers, and had a constitution, a newspaper, and schools. But prejudice against them was strong and their productive lands were coveted.

President Jackson, an old Indian fighter, was easily persuaded that the Indians should be moved far to the west “where they belonged” and where the open dry lands would never be needed by the white population. The legislation that set in motion their removal specified considerate and fair-minded procedures, but there could hardly have been a greater discrepancy between the stated plans and the actual conduct of the removal. As one historian saw it, “This monumental piece of legislation spelled the doom of the American Indian. It was harsh, arrogant, racist-and inevitable.”¹

The Indians were coerced into signing the agreements, hurried off their land, cheated at every turn, and forced into long marches westward under disastrous conditions that brought suffering and death to a great many. More than 4,000 Cherokees died along the way, while several other, smaller, tribes also suffered through the march.

The so-called Indian Territory, reserved for the displaced tribes, was just beyond the western borders of Arkansas and Missouri where eventually the States of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska would be formed. Though the Government intended for whites to stay out of this extensive territory, the whites did in fact begin pushing in and settling. The treaties provided that they should not do so without consent of the tribes—a rule honored only in the breach. And the whites who came tended to be ruthless adventurers. “The cattle and horse thief, the prostitute, the desperado, the whiskey peddler—all sought refuge where there was no white man’s court and no law under which they could be extradited to the state or territory where they had committed their crimes.”²

Eventually there were enough whites so that both Kansas and Nebraska were formed from northern portions of the Territory, leaving to the Indian Territory what is now Oklahoma. It was a land that did not have any government other than the tribal

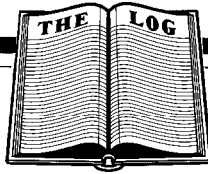


"Hanging Judge" Isaac Parker.

councils, which had authority to deal only with cases involving Indians. Still, many disputes and crimes involved whites and needed authoritative

With no courts in the Territory to handle such matters, Congress, by an act of 1834, gave jurisdiction for such cases to the U.S. Court for the Western District of Arkansas. At first that court was ineffective and without popular respect. In 1871, the court moved to the army base at Fort Smith and took over an empty barracks building. Then, in 1875, the court’s character dramatically changed when a 36-year-old former Congressman, Isaac Parker, was appointed judge. He came with a determination to be an effective force for law and order and had the courage to match his resolve. His courtroom and offices were installed on the upper floor of the old two-story building, while the two basement rooms below were adapted to serve as the jail.

The attorney general made no apologies for what was called the U.S. Jail. In his report to Congress, he said “it consists of two rooms, partially underground, with barred doors and windows, but with no cell arrangements whatever. The rough stone floors are damp and the air is fetid in spite of the plentiful use of lime and white-wash, as indeed it must be where fifty or more prisoners are confined, the sick



and the well together in a small space almost utterly devoid of any of the modern sanitary appliances." In fact the attorney general was embarrassed to have to claim it. "The place is," he said, "as its name indicates, the *United States Jail*, and is under the exclusive control of the Government, to which it must be admitted, it is a standing reproach."³

In his offices and courtroom above the jail, Judge Parker contended with the flow of cases from the adjoining Territory, an area comparable in size to the New England States. In his years there, the judge appointed about 200 marshals, 65 of whom were killed in the line of duty. But arrests continued and the jail downstairs remained full much of the time. A modern prison administrator would be appalled at the task confronting the court and the marshals when, as the 1886 term opened, there were more than 200 prisoners in the two jail rooms—more than 60 of them charged with capital crimes!

Though the gallows out in front could accommodate as many as 12 for a simultaneous drop, the highest number actually executed at one time was 6. This was Parker's first ordered execution in his first year at Fort Smith. In effect, it was an announcement to the skeptical that the court—which had not had the respect of the population—was now serious about dealing sternly with criminals.

Parker served 21 years on that bench and in that time gained a reputation as a "hanging judge" with the imposition of more than 160 death sentences, at least half of which were carried out.⁴

But a more detailed study of his career tends to soften his image. He showed a careful concern for judicial fairness; despite all the executions, there were acquittals in a surprisingly high number of his capital cases. As in any criminal court, the proportion of murder cases was miniscule. In the overwhelming majority of cases the charges were related to supplying liquor to the Indians, cases in which Parker typically gave jail terms of 30 to 60 days. Taking one year as an example, in 1884 Parker heard slightly more than 500 criminal cases, which included just seven men convicted of murder; four of these were given death sentences and only two were actually executed.⁵

There is good evidence of Parker's humane concern for the culprits before him. It can be assumed that the attorney general's repeated pronouncements about the bad jail conditions were results of appeals from the judge.

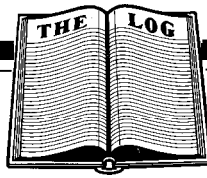


Judge Parker also had to deal with an early venture into privatization, In 1885 the attorney general received several letters from Arkansas residents who had financial interests in a contract prison at Little Rock. They offered space in their prison for Federal prisoners, arguing that by sending them to Little Rock instead of the much longer distance to Detroit, the Government would save money. The attorney general asked Judge Parker's opinion and received from him a thorough discussion of his reasons for preferring Detroit.

Parker had visited many prisons in his concern for the proper disposition of his criminal cases, and his blunt appraisal was that the Little Rock prison was "run on the purely speculative principle of getting the most dollars and cents out of the transaction." The effect on its inmates was destructive, while he had found the Detroit House of Correction to be humane, well programmed, and beneficial to the men and women he had sent there. (The warden in Detroit was Zebulon Brockway, who was then making his reputation as the country's most progressive warden.) Parker asserted that cost was not the only factor to be considered "by the mandate of duty we must observe toward even the meanest of God's creatures. The whole system of punishment is based on the idea of reform, or it is worse than nothing."⁶

Over the years the Fort Smith jail accommodations slowly improved with new construction, although never keeping pace with the need. No regular

Prisoners on steps of courthouse/jail.



appropriation was made for the jail's operation; the marshal had to do the best he could, using the limited funds for the general support of boarded prisoners.

Conditions began to change during the 1890's with substantial growth in the general population followed by increases in Government presence. Oklahoma was opened to homesteading in 1889 and in 1890 was made a Territory. New jail space appeared the following year, though again this was a private prison. Some businessmen in Guthrie built what they touted as "the first real jail in Oklahoma," selling space to the U.S. marshal. Several years later it was sold to the Department of Justice, while in 1898 the Fort Smith jail was designated as a Federal prison for offenders serving 1 year or less.

The pace of change increased in the first decade of the new century; in 1904 the Government built small jails at Vinita, Muskogee, McAlester, and Ardmore. The State of Oklahoma was admitted to the Union in 1907, and its criminal cases no longer went to the court across the border in Fort Smith. That jail accordingly experienced a welcome reduction in its population, so much so that in 1908 the Department of

Justice began moving prisoners to Fort Smith to relieve crowding at the District of Columbia Jail. By 1911 the several small Federal jails in Oklahoma had been transferred to the ownership of their respective counties.



Paul W. Keve teaches at Virginia Commonwealth University and is a long-time student of correctional history. His most recent work is Prisons and the American Conscience (Southern Illinois University Press, 1991).

Old prison wagon.

For information on tours of the Fort Smith National Historic Site, call the Visitor Center at 501-783-3961.

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4. Different figures are given by different sources. See Shirley, *op. cit.*, ix, and S.W. Harmon, *Hell on the Border: He Hanged Eighty Eight Men* (Fort Smith, Arkansas, The Phoenix Publishing Co., 1898), 47.
5. Index to Sentences, 1886-1890, U.S. District Court for Western District of Arkansas. National Archives, Southwest.
6. Isaac Parker to attorney general, May 27, 1885, Department of Justice year file, #3830-1885, RG 60, National Archives.
7. R.V. LaDow to attorney general, October 8, 1908, Papers of R.V. LaDow 1907-10, RG 129, National Archives.

Success or Failure With Sex Offenders

John May

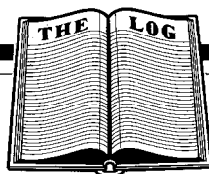
Courtesy of a Harkness Fellowship,¹ I was able to spend 8 months in the U.S., largely visiting prisons and talking with prison people—an unusual opportunity for practitioners, and one which I still have some difficulty believing was real.

As a focus for my exploration of a sample of American prisons, I elected to look at what people are doing with sex offenders—an aspect of our work that I know is exercising minds on both sides of the Atlantic. As a Governor (Warden), my interest lay not so much in the details of therapeutic interventions with sex offenders, but rather in the critical factors that make the difference between successful, ongoing programs and those that lose their way or fold entirely after a period.

My hope was that I might not only learn something of use with regard to sex offenders, but that there might be some lessons that could apply more broadly to programs in prisons.

About 2 centuries ago John Howard embarked on a journey through England looking at the state of prisons. Much of his traveling was on horseback, exposed to the weather. My own journey began in rather greater comfort, in the air-conditioned, leafy, quite beautiful surroundings of Princeton University. My native guide to this foreign land and its prisons was to be Professor John DiIulio.

¹Awarded by the Commonwealth Fund of New York.



John's knowledge of prisons proved a major help in selecting examples of excellence for my visits (and achieving some other ambitions—visiting the Grand Canyon, riding a quarterhorse, seeing wild sea otters, and trying on real cowboy boots). He also offered a research method, known as “soaking and poking,” which proved enormously valuable. I was able to wander around prisons talking with people about whatever took my interest, firmly convinced that this was good research.

I spent varying amounts of time in four State prison systems and with the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Such conclusions as I offer must therefore be regarded as tentative, since my sample is relatively small. Nonetheless, I hope fellow practitioners will recognize, from their own experiences, some of the elements that emerged from my exploration of what makes for success in programs for sex offenders.

Perhaps the first thing to note is what does *not* affect the maintenance and growth of programs—that is, statistics on rehabilitation.

To people not working in prisons, it would be a surprise to find that we invest substantially in treatment programs with very little evidence to show whether they succeed in preventing reoffending. In truth, we provide programs because we believe they will reduce reoffending, because they help maintain order in prisons, and because of a moral sense that we ought to be doing something about criminal behavior.²

Having temporarily adopted the role of researcher, I was forcibly struck by how rarely evaluation of programs is

undertaken. If only because of the increasing pressures on us to justify what we do in economic terms, it seems to me important that we overcome the difficulties of finding out “what works” with sex offenders, so that in future the major determinant of whether programs are maintained is whether they reduce offending.³

To return to my theme, the outstanding feature of all the successful programs I saw was the existence of what I came to call “a champion.” It may be true for the introduction of any change in an organization; it certainly seems to be true for the introduction of a program for sex offenders that *there needs to be one person or small group who is committed to it* and will drive it through or around the manifold obstacles that beset it.

The “champions” I met were a very diverse group—wardens, program directors, administrators in headquarters, group leaders, even inmates. What they had in common was belief in the program, and energy.

The central importance of the champion will come as no surprise to people working in prisons. What was new to me, and particularly important in the context of sustaining programs, in that the role can be shared and passed on. In one prison I learned that the original champion had recently retired, a new warden had

recently taken up the post, and there were rumors of spending cutbacks—a classic recipe for the death of a program. What I found was a sort of underground grouping keeping it alive (perhaps unconsciously) until the storm passed.

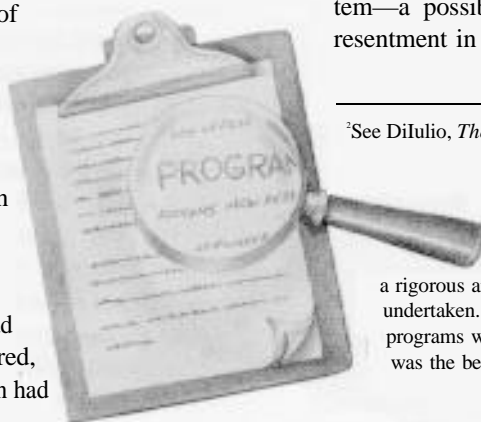
Thus the first, and most vital, ingredient in the elixir that produces successful programs for sex offenders is the champion. Even he or she cannot achieve success alone. Other ingredients, though, are a little easier to find.

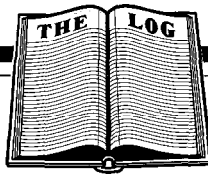
Resources are always in short supply, and the reason most frequently offered for failure is “shortage of resources.” My soaking and poking shed a slightly different light on the question of resources, which reminded me of something Tom Peters wrote (*In Search of Excellence*, Harper & Row, 1982) about progressively reducing the resources for research teams until you get down to the real fanatics.

I would not claim that any program I saw had too many resources, but it has to be recognized that having what others see as too high a level of resources invites critical attacks. One program utilized half of the psychologists in that State's corrections system—a possible cause of some resentment in other prisons.

²See DiIulio, *The American Prospect*, Fall 1990.

³A splendid exception to the lack of evaluative work is the program at Atascadero State Hospital in California, where a rigorous and detailed evaluation is being undertaken. No doubt there are many other programs where such rigor is the case; this was the best of those I saw.

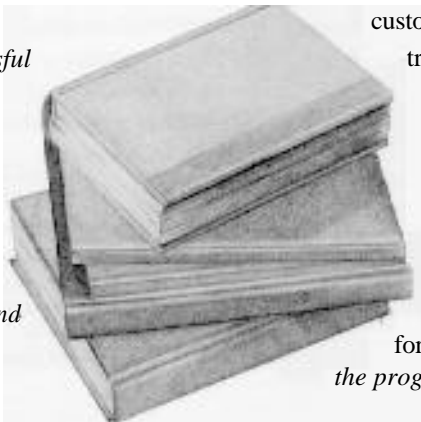




At the other end of the spectrum of resources, most program directors felt they had too few people, too little money, too little space, etc., but they continued to struggle on. The critical cutoff point is where there were no resources. Again, to the outsider, it may be surprising that we try to run new programs by persuading staff to reorder their time and take on the new work. It is a sadly familiar story in the corrections world. My simple conclusion is that it is possible to pare away at resources and still sustain programs, but *if there is no staff member whose job is dedicated to that program, its chances of survival are not great.*

There is an obvious correlation between resources and the size of the program. Somewhat less clear is the necessary correlation between resources and the purpose of the program. Herein lies my next important ingredient. Treating sex offenders has much in common with treating other kinds of offenders—it is appropriate to explore issues of addiction, family relationships, educational attainment, and so on. There are constant—often very subtle—pressures on treatment providers to widen the target inmate group, to include new elements in the treatment program, to vary the length of the program.

The most successful programs I saw were those with very clear objectives about who they were treating, what the content of treatment was, and



how long it lasted. The successful program checks regularly and frequently that it is still on target.

Working with sexoffenders is extraordinarily stressful. It is remarkably easy to be distracted. Some of the warning signs: programs that extend to the point of being open-ended, experimental innovations that become the central focus of the work (e.g., on alcohol abuse), the introduction of other kinds of offenders into the group.

I should emphasize that I am not opposed to experimentation and innovation. The risk is that, without clear objectives and careful evaluation, the program loses its way.

The last ingredient in my potion is the one that gives it its distinctive flavor—expertise.

One of the impressive features of programs (of all kinds) in prisons in England and in the U.S. is the quality of work being achieved by our nonspecialist staff. Many programs we provide are supported, directly or indirectly, by expertise from the outside community. Perhaps because of the seriousness with which sex offending is regarded, a high proportion of sex offenders are in custody. Also, because

treatment-oriented work with sex offenders does not have a long history, there is relatively little good published material that can be used to support the introduction of programs. These considerations reinforced my perception that *the programs most likely to*

succeed are those where there is some regular infusion of expertise.

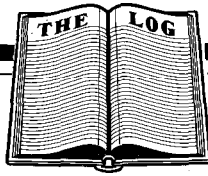
This may range from having specifically qualified program staff, through using an international expert to visit and audit the program twice a year, to ensuring that the lay group leaders have access to a counselor/mentor. Those programs that were struggling tended to have a small group of nonspecialist staff operating without support and guidance.

It is tempting to feel that such a small list of ingredients—a champion, resources, clear goals, evaluation, and expertise—is easily assembled. In fact, I encountered several programs where one or more of those elements was missing—and those folks were hurting.

The good news of course is that it isn't magic. It is possible to put together the critical components that will determine that a program will thrive—and I had the great privilege on my visit of encountering some first-class examples.

John May is currently an Area Manager in Her Majesty's Prison Service, with responsibility for eight prisons. He wishes to acknowledge the Commonwealth Fund of New York, which sponsors the Harkness Fellowships, and the hospitality of the many American prison people he and his wife met on their travels.

A review of the Bureau of Prisons' Sex Offender Treatment Program at the Federal Correctional Institution, Butner, North Carolina, can be found in the Winter 1992 Federal Prisons Journal.



Challenges and Programs in Prison Psychology

Martin J. Bohn, Jr.

The reality of being a psychologist in prison is markedly different from the old movie stereotype. In the past, prison psychologists have often been portrayed as dealing only with the most disturbed inmates, being called on to explain an inmate's aberrant behavior, or trying to persuade an inmate to comply with orders from the administration. Psychologists in Federal prisons today play a variety of roles in the criminal justice system with respect to inmates, staff, and outside agencies. In addition to traditional clinical work, psychologists are increasingly active in administrative and consultative duties.

Clinical activities and the delivery of direct, face-to-face services remain major responsibilities of the prison psychologist. The psychological screening of newly committed inmates and the response to crisis situations are critical to individuals' adjustments and the orderly running of institutions. Inmates whose mental health needs are beyond the resources of a standard institution are referred to a Federal prison medical center. In addition to these basic activities—screening, crisis intervention, and referral—psychologists provide treatment in the form of individual and group therapy, as well as through personal development programs.

Prison psychologists also work with prison staff whose personal concerns may be interfering with their effectiveness on the job. Through the Employee Assistance Program, the prison psy-



chologist may provide staff with brief counseling services or may refer them to an outside mental health agency.

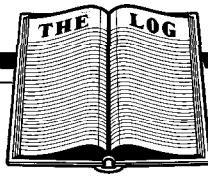
Psychologists participate in the selection, orientation, and training of new employees and in regular training to help staff maintain skills and learn new ways of dealing with inmates and their jobs. They may also offer staff training seminars designed to improve personal well-being.

Direct service, such as the performance of evaluations for agencies external to the institution (including the courts) is another aspect of the prison psychologist's work. The administrative and consultative activities of today's prison psychologist, in addition to these direct service responsibilities, are exemplified in programs for special populations—inmates and staff who have particular needs and concerns.

This article will briefly outline some current programs in Federal prisons in which psychologists have substantial input:

■ **Drug abuse programs.** The Federal corrections system is receiving an unprecedented number of drug offenders. A systemwide drug abuse program is currently being implemented in each institution. At a minimum, all inmates are evaluated for treatment needs based on their histories and judicial recommendations. A drug education program is offered to all. To inmates who have the documented need and interest, more intensive treatment programs are offered. In a few institutions, programs are available in which treatment activities extend to inmates' living quarters and time away from their prison jobs.

Each of the Bureau's institutions offers basic drug education courses and centralized counseling services. The comprehensive drug abuse programs are residential and require a minimum of 500 hours of treatment within 1 year; there are currently 12 comprehensive programs, with plans for more. Three pilot programs—located in Butner, North Carolina; Lexington, Kentucky; and Tallahassee, Florida—



incorporate the features of comprehensive programs but have an even higher number of treatment hours (1,000) as well as an evaluation emphasis involving long-term outcome studies. An "intensive outpatient" program will be developed in Ft. Worth, Texas. Individuals who complete comprehensive and pilot programs will participate in transitional services programs after release. (For more information on these programs, see "Drug Treatment," *Federal Prisons Journal*, Summer 1991, and *State of the Bureau 1991*).

■ **Sex offender program.** For inmates whose histories include sexual deviance, the Sex Offender Program (available only at the Federal Correctional Institution, Butner, North Carolina) focuses on efforts to change their thinking and behavior. Inmates must demonstrate motivation to make progress in these areas, since this is a voluntary program based on a "relapse prevention" model.

Participants spend 6 to 8 hours per week in structured programs and an additional 6 to 8 hours on homework assignments and projects. Group therapy, behavioral therapy, and special content groups are designed to develop individual self-control. Release planning is part of the program, and the individuals are regularly contacted after release to the community, where continued treatment is encouraged. Researchers track individuals in the program and for comparison will study a sample of individuals recommended for the program who chose not to participate. (For more information on this program, see "Sex Offender Treatment," *Federal Prisons Journal*, Winter 1992).

■ **Hostage negotiation.** The 1987 inmate uprisings at institutions in Atlanta, Georgia, and Oakdale, Louisiana, and more recently the 1991 takeover of a housing unit at Talladega, Alabama, have underscored the need for hostage negotiation training. In response to these episodes, selected Bureau staff have been provided more explicit information about dealing with hostagetakers, and have received additional training in working with the FBI and other agencies tasked with aiding the Bureau in such situations.

Hostage negotiation is taught to classes of 27. Since 1987, 11 such classes have been held. Students have been primarily Bureau employees, but classes have also included representatives from State correctional systems, the military, and other Federal Government agencies. Hostage negotiation teams, consisting of a team leader, a mental health expert, and a negotiator, are



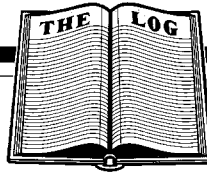
sent from institutions as a group for training, then return to their institutions to train second teams, as well as to teach hostage survival skills to all staff members. The teams are required to practice their skills on a monthly basis.

■ **Victim assistance.** Survivors of major disasters and traumatic events such as hostage situations sometimes suffer effects that last long after the crisis is over. To assist these victims—whether participants, family members, or coworkers—psychologists are leaders in the programs that help victims come to grips with these experiences.

The Victim Assistance Program, which is part of the Bureau's Employee Assistance Program (EAP),* helps groups of employees after they have experienced a common traumatic event. In 1991, the housing unit takeover at Talladega, Alabama, prompted extensive service. About 13,000 contact hours in victim assistance services were provided by Bureau psychologists and chaplains immediately following the Talladega incident. The Bureau offers a course in victim assistance, and virtually all institutions have psychologists who have completed this training.

■ **Forensic study sites.** Licensed prison psychologists can be asked to provide assistance to the courts. At the pretrial

*In the past year, the Employee Assistance Program (EAP) worked with 2,330 new clients who were involved in 2,320 followup sessions. The percentage of employees taking advantage of this service has increased in recent years; in 1989, 8.6 percent of staff used EAP. In 1990 and 1991 the percentages were 9.5 and 10.2, indicating increased acceptance of the program.



level, evaluations regarding competency and criminal responsibility may be requested. During the trial, competency may become an issue. In some cases, after a conviction there may be a need to consider mental health information before sentencing. To provide these services to the courts, forensic study sites have been established in several institutions.

Most forensic evaluations are currently conducted in one of the Bureau's medical centers (Butner; Lexington; Rochester, Minnesota; and Springfield, Missouri). A total of 10 forensic study sites have been approved for regular correctional institutions. In 1991, about 260 evaluations were conducted in nonmedical settings; the number is expected to increase to between 600 and 800 in 1992. In the future, the goal will be to have half of all forensic evaluations performed in the regular institutions. To provide the needed expertise, the Bureau conducts basic and advanced forensic training for the psychologists who will serve in the study sites.

■ **Witness security evaluations.**

Psychological evaluations are required for individuals being considered for the Department of Justice's Witness Protection Program. Prison psychologists perform these evaluations on inmates within institutions as well as on citizens in the community who may enter the program.

The evaluations are a mandated part of the screening for candidates for the program and provide information useful in the acceptance and relocation of Government witnesses. In the past year about 250 evaluations were

conducted in the community. Within Bureau institutions, there are close to 600 members in the program. Half of these inmates are housed in special Witness Security units; the other half are not openly identified and are housed in general population units. Bureau psychologists conduct these evaluations at their duty stations or, when necessary, travel to where the candidate resides.

■ **Predoctoral and postdoctoral psychology internships.** The increased need for prison psychologists has led to the establishment of predoctoral internships offering psychology training in the correctional setting, in which staff psychologists serve as supervisors and mentors.

Five institutions now offer American Psychological Association-approved predoctoral internships (the Federal Medical Centers at Lexington and Springfield, and the Federal Correctional Institutions in Ft. Worth, Texas; Petersburg, Virginia; and Tallahassee) and there are plans to expand this number. Forty-three training positions were available for Fiscal Year 1992, and may be expanded to as many as 60 in 1993. Postdoctoral training positions are also available to provide doctoral-level psychologists with specialty training in such areas as substance abuse treatment, forensic assessments, and sex offender treatment.

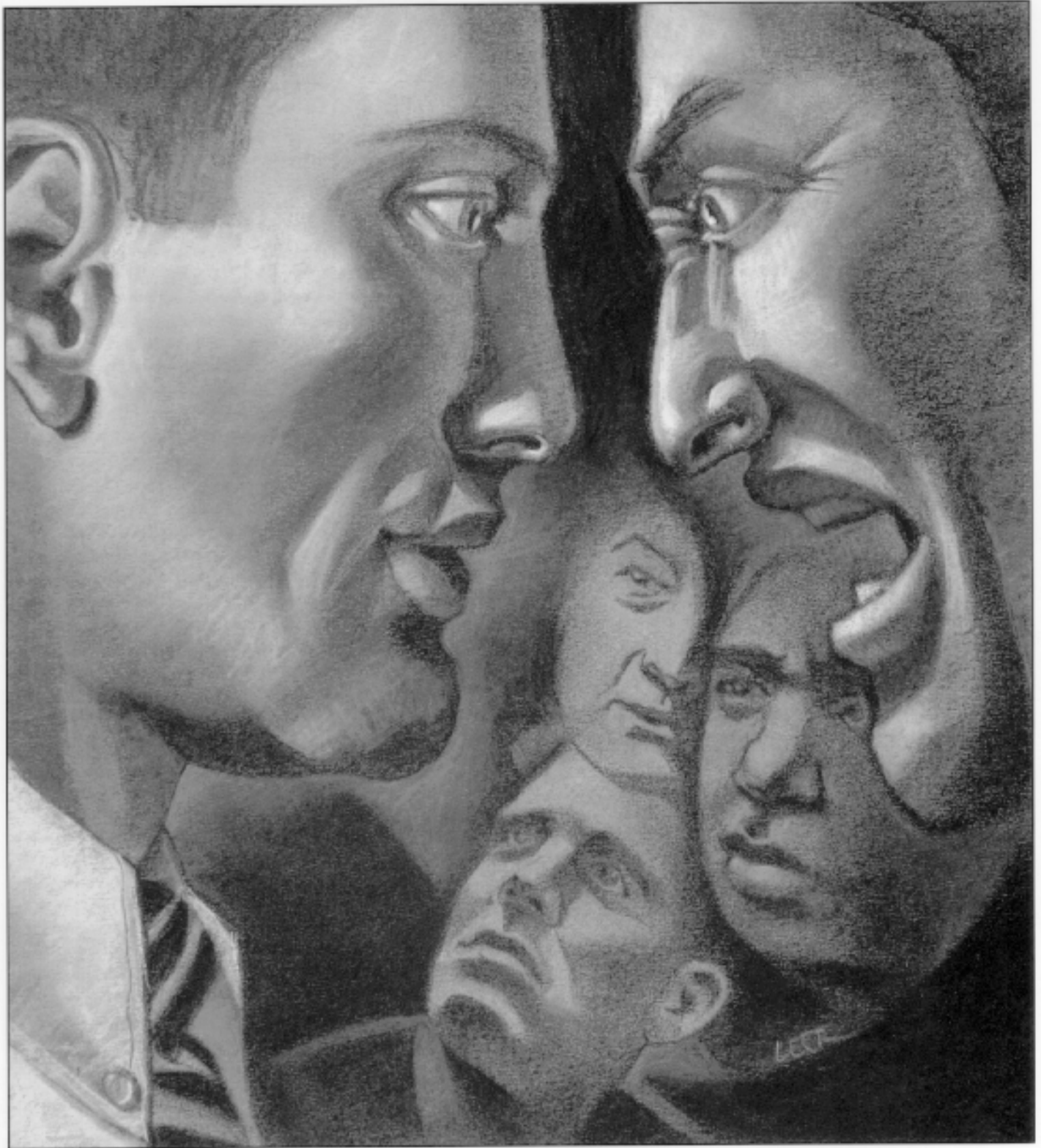
■ **Program reviews.** As part of the Bureau's overall monitoring of programs, reviews directed by psychologists in the headquarters office

in Washington, D.C., are conducted on institution psychology programs according to a formal set of procedures. In alternate years, the institution psychologists conduct inhouse reviews of psychology programs at their own institutions.

Institution programs are examined in the following areas: administration and management, inmate services, staff services, program evaluation/research, Forensic Study Site programs, APA internship programs, and institutional drug programs. They are also reviewed in the cross-disciplinary areas of security, human resource management, responsiveness, and cost-efficiency. Psychologists conducting program reviews must conform to Government auditing standards.

In summary, psychologists in the Federal prison system have many opportunities to use their training and to pursue their professional interests. In addition to the provision of basic mental health services within an institution, I have noted several areas in which psychologists work with special populations of inmates and staff, and in cooperation with outside agencies. In contrast to the stereotypes surrounding prison work—that it is the same routine, year in and year out—prison psychology practice offers a varied and challenging professional environment.

Martin J. Bohn, Jr., Ph.D., is a psychology examiner in the Program Review Division, Federal Bureau of Prisons. A version of this article was presented in a poster session at the American Psychology-Law Society Conference, San Diego, California, in March 1992.



Rebecca Leer

Conflict Resolution

A primer for correctional workers

Chester E. Sigafoos

Resolution of potentially volatile situations is a primary ingredient in the successful management of inmates. Often, correctional staff are faced with verbally assaultive, intimidating inmates. These inmates may be directing their assaults at each other, or at staff. It is not always necessary for staff to resolve less severe conflicts by writing incident reports, or by physically overpowering the inmate. If such tactics are used, they serve to undermine the relationship staff have with inmates in three ways:

- They establish a pattern of interaction between staff and inmates that heightens tension.
- They provide examples of behavior that other inmates may then decide to use on staff.
- They reinforce the self-fulfilling prophecy some staff may have about inmates—that the only way one can handle them is with force.

Conflict resolution is a method of dealing with anyone whose behavioral and verbal actions indicate he or she is in a state of belligerence. It can be a particularly useful strategy for correctional officers to use in their daily contact with inmates. For example, each day prison staff may encounter inmates whose physical behavior may show them to be agitated, excited, or nervous. Other conflictive inmates may stand firmly, defying staff to come close to them. Their verbal actions may include talking more loudly than normal. They may shout and speak more quickly, running their words together in an unintelligible jumble of syllables.

It is not always necessary for staff to resolve less severe conflicts by writing incident reports, or by physically overpowering the inmate. If such tactics are used, they serve to undermine the relationship staff have with inmates.

Imagine this situation: an inmate stands firm, leaning slightly towards you; he points his finger at you while he places his other hand on his hip. He talks louder and faster than normal, slurring his speech at times, possibly even hitting you with saliva as he barks out his thoughts. What would you do in this case? What would you say?

There are no textbook answers to how you should respond or what you should say when confronted with this or any other conflict situation. Each situation is different. What upsets one inmate may not upset another. People sometimes “wake up on the wrong side of bed,” and are irritated by normal daily routines of life. Even though the contents of the inmate’s “message” are different, what is the same about conflict situations is their context.

Most conflict situations share common elements: a heightened state of agitation, a changed facial expression, and a charged mode of speech. By examining these common elements, we can establish

some basic guidelines by which conflictive inmates can be handled.

1. Keep “fight or flight” response in check

Let’s examine the conflict situation more closely. For every action there is a reaction, and nothing could be truer when you’re faced with a conflict situation. Before you can even think of what to say, your body will react. Depending on your experience and the level of hostility directed to you, you may find yourself going to the extreme reaction of “fight or flight.” In the “fight or flight” response, your body secretes hormones that prepare it to defend itself. This is a natural response when the body feels threatened, but it doesn’t help solve the conflict and will probably make it worse. Although it’s difficult, we need to try and temper our bodies’ immediate reactions to a conflict situation. Put the response in a holding pattern. (Be happy it’s there, for you may need it if the inmate goes completely “off” on you.)

Try to maintain a calm, defensive posture. If you assume a hostile, aggressive stance, this may only stimulate the already agitated inmate into a more aggressive mode. Assuming a posture that is calm (but not relaxed) and firm (but not too hard) sets the tone for conflict resolution. Your body language is just as important as your voice for sending a message.

Other inmates may be watching you.

They may not be able to hear what you say, but they can see how you look. The image you project will send a message. You need to maintain a defensive posture because the inmate may try to assault you. A mentally disturbed inmate may

have difficulty relating to what you say. You may think you're communicating with him when suddenly he swings at you. Standing in a good defensive posture, with your body partially to the side, will give you an edge in countering an attack. If an assault takes place, you'll be in a better position to bring the inmate under control.

So far, you've been confronted with a hostile inmate, your body has reacted, you keep the reaction in check, and you place yourself in a calm, defensive posture. You haven't said a word yet. What should you say? Should you listen or speak? Should you gain the upper hand immediately, or let the inmate "get it off his chest"? Is the inmate angry at you, or at someone or something else? Do you take this personally, or do you need to remind yourself that this particular inmate often acts this way?

2. Listen and assess the situation

In many conflict situations we find that we say something before we think about it. You are already in your calm, defensive posture. So what's your hurry? Instead of talking or yelling back at the inmate, count to five. Give yourself time to hear what he's saying. One of the most frequent complaints you'll hear from inmates is that no one listens to them. They develop a belief that what they say "falls on deaf ears." The inmate may be yelling just because he believes no one will listen. The answer to resolving this conflict, then, is to listen. Some inmates need to "unload" on someone. They vent their frustration and anger in a matter of minutes and then feel better.

...[N]ow is not the time
to argue with him.
Listen to his story;
don't criticize
or try to demonstrate your
superior knowledge.
Listening doesn't mean
you agree with him,
it just means you've
heard him.

Heitler (1990), in her book *From Conflict to Resolution*, presents a useful concept—the "expression of initial positions"; that is, what each side says at the beginning of the conflict resolution process. Listening is a very important component of this phase. A good listener is an active listener. Good listeners focus on what the speaker is saying. This is crucial to assessing the inmate. Is the speaker talking coherently? If not, the inmate may be under the influence of drugs or alcohol, or suffering from a serious mental disturbance. The only way you would know this is by listening. You would handle this inmate differently from one who is coherent but also agitated. If you started arguing immediately with the inmate, he might shut up, and thus deprive you of information necessary to your assessment.

Even though you may not agree with the conflictive inmate, now is not the time to argue with him. Listen to his story; don't criticize or try to demonstrate your superior knowledge. Listening doesn't

mean you agree with him, it just means you've heard him.

An active listener also provides feedback to the speaker. This feedback can be both verbal and nonverbal. Nonverbal feedback includes nodding the head at appropriate times, maintaining eye contact with the speaker (not necessarily staring at him or looking through him), and, if appropriate, leaning toward the speaker (but maintaining your defensive posture).

Verbal feedback tells the speaker he's being heard and can be simple utterances like "uh huh," "yes," "I see." If the inmate says something you don't understand, perhaps because he's speaking so fast, ask him to clarify what he means. Some people are afraid to interrupt an agitated person for fear they'll "set them off." Asking the speaker for clarification shows that you are listening. Convey the message that what the speaker is saying is important, and you want to be sure you clearly understand.

In addition, when you ask someone to clarify what he's said, his reaction will usually be to talk slower and more distinctly. Have you ever heard yourself give directions to a foreign visitor? You talk much slower, make your sentences simpler, and enunciate more clearly. This is what happens when you ask a conflictive inmate to clarify what he's said. This sets a different pace of speech and tone of delivery. Instead of rambling and screaming, the inmate needs to slow down and temper his words. Many times this tactic will be sufficient to reduce the hostility level.

A second element of the assessment phase is the role of *equal time sharing*. This aspect needs to be examined more closely because of the different dynamics operating in the correctional setting. When you're dealing with a hostile inmate, he'll want to dominate the interaction by talking louder and longer. The normal staff-inmate "distribution of power"—who has control of the situation—favors the staff member. Staff become used to being in control and comfortable with a distribution of power in which the inmate is subordinate.

This "normal" asymmetry of power becomes disrupted in a conflict situation. The normally subordinate inmate acts as though he has become dominant and the staff subordinate. Staff need to be aware that power relationships frequently vary. Generally, staff dominate interactions with inmates, but that domination may be 51 percent on one occasion and 80 percent on another. The important thing to remember is that even if the inmate acquires 51 percent of the power in an interaction, eventually the power will shift back to normal levels.

Thus, if the staff member perceives that the inmate is shifting the power dimension, he or she needs to be reassured that this may only be an illusion. Just because the inmate is talking louder, faster, or longer doesn't necessarily mean the staff member has lost power in the relationship. The staff member needs to stand firm and self-confident. By doing this, the staff member holds on to the power base, which will return to its normal, asymmetrical nature once the conflict has been resolved.

In society, daily interactions between people are also characterized by fluctuations in the power dimension. Asym-

We need to recognize that by "giving" an inmate time to yell and scream, we are not losing power.

In fact, what we are doing is maintaining control over the situation, since it is "we" who are allowing the inmate to speak.

metrical relations (boss and subordinate, for example), if accepted by the participants, are usually satisfactory. Healthy relationships among friends and family, however, are characterized by symmetrical power dimensions. In these, friends maintain a balance of power, thereby allowing give and take in the relationship and the mutual satisfaction of each friend's needs.

When power relationships in corrections become symmetrical, a different problem arises. Allowing a relationship between staff member and inmate to become balanced may scare some staff members. They may fear that they will not be able to regain control of the situation once the inmate dominates the interaction.

We need to recognize that by "giving" an inmate time to yell and scream, we are not losing power. In fact, what we are doing is maintaining control over the situation, since it is "we" who are allowing the inmate to speak.

All inmates do not thoroughly think through what has caused their conflicts. Letting them talk may give them the first opportunity to actually hear what they've been thinking. Sometimes, after they've heard themselves, they recognize the flaws in their thinking, and resolve the conflict themselves.

But in other instances, the inmate's logic may not be flawed. Allowing symmetry in the relationship opens the way for the exchange of information. Symmetrical relationships mean that each person has equal time to present a point of view. Some inmates don't want to allow staff equal time. The egotistical nature of the antisocial personality wants only to hear itself. These types of inmates have always had difficulties in social interactions. They don't have the ability to "decenter," or see things from another person's point of view.

Identification of the antisocial inmate can be accomplished with experience during the assessment phase of conflict resolution. If you find that the inmate yelling and screaming at you is not receptive to an even exchange of information, consider another course of action. In some situations, walking away—while saying something like "I'll come back when you're calmer"—is a possible alternative. The presence of the staff member creates a "target" or stimulus for the inmate. If that stimulus is not there, the inmate may not respond anymore. This is not to suggest that the inmate will not be dealt with. The staff member can always return to the inmate at a later time, hopefully after he has calmed down.

In most conflict situations needing resolution, however, the staff member will not have the option of walking away.

3. Summarize your initial positions

So what do you say to the agitated inmate? Ask him if you can say something. Asking permission to speak when confronted with a hostile inmate is like throwing a curve ball when the batter expects a fast ball. Inmates are seldom asked their permission, they are usually told what to do. Some staff may balk at the idea of asking an inmate's permission to speak. But remember, this technique allows you to maintain control of the situation.

You will accomplish several things by asking permission to speak. You'll find out if he's finished talking. If he's not, he will probably tell you so. In this way you're letting him know you want to speak, but will allow him time to finish. This will set the stage for a symmetrical interaction—I'll let you speak, then you let me speak. More importantly, you will be showing respect. You'll be giving him the message that what he says is important, and you don't want to interrupt.

When the inmate indicates he is finished speaking, you're on. The delivery of your message is as important as the content. If you've just listened to a hostile, screaming inmate, you've had an excellent example of how not to talk. Speak in a clear, direct manner—loud enough to be heard, but soft enough that the inmate has to work a little to hear you. This will force him to redirect his attention from shouting and screaming to push his message out, to processing incoming information instead.

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example of how not
to talk.

Deliver your message at a slower than normal pace. Talking rapidly to a conflictive inmate will only exacerbate his anxiety. In fact, he's liable to model your behavior and increase his talking speed. Talking slower will hopefully set a precedent.

Do not criticize, ridicule, or make fun of what the inmate said. Some staff may think the inmate's actions are a "put on." But making a joke out of what he's said will only add fuel to the fire. It's important to speak in a professional, business-like manner. Some staff successfully use humor when dealing with a conflictive inmate. This can be risky. It is wiser to use a technique you're safe with than one that could backfire.

It is important to convey that you recognize the need to listen to different points of view. You are taking the time because it is important for you to offer your thoughts in an effort to help resolve the conflict.

Feedback is a way to offer verbal information to the conflictive inmate. For example, if you respond to the inmate, saying "yes, but...", this does not show cooperation. The "but" is an indication that the inmate is wrong and you are right. Changing the word to "and", as in "yes, and...", creates a different atmosphere: "Now we can cooperate in resolving this conflict."

If we put this all together, we should end up with an atmosphere in which both participants have an equal opportunity to express their points of view. The conflictive inmate may have started out in a hostile, agitated manner, but through the use of controlled speech patterns, the staff member is able to set a tone that will promote the sharing of information.

By summarizing the initial positions, you tell the inmate you've heard what he's said. In return, and in a symmetrical fashion, the inmate has heard your point of view. This does not say that either point of view is right, just that we know where each stands. From this, a working relationship can be developed to find solutions to the conflict. Studies of interactions between people have shown how working toward a common goal enhances the relationship between enemies. This does not suggest that a staff member be "buddy-buddy" with an inmate. But it is important for staff to have positive relationships with inmates.

The goal of conflict resolution is to obtain a "win-win" situation. If one side is not allowed to present its position, we end up with "win-lose." The inmate loses by being locked up after not being

allowed to talk, or the staff loses by fueling inmate animosity.

During the presentation of initial positions, each participant states what he wants. It is difficult to develop a path to a goal if neither side knows what goal is being sought. Some goals can never be attained—for example, if the inmate says his goal is to get out of prison “right now!” Other goals may be more logical.

Take the example of the inmate who is furious, upset, and “not going to take it any longer.” He’s been held in the reception unit, living with two other inmates, for the past 3 weeks, waiting for bedspace in the housing unit. We know what his goal is, but what about your goal? Is ensuring a safe environment for the inmates all there is to it?

4. Read between the lines

The next phase involves an examination of the initial positions, and the “true” underlying reasons for those positions. One of the most difficult jobs a staff member has is being able to decipher what some inmates mean. Inmates can be experts at concealing the truth. They’ve been rewarded for it in the past. But one of the drawbacks of being good at deception is that sometimes you don’t know what the truth is anymore. When this happens, inmates may not know why they are so upset. This makes the job of resolving the conflict more difficult.

Another source of false information could be staff members if, instead of being active listeners, they just listened

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Sometimes walking
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to their own thoughts, focused on what they thought they heard was wrong, or began to overinterpret the inmate’s position.

Exploring underlying concerns requires the participants to shift their focus. At this time, the staff member could move the discussion to other surroundings. Inmates will “front” a staff member, given the opportunity—that is, they will attempt to embarrass or upset a staff member in front of other inmates.

Resolving conflict situations in front of other inmates creates additional problems. First, the inmate wants to continue to be seen as dominant. If the staff member can convince the inmate to move to another location, he or she also removes the inmate from his source of support.

Second, the onset of the conflict may have occurred in the inmate’s room, or some other familiar surrounding.

Removing the inmate from this surrounding creates an advantage for staff. The staff member also wants to be in familiar surroundings, thereby gaining a non-verbal edge over the inmate. Further, the initial surroundings have been linked to the onset of the conflict. Staying there may only keep the memory of the initial confrontation fresh.

Third, the staff member has reached a point with the inmate in which a mutual relationship exists. They are now in a state of cooperation rather than confrontation. It becomes easier for both to cooperate if they work in a more private setting. Some inmates may object to a staff member’s suggestion of going to “their” office. This could be seen as a sign of weakness or defeat in the inmate. If that’s the case, agree upon a neutral spot. When choosing the location, privacy needs to be weighed against security. You are not out of the woods yet. The inmate may have calmed down, but could be doing so in an effort to assault you when you least expect it. Sometimes walking around the compound provides all the privacy you need.

In this stage a mutual effort is undertaken with the goal of resolving the conflict. Prior to this, the atmosphere was oppositional, the perspectives were narrow, and the focus was on “I.” Now the focus should be on looking at the broader picture. Change the pronoun in your sentences from “I” to “We.” This establishes a new mindset in which the staff member is no longer the enemy, and the inmate is no longer the subordinate. Now you are working together to resolve the issue.

Examining underlying concerns begins with a restatement of the initial positions. Time has now passed, and the inmate may be in a clearer frame of mind. Ask the inmate to restate his position. Follow with a restatement of your position. In the example of the inmate demanding a housing unit change, the inmate now states, "I don't feel comfortable living in there." This is not the same initial position. The initial position was a demand to be moved. Now, he doesn't "feel comfortable." Why the change?

A change from the initial position may take place for several reasons. The inmate or staff member may have gained some insight into the problem, making the true reason for the conflict easier to understand. Conversely, the passage of time may create second thoughts, and the true reason may have moved farther away.

Some inmates are able to be honest with themselves and with others. For these inmates, conflict resolution will probably end up in win-win situations. For others, the ability to be honest with themselves has long been distorted and flawed. As a staff member, you may not be interested whether an inmate is being honest with himself. But at this phase of conflict resolution, your ability to accept the inmate, and show a nonjudgemental interest in his conflict, is important. Guard against the introduction of any personal bias into the relationship.

Inmates are very sensitive to being questioned. In fact, they are probably experts in the "art" of interrogation and

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its tactics and techniques. Just a short time ago, this inmate was yelling and screaming. The one thing we didn't want to do was antagonize him, or appear hostile or offensive. Now we are at a point at which it's necessary to obtain information. We don't want to appear offensive, because if the inmate feels he's being interrogated we're liable to end up where we started.

Here a little role playing may help. Jack Webb, in the television series *Dragnet*, was famous for one expression, "just the facts." That's what we're looking for, "just the facts." And we are doing so for the purpose of achieving "our" goal, resolving the conflict.

Information is contained in the mind at various levels. Often, the surface levels do not provide the facts needed to understand underlying concerns. As you delve deeper into the reasons for the conflict, you will need both awareness

and a sense of history. You'll need to be aware of how specific things affect this inmate. Why does he "feel uncomfortable"? Is it because the beds are terrible, or does he have back problems? The more you talk, the more history will be uncovered. We all have a personal history, which influences what we think about, how we think, and how we react to things.

Earlier, the role of listening was discussed. It is important in this phase too. But the listening you do now will be different. When you listen to deeper concerns, it helps if you "soften" your stance. By this, you seem more compassionate and understanding.

Here's how our hypothetical example might resolve: as you listen to the inmate talking about his problems with his housing situation, you realize something else is bothering him—family problems, perhaps. Or one of his cellmates might be trying to extort something from him. Or perhaps the other inmates in his cell are having a sexual relationship and he is upset by it. You might ask if he's ever had this problem before. There's no need to pry, and he may not want to explain fully, but the more you can talk to him on this level, the likelier you are to discover the true reason for his conflict.

During the dialogue, you have your side to present too. You'll probably want to explain the procedures for housing and the rationale behind the system. Emphasizing the aspect of fairness in placement for all inmates is important. The system isn't designed to benefit one person only. While the inmate focuses on his specific needs, the narrow perspective, the staff focuses on the needs of the institution,

the broader perspective. But now you see how one inmate's problem comes in conflict with the system you represent. At this point, you would again summarize each position.

5. Resolve the situation through compromise and cooperation

The needs of both parties have been identified. Now we must provide options that serve those needs. The generation of alternatives is a group process. Both inmate and staff member need to offer ideas. Brainstorming is most effective when it is unrestricted, free-flowing, and involves more than one person. The goal is to generate as many options as possible.

Once the possible alternatives are listed, a mutually satisfying choice can be made. Of course, the solution may not always be totally satisfactory to each person. In corrections, resolution of the conflict may not mean the inmate gets what he wants. Some needs cannot be satisfied because of policies against the proposed solution, circumstances beyond staff's control, or the irrational nature of the demands. Does this mean that conflict resolution failed? No. Just calming the inmate down, and reducing the volatility of the initial situation, is conflict resolution in itself. The goal of conflict resolution need not be the totally successful resolution of every problem.

A realistic resolution will involve compromise and cooperation. Part of picking the solution involves compro-

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mise, the give and take of negotiation, As each person presents alternatives, the pros and cons can be discussed.

Some inmates, no matter how many alternatives you look at, no matter how hard you've tried, will just not be satisfied. These rigid-thinking inmates will continue to have difficulty adjusting to prison life. With these inmates, the staff member can at least say, "I've done the best I can." Most inmates learn to adjust, but there will always be a few who seem to thrive on being miserable—that's their choice.

6. Implement the solution

The final step is to review what you've both done and ensure that no unfinished business remains.

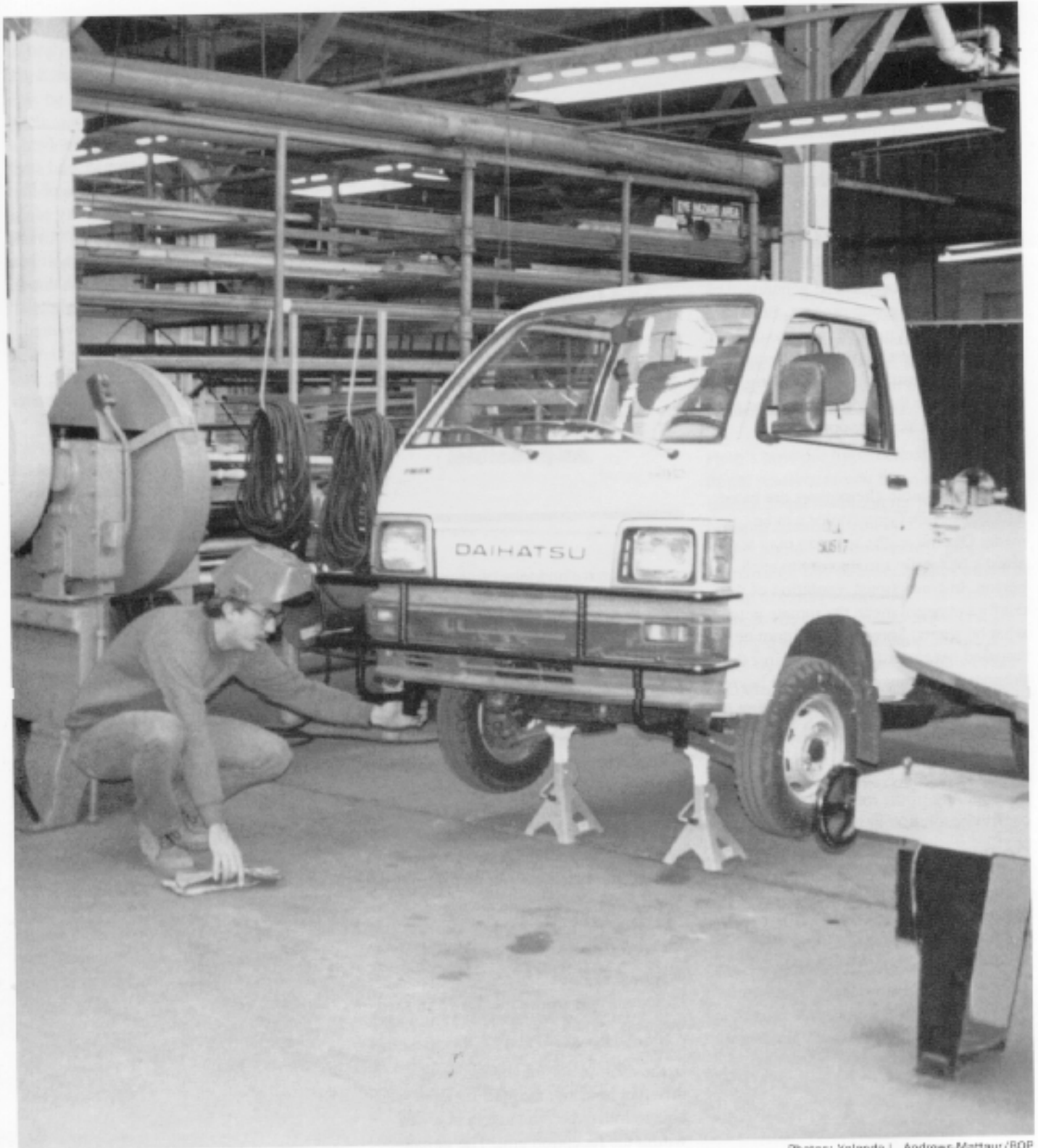
In the example of the inmate seeking different housing, the staff member was able to move the inmate to a new cell within the reception unit. The inmate

wasn't able to move to a housing unit like he wanted. But after the underlying reasons for his distress were revealed, the solution was easier to find.

After a conflict is successfully resolved, the relationship between inmate and staff changes. The asymmetrical nature of the relationship returns, but the quality of the relationship is now different. Inmates and staff who work together learn that with a little patience, listening, and understanding, results can be obtained—maybe not the results the inmate originally wanted, but positive results nonetheless.

Inmates come away from the experience with a different attitude. They have learned that other alternatives exist by which they can change their environment. If resolving the conflict through communication works once, perhaps it will work again. If one inmate finds it works for him, he'll probably tell others. For staff working with inmates, the little bit of time you take today may pay off tomorrow. ■

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Photos: Yolanda L. Andrews-Mettaur/BOP

The Philadelphia Story

An innovative work program in the “real world”

Karen Byerly and Lynda Ford

In a period of Government cost-cutting, opportunities for Federal agencies to share resources in support of joint goals represent a good use of taxpayers' dollars. For some years, the Federal Bureau of Prisons has been investigating new approaches to providing punishments for nonviolent offenders that are both appropriate and provide a smooth transition from prison to the community—allowing inmates to work in quasi-community settings. In October 1990, the Bureau implemented a new form of alternative punishment that had been in planning since early 1989.

The Philadelphia Urban Work Cadre program allows nondangerous Federal inmates, who are within 10 to 18 months of release and have good histories of institutional adjustment, to transfer to an Urban Work Cadre (UWC) program in a Community Corrections Center (CCC), where conditions are very restrictive. Cadre inmates perform jobs for another Federal agency—the Defense Personnel Support Center (DPSC).

When Cadre inmates reach the last part of their sentences (normally, the last 6 months), they will move into the “prerelease” phase, where they live in a Community Corrections Center and work in traditional jobs in the community. Thus, the Urban Work Cadre Program provides an intermediate way station on the traditional “prison to halfway house” journey.

Left: An Urban Work Cadre resident designed a protective bumper for the minitrucks used around the base, which had been causing damage in tight corners.



A resident checks packing slips against the main invoice for computers and office equipment.

How the program began

The concept of a community-based intergovernmental work agreement was initially developed by former Northeast Regional Director Charles Tumbo and his staff, with strong support from Bureau Director J. Michael Quinlan. The program was not actually implemented until the spring of 1990, when General John K. Cusick, Commander of the Defense Personnel Support Center (DPSC) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, approached the current Regional Director, George C. Wilkinson, regarding the need for manpower on the base.

At the same time, the Greater Philadelphia Community Corrections Center (GPCCC), a Bureau of Prisons contract facility, was experiencing low population levels. The director of GPCCC was approached about the possibility of an Urban Work Cadre program, knowing the interest of General Cusick at the DPSC. GPCCC staff and their board of directors were receptive to the idea.

Under Title 18 USC 4125 (a), “the Attorney General may make available to the heads of several departments the services of United States prisoners under terms, conditions, and rates mutually agreed upon, for constructing or repairing roads; clearing, maintaining, and reforesting public lands; building levees; and constructing or repairing any other public ways or works financed wholly or in major part by funds appropriated by Congress.” This became the legal basis for the program.

Frequent meetings took place among Bureau, DPSC, and GPCCC staff between May and September 1990. An interagency agreement was developed between the Bureau and the DPSC that outlined responsibilities for each agency—basically, onsite supervision would be DPSC’s responsibility—and the type of work and supervision the inmates required:

- Inmates would perform general maintenance duties on the military base—mowing lawns, painting, doing carpentry, cutting trees, performing custodial duties, and doing similar types of work.
- The Bureau’s Northeast Regional Office (NERO) in Philadelphia would select inmates to work on the base.
- NERO would ensure that inmates had no prior Department of Defense employment.
- The use of Federal inmates would not be a substitute for available civilian personnel.
- Inmates would be paid from Bureau of Prisons performance pay funds. (All physically able Federal inmates work and are paid a modest wage, on a scale from \$.23 to \$1.15 per hour.)

- Inmates would be considered as serving in an industry, and thus would be covered for injuries under the provisions of the Inmate Accident Compensation System.
- The Bureau would cover transportation costs for inmates between the CCC and the work site.
- Inmates would comply with all DPSC rules and receive an orientation from base personnel.
- The CCC would ensure that at least four inmates had valid drivers' licenses.
- The base would provide 8 hours of work per day per inmate, as well as technical supervision, tools, equipment, and materials necessary to perform agreed-upon tasks. The base would allow for break and lunch periods.
- The base would provide periodic safety briefings to inmates.
- Inmates would be provided identification badges to be worn on base premises.
- The base would provide emergency medical care and notify the CCC of any accidents.
- The CCC would make weekly and as-required onsite visits to substantiate attendance and discuss worker problems.

It was agreed that inmates chosen for participation in the GPCCC program would be medically cleared volunteers who had 10 to 18 months remaining on their sentences and were classified as minimum- or low-security. They would have no history of violence, organized-crime participation, or serious drug use, and would have received no misconduct reports during incarceration.

The initial plan was to transfer 25 inmates from institutions in the Bureau's



After a break in a water main, a resident prepares the area for sidewalk replacement.

Northeast Region to GPCCC for participation in the Urban Work Cadre Program. After several meetings with DPSC and GPCCC, it was decided the inmates would be placed into the program in staggered-arrival groups of 10, 10, and 5, to allow time for any necessary adjustments between arrivals. This proved to be a wise decision, and minor issues were resolved at each stage. On October 15, 1990, the first group of 10 inmates began the Philadelphia UWC program.

By January 1991, the phased implementation was complete; 25 inmates were working at DPSC. To date, 88 inmates have participated in the program. Fifty-six have successfully completed the program, resulting in referrals to the prerelease phases of their sentences. The program has had eight failures: five for drug use, one for being in an unauthorized area, one for failure to stand count, and one escapee.*

* The inmate who escaped has been returned to custody.

None of the program failures resulted from an incident "on the job" at DPSC. As for the participants who remain in the program, CCM staff receive outstanding reports regarding their capabilities, work performance, and behavior. One inmate was hired while still at the CCC, to work at DPSC in the Facilities Engineering Department.

Program development issues

Much of the program's success depends upon the initial screening conducted by institutional Unit Management Teams (consisting of a unit manager, case manager, and correctional counselor) before submitting referrals. Unit staff must be knowledgeable regarding the UWC's mission and criteria to successfully match inmates having the necessary physical ability or work skills to assignments at DPSC. Unit Teams must also make judgements regarding the suitability of an inmate's temperament to perform work in a Federal agency and to reside in a CCC.

Upon arrival at GPCCC, program participants are briefed by CCC staff about Center living, and its rules and regulations. Then the community corrections manager (who has oversight of the program) and other CCC staff, along with the regional safety specialist, acquaint inmates with program guidelines.

As part of the inmate's orientation phase, he is told he will be referred to as a "resident" rather than "inmate." Psychologically, this helps the inmate begin the transition from prison to the community. This term also makes it easier for DPSC staff to relate to the program participants.

DPSC staff show the residents a 20-minute slide presentation on the mission of DPSC, and give them a thorough briefing regarding conduct on the base.

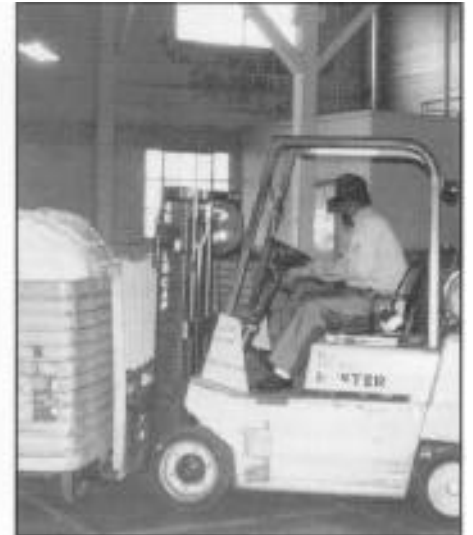
A staff orientation package was developed to help the base supervisors deal with the residents. All DPSC staff who would be working with residents received the 2-hour orientation, which covers such topics as accountability, safety issues, equipment operation, transporting residents, performance evaluations, compromising situations, control of work crews, and escape procedures. A total of 25 staff were trained during October 1990.

One of the first programmatic issues addressed was that of social privileges for the residents. Upon initial arrival at the CCC, residents were permitted to walk in the community 45 minutes each day for exercise and recreation. Once the residents started work at DPSC, they were eligible for a 3-hour social pass each weekend during the first 30 days. After successful completion of the first month, the resident became eligible for 8-hour social passes every other weekend and 3-hour passes for the remaining weekends.

After further evaluation and review, the pass system was revised to the following:

- In program up to 30 days—4 hours per weekend.
- In program 31 to 90 days—12 hours every other weekend; 4 hours on remaining weekends.
- In program more than 90 days—12 hours per weekend.

During the early stages of the program, residents' needs for routine outpatient health care, prescription refills, and



Left: A resident and supervisor Ralph Coleman with a paper baler. Residents collect high-grade paper waste each day; bales can weigh as much as 1,500 pounds. Right: Moving crushed cans into the adjoining warehouse for recycling.

dental care became apparent. A purchase order was approved for prescription medications to be acquired through a local pharmacist. A contract is pending for outpatient, inpatient, and prescription services with a local health care provider or a hospital for UWC residents, as the Bureau of Prisons continues to be responsible for their medical treatment. Once a resident transfers to the pre-release phase and is employed, the resident is responsible for his own medical expenses.

At first, the performance pay rate was \$.40 per hour. As UWC participants, the residents had expenses not incurred when they were incarcerated—haircuts, personal hygiene items, and so on. (Items purchased in institution commissaries were less expensive than at local stores.) Due to these additional expenses, the performance pay was increased to \$.75 per hour, which appears to be adequate.

A few weeks into the program, it became apparent that the residents would need additional protective clothing (jumpsuits)

for the work they were performing at DPSC. Two jumpsuits were issued to each resident; winter parkas were also purchased for them by the Bureau.

Benefits of the program

In the 2 years it has been in operation, the Philadelphia UWC program has already provided a number of benefits:

- Enhanced partnerships between Federal agencies in a community setting.
- Job training and career counseling for residents through DPSC's Office of Civilian Personnel—and the possibility of permanent employment.
- Opportunities for residents to demonstrate they can be trusted when given responsibility—thus promoting confidence in their ability to return to the community from a prison environment.

After 6 months of operation, an evaluation determined that the program was

cost-effective, and DPSC indicated they could use an additional 2.5 residents. In March 1991, an agreement increased the UWC to 50 residents. In October 1991, DPSC requested that the Bureau reduce UWC employment to 35 during the winter months, as jobs such as landscaping and outside maintenance were not available.

Guidelines for future work groups

During the spring of 1991, a work group was appointed by the director of the Bureau of Prisons to develop guidelines for the expansion of community service projects. Operations Memorandum 225-91 (Community Service Projects), dated October 9, 1991, was developed by the work group and outlines the following obligations for host Federal agencies:

- n Providing transportation of inmates to and from the work site.
- n Providing special protective and safety equipment, materials, tools, and supplies not normally available to inmates at the institution.
- n Providing supervision of the inmate workers. Supervisors are required to be trained by the Bureau under the policy requirements for volunteer/contract workers. Supervision requires visual contact with inmates at least every 2 hours. The host agency will maintain inmate accountability through the use of inmate work detail cards furnished by the Bureau.
- n Ensuring that supervisors are of good character, do not have significant criminal records (the degree of significance is decided at the local level between the institution and host agency), and have no histories of drug or alcohol abuse.



Residents maintain the fish pond as part of landscaping duties.

- n Submitting monthly work reports on each inmate to the Bureau. Safety talks are required at least once per week. Unusual events, such as escapes or inmate misconduct, must be immediately reported to Bureau officials.
 - n Providing a safe and humane working environment.
 - n Providing emergency medical care and attention, with immediate notification to the Bureau of any such care or additional inmate needs.
- In turn, the Bureau assumes the following obligations:
- n Performing appropriate screening for nondangerous candidates.
 - n Selecting the inmates capable of performing work as required.
 - n Providing regularly scheduled meals.
 - n Providing inmates with work clothing and safety shoes.
 - n Providing training to host agency employees.

- n Providing a project representative who will visit the work site at least weekly.
- n Providing all inmate pay and job-performance incentives.
- n Reimbursing medical expenses for emergency and other necessary treatment of the inmates.

Qualifications for the program have changed in two major areas. Initially, the Bureau utilized only inmates transferring from an institution for participation in the program. The Bureau is now emphasizing the use of urban work camps as an intermediate punishment for offenders sentenced directly from the court. This option provides a valuable tool for judges in selected, appropriate cases at the low end of the Federal sentencing guidelines.

The other major change was in the referral criteria concerning institution conduct. The original criteria required an inmate to maintain a clear institutional conduct record; however, institution staff may now refer an inmate for transfer to this program if he/she has not received an incident report during the preceding 12 months.

Service projects are to be developed by the chief executive officer (CEO) of the institution (the community corrections manager is considered a CEO) and submitted to the regional counsel to ensure compliance with legal requirements. The CEO will implement letters of agreement with the host agency after approval by the regional director.

The policy also requires the inmate to agree to sign the "Conditions of Residence in an Urban Work Camp." This outlines obligations for inmates and expectations for them to pay for expen-

ses related to their daily needs, with the exceptions of housing, meals, and bed expenses. In addition, each participant consents to urinalysis or other testing to detect unauthorized drug or alcohol use.

As a result of the success of the Philadelphia UWC program, the Bureau identified a strategic initiative for each region to develop a UWC program during Fiscal Year 1992. During the year, the six regional directors entered into agreements with other Government agencies to provide inmate labor under the provisions of Title 18 USC 4125(a). Currently, 11 UWC's are operating in different areas of the country.

For instance, on January 7, 1992, an agreement was signed in the Northeast Region with the Naval Aviation Supply Office (NASO) for 20 female residents to work in that agency. Work release (CCC) housing is provided by Bucks Work Release Center through an intergovernmental agreement with the U.S. Marshals upon which the Bureau of Prisons "piggybacks." The Bureau's first female UWC program began operations on February 5, 1992.

Most recently, in October 1992 the Bureau signed an agreement with the National Park Service that will allow Federal inmates to perform maintenance and other work on Park Service facilities—constructing and repairing roads; clearing, maintaining, and reforesting public lands; building levees; and performing routine work such as mowing lawns and painting. The Park Service agreement is similar to previous agreements signed with the U.S. Veterans Administration and the U.S. Forest Service; the Bureau also has active



On such a large installation, landscaping is a major operation.

projects with the National Guard and has considered pilot programs with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Urban Work Cadre programs—and interagency agreements such as that with the National Park Service—have a great deal of potential in a time of tightening Federal budgets, when agencies are concerned with maintaining the service levels of the past. For the agencies, the benefits are obvious; for the inmates, the experience of "real-world" work expectations is just as beneficial. The Philadelphia program points the way to future "win-win" partnerships in this area. ■

Karen Byerly is Associate Warden for Programs at the Federal Correctional Institution, Allenwood, Pennsylvania, and was formerly Community Corrections Administrator in the Federal Bureau of Prisons' Northeast Regional Office. Lynda Ford is Community Corrections Manager at the Philadelphia Community Corrections Management Center.

A unique Government agency

The host agency for the Bureau's initial work cadre program, the Defense Personnel Support Center (DPSC), is a unique Government agency that buys and distributes about \$3.9 billion worth of food, clothing, textiles, and medical supplies each year, primarily to the armed forces. The facility—11 square blocks in south Philadelphia—has more than 5,000 civilian and military employees who handle 13 million requisitions for supplies each year.

From its beginnings as the Schuylkill Arsenal in 1800, the center has played a major part in supplying America's military. During the Civil War, about 10,000 tailors and seamstresses were employed to manufacture clothing for the Union Army. In World War II, the center handled most supply needs of the Army and Air Corps. With postwar unification of military procurement, it took responsibility for supplying the other services as well.

During Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm, the DPSC's four directorates—clothing and textiles, manufacturing, subsistence, and medical—worked around the clock to meet the mammoth supply needs of American forces in the Persian Gulf, ultimately handling requisitions worth more than \$2.6 billion.

DPSC has had a long relationship with the Bureau of Prisons. Since 1965, it has awarded contracts for military supplies and equipment to more than 80 Federal Prison Industries factories. The agency's familiarity with Bureau programs made it a natural site for the Bureau's first Urban Work Cadre program. ■

Aggressive Recruitment

How to develop a multimedia campaign

Peter M. Wittenberg

Corrections has always had an image problem. Most people gain their knowledge of corrections and prisons from popular movies and books that, while marginally entertaining, have no basis in reality. Many still believe prisons are operated by brutes—not a great public awareness foundation from which to recruit intelligent, professional applicants. An additional recruitment problem is the competition prisons face from other agencies that share the same applicant pool. It is often difficult to convince applicants that our profession is just as necessary and challenging as working for a police or sheriff's department.

Regardless of these obstacles, we must continue to fill our positions with honest, qualified staff, while considering such other factors as recruitment of minorities and women. My experience is that if an aggressive recruitment campaign is not maintained, if recruitment is consigned to the "back burner," staffing will suffer to such an extent that retention of staff will decrease, security may be compromised, and inmate programs will deteriorate.

What is meant by "aggressive recruitment?" In my view, it is a comprehensive program that requires far more than participation at college employment fairs and career days. The first step in starting an aggressive recruitment program is the establishment of a plan of action, which should identify the following:

■ ***Does the facility have recruitment or retention problems and, if so, why?***

First, is there a recruitment problem or a retention problem? Each situation requires a different response. Does the facility have a good reputation within the community or does it rarely get "good press?" Perhaps a public relations



program is needed prior to a recruitment program. Be honest in this assessment. There is no need to spend a great deal of money on recruitment if the problem lies elsewhere.

■ ***What positions should be targeted for recruitment?***

What are the most difficult-to-fill positions? It's not a good idea to recruit for dozens of positions at once. Opening a recruitment program that lists many positions will often confuse applicants and falsely suggest that your facility isn't a good place to work (after all, look at ALL those vacancies!). My experience suggests that no more than five or six positions at a time should be targeted during a recruitment campaign.

■ ***What applicant pool should be targeted?***

The institution's human resource department should consider whether underrepresentation exists within the facility and target specific applicant pools based on demographic statistics. Are women, African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans, or other

ethnic groups underrepresented? Does the facility house a large number of Hispanic inmates, thus requiring additional bilingual staff? Is the facility located in an area that has a disproportionate number of members of one ethnic group? All of these issues need to be considered before embarking upon the recruitment campaign.

■ ***What will be the campaign's scope?***

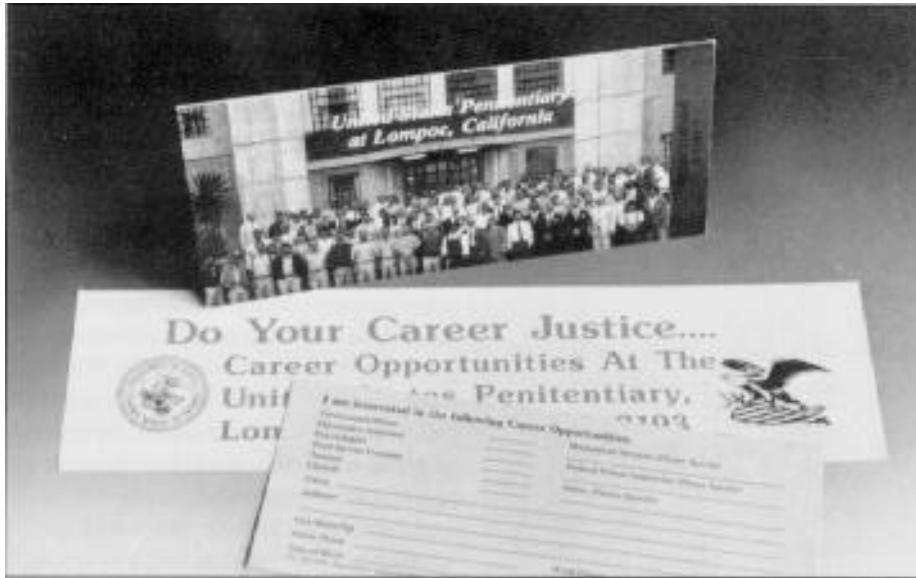
Decide how much money you are willing to spend. Some recruitment programs can cost thousands of dollars. Can you afford it? While I believe that recruitment of qualified staff should be the highest priority, and is, in the long term, cost-effective (less turnover, less overtime), often the purse strings are controlled by higher levels of authority who may take a different view of your recruitment needs.

Second, decide where you will get "more bang for your buck." Will a simple newspaper advertisement work or is a larger media campaign necessary? Usually, a newspaper advertisement is not enough to meet continuing recruitment needs; if it takes only a single ad to fill a vacancy, your facility does not have a recruitment problem to begin with! Finally, consider if you should use media advertisements only, or follow a "three-tiered" approach, such as that described later in this article.

Once your plan of action is established, you must now decide upon your recruitment strategies. These can fall into several general categories.

Print advertisements

This is the cornerstone of almost all recruitment programs and, like any strategy, has pros and cons. The pros include the fact that most unemployed



people look for jobs in newspaper classifieds. However, a major minus is that such ads probably won't be seen by *employed* individuals who might consider a career change if they knew of vacancies. A newspaper advertisement is usually a one-shot effort, and might easily be missed by that "perfect" applicant. In addition, the institution will receive very little name recognition from print advertisements.

Another issue to consider is the type of position that needs to be filled and the publication's readership. It probably would not be cost-effective to run an advertisement for a correctional officer position in the *Wall Street Journal*, or for a physician assistant in the *Shotgun News*.

Many newspapers target specific minority groups, and many organizations publish newsletters and magazines targeting specific groups such as doctors, lawyers, accountants, police officers, and the like. These should be used to the widest extent possible.

Print advertisements alone are appropriate if you do not have a major difficulty in recruiting. However, if you do have problems finding qualified staff, print advertisements should be combined with some other strategies.

Radio advertisements

When you begin radio advertisements, you will soon be visited by hundreds (or so it seems) of account executives boosting their stations. During one particular week at my former facility I was visited by four account executives telling me they were the number one station in the market—and each had the statistics to prove it. What they meant was that somewhere in the demographic statistics they were number one in a portion of the market. Be wary. Check the market listing very carefully before signing a contract with a particular station to ensure that their market share meets your target audience.

Radio advertising offers several advantages. While it isn't cheap, it is usually not cost-prohibitive except in the largest markets such as New York and Los

Angeles. You get excellent name recognition, and a well-produced spot does a great deal for public relations. It seems that the best rule of thumb when using radio advertisements is to place them in "drive time" (usually 4-6 p.m.), when most people are listening. Pick two or three stations to run your spot, and use the same advertisement on all of them so you can reach "channel jumpers." Normally, for radio advertisements to be effective, they need to play for a few weeks on a regular basis.

Direct mail

I received the most impressive results at my last facility with this program, and I believe it is the single best recruitment strategy. It is a simple concept. Prepaid, preaddressed postcards listing career opportunities are mailed to every address within a certain ZIP code via "batch mail." The recruitment specialist determines which ZIP codes should be targeted in light of institution needs and demographic statistics. Both the post office and private organizations offer direct mail services; however, private firms are usually more cost-effective and more responsive to customers' needs. My staff was told by batch mail representatives to expect a 1- to 2-percent return, but we averaged about a 3-percent return on most of our mailings.

There are many benefits and few drawbacks with a direct-mail program. You can target ZIP codes around military bases and colleges and reach all individuals living in high-unemployment areas. One major drawback is the difficulty in screening applicant requests. Many cards returned will be from unqualified individuals.

Three-tiered approach

Combining the three recruitment programs listed above is best illustrated by an example. Suppose your facility is recruiting for correctional officers, and you have determined that Hispanic employees are underrepresented at your facility. You know that there is a large Hispanic population in a nearby city. Under the three-tiered approach, you first take out newspaper and radio ads in the target city stating that an information card on career opportunities will be arriving shortly in residents' mailboxes. After a week or so, send your direct mail cards to the areas covered by the advertisements. I have no doubt that you'll have difficulty answering all the responses you receive.

Television advertisements

This is the most costly way to recruit, but it is effective if used correctly. First, only a general employment advertisement should be used with this program. If you recruit for specific positions, the commercial will quickly become stale. Second, if cost is a factor, consider creating a 10-second, rather than a 30-second spot. Finally, have a professional produce the commercial—it's not a home video! If you do select TV commercials, remember that the "drive-time" rule of thumb for radio ads is inappropriate. Decide on who you wish to recruit, then check the station's demographics to determine when most of your target audience will be watching. Finally, ensure that your commercial is placed within or alongside a TV program that you can be proud of.

Onsite recruitment

While it is important for recruiters to visit college campuses and job fairs, this cannot be the sole strategy. Often, it is useful to visit colleges and job fairs for public relations purposes, and to recruit applicants for *future* vacancies. However, if you have a major recruitment problem, or need vacancies filled immediately, onsite programs appear to be the least effective of the types discussed here. If you do extensive onsite recruitment, I suggest that you invest in some giveaways—key chains, pens, pencils, or other inexpensive trinkets—that will help you with recognition and continued good public relations.

Word of mouth

A final recruitment strategy, which often is the most cost-effective and ideal for public relations, is the recruiting that staff do when talking to friends and acquaintances. Management that offers strong incentives for staff to recruit applicants usually receives qualified candidates and increases morale within the facility. In addition, management should consider employing qualified spouses. This strengthens the family concept among staff and often decreases security and disciplinary problems.

How to "sell" your facility

Once you select a strategy, you now must decide what you wish to convey. You must "sell" your facility, agency, or vacant position to the public. Many will hear the term "correctional facility" (or worse, "penitentiary") and associate it with the negative images noted earlier. You must counter that perception if you want to reach a pool of qualified applicants.

Ask yourself: What does this facility (or agency) have to offer? What benefits will make the position attractive? Remember,

you are competing with hundreds of other organizations attempting to recruit the same applicants. List benefits, incentives, special programs, promotion opportunities, pay insurance, or the multitude of other items that make your facility unique. Place your agency seal in the advertisement. Use good graphic design in your print ads to separate them from the competition. Be innovative; create ads that will stimulate curiosity about your career opportunities. If you have never advertised on radio, create a radio spot. If all your print ads have been in black and white, use color. Use direct-mail cards of vibrant colors. Do whatever you can (in line with professional standards and good judgment) to get an applicant's attention. If you are unsure of yourself, local advertising firms may help you develop a strategy at no cost for an opportunity to represent you to newspapers, television, radio stations, and other media sources.

No recruitment program is successful if the candidate cannot reach the human resource department or does not receive requested information. Nothing hurts recruitment programs more than not being immediately accessible to candidates, or not following up on requested information. The establishment of a 24-hour career "hotline" is one of the best, and most cost-effective, methods for enabling applicants to reach you at any time. This "hotline" does not have to be manned by staff at all times. A business-type answering machine, with a professional announcement explaining your job opportunities, will ensure that you never miss a call from an interested applicant. The entire "hotline" can be set up for under \$800—well worth the cost if you consider the total investment.

Continued on page 36

Mandatory Literacy

Evaluating the Bureau of Prisons' long-standing commitment

Sylvia G. McCollum

While education programs for inmates have always been a priority, the Federal Bureau of Prisons established its first mandatory literacy program for Federal prisoners in 1982. The program began modestly, with the 6th grade as the literacy standard and a mandatory enrollment period of 90 days. In 1986 the standard was increased to the 8th grade; the 90-day enrollment remained unchanged. In 1991, a high school diploma or its equivalent, the General Educational Development certificate or GED, was made the new literacy standard, and the required enrollment period was raised to 120 days to accommodate the anticipated longer time necessary to achieve the higher standard.

Several program-related conditions remained constant over the years, despite the changing standard:

- All promotions in institution-based and prison industry jobs above the entry level were contingent on meeting the literacy standard.
- All institutions were required to employ a special education instructor to work with students with special needs.
- Instructional materials were multimedia and computer-based wherever possible to assist the instructors, particularly in drill and practice.
- Most important, each institution's education department was required to establish incentive programs to motivate and recognize student accomplishments. (McCollum, 1989)

The impact of the mandatory program was almost immediate. Previously empty classrooms filled up. Students who had been diverted to institution or prison industry assignments were routed to



education first, to meet their education requirements. The table at right tells the story.

Literacy completions rose more than 700 percent during the period 1981 - 1990, compared with an increase of about 123 percent in the Bureau's average daily inmate population during the same period.

Education and recidivism

The question of whether prison programs, especially education, have any effect on repeat offenders is a continuing concern of correctional administrators. Correctional educators have frequently responded to the question by pointing to the value of education as a positive use of time that contributes to effective prison management. They have also suggested that postrelease outcomes should not be correlated with any one prison program or situation, that it was the total prison experience (as well as the families and communities to which prisoners returned, general economic conditions at the time of release, and the prevailing community attitude toward ex-offenders) that significantly contributed to postrelease success or failure. Pownall (1976), in a pioneering study of post-release success predictors, found that preincarceration employment was the best barometer by which to forecast postrelease employment and the capacity to stay out of prison.

Notwithstanding the precautions not to tie postrelease behavior to any single prison program—and the earlier studies that did not find a direct link between participation in prison education and post-incarceration behavior—a respectable number of studies have begun to connect education and positive post-imprisonment outcomes.

Fiscal year	New enrollments	Completions	BOP avr. : daily pop :	Increase over prev. yr. Compl.	Pop.
1981	2,653	1,441	24,933	-	-
1982	3,785	1,983	27,730	37.6%	11.2%
1983	6,004	3,774	29,718	90.3	7.2
1984	6,896	4,909	30,723	30.1	3.4
1985	8,048	5,221	33,263	6.4	8.3
1986	9,000 est.	6,161	38,402	18.0	15.4
1987	n/a	n/a	41,838	n/a	8.9
1988	10,665	8,384	43,831	n/a	4.8
1989	11,380	10,138	47,804	20.9	9.0
1990	13,204	11,872	55,542	17.1	16.2
Increase '81-'90	10,551	10,431	30,609	723.9%	122.8%

*In 1991 the Bureau of Prisons adopted the GED as its literacy standard and revised its education data system to merge ABE and GED data. ABE enrollments are now reported only at the GED level.
Note: The Bureau established a new Education Data System in fiscal year 1987. Data for that year are not available.
Source: BOP internal data systems: Inmate Information System, Inmate Program Reporting System, and Education Data System.

Ryan (1990) defined the components of effective literacy programs for adult prisoners, then described several literacy programs in State and Federal prisons that showed positive outcomes. Reports from Canada (*Forum*, 1991) of an analysis of seven basic education programs among adult male inmates, including samples ranging from 75 to 3,000 men, showed a positive effect on recidivism. A Bureau of Prisons study (Saylor and Gaes, 1991) reported that inmates who worked in prison industries and who participated in vocational training “showed better adjustment, and were less likely to be revoked at the end of their first year back in the community, were more likely to be employed in the halfway house and community, and earned slightly more money than inmates who had similar background characteristics, but who did not participate in work and vocational training programs.” Although more inmates in this study participated in work programs, the 15 percent of prisoners who completed vocational training were just as likely to succeed as their counterparts who worked in industries.

Beyond the basic literacy levels, several recent studies have suggested that ad-

vanced education also contributes to reduced recidivism. A New Mexico prison study (Fairchild, 1990) reported a 15 percent recidivism rate for prisoners who had completed one or more college courses, compared with a 6% percent rate for the general population. A Folsom Prison study (Fairchild, 1990) in the early 1980's reported zero recidivism for college graduates, compared with 55 percent for the general prison population within 3 years of release from Folsom. Still another study of a State prison, this time the Indiana Reformatory (Fairchild, 1990), reported that of the more than 200 prisoners who had earned a degree in a Ball State University extension program begun in 1976, none had returned to the Reformatory.

Another recent study (Wreford, 1990) traced State Prison of Southern Michigan prisoners who participated in a college program offered by the Jackson Community College from 1976 through 1986. The study concluded, “After taking into account the differences between released graduates and the criterion groups, the recidivism rates of the graduates (907) were significantly lower than those of both the national sample and the Michigan parolees.”

The new GED literacy standard

The Bureau of Prisons' long-standing commitment to literacy is based on many factors, not least the hoped for post-release success of individual offenders. However, quite independent of this consideration are the additional factors of the positive use of time while incarcerated and the impact of positive programming on a prison's internal climate. The average length of sentence served by Federal prisoners is rapidly approaching 10 years. As well, the increase in the number confined has led to severe crowding, which can contribute, in the absence of positive uses of time, to heightened levels of tension. Both staff and inmates alike suffer when idleness is excessive.

The quality of the inmate workforce available to provide institution services, including maintenance, and to work in prison industries, is also an important consideration. Illiterate workers who cannot read instructions, fill in job-related forms, prepare brief reports, or perform work-related math are unnecessary strains on correctional systems that are already carrying heavy resource burdens. The longer sentences served also raise significant questions about the appropriate use of inmate time. Can any correctional administrator justify the return of an illiterate person to the community after 10 years of incarceration?

It was against this background that the Bureau of Prisons began considering increasing its literacy standard from the 8th grade to high school equivalency. An interesting phenomenon developed as discussions progressed. GED enrollments, which were not yet mandatory, began to increase significantly, and the

Year	Average Daily Population		GED Tests	
	Number	% inc. over prev. yr.	Number	% inc. over prev. yr.
1981	24,933	-	2,395	-
1982	27,730	11.2%	2,676	11.7%
1983	29,718	1.2	2,772	3.6
1984	30,723	3.4	3,607	30.1
1985	33,263	8.3	3,672	1.8
1986	38,402	15.4	3,800	3.5
1987	41,838	8.9	4,264	12.2
1988	43,837	4.8	3,897	-8.6
1989	47,804	9.0	3,980	2.1
1990	55,542	16.2	6,426	61.5
1991	61,404	10.6	7,896	22.7
1992	67,226	9.5	8,222	4.3

Source: Inmate Information System and GED Testing Service

number of inmates who completed the courses and were ready to take the GED test also rose significantly. The table above provides an insight into this trend.

The number of GED tests administered in 1990 increased more than 60 percent above the figure for 1989, despite the fact that the average daily population increased only 16 percent. There was no significant increase in the percentage of the incoming population that did not have a GED credential. The percentage had been around 50 percent during recent years and did not change during the time that GED enrollments and completions surged upward. Teachers and supervisors of education shared the opinion that the pending mandatory literacy requirement spurred the increases, as inmates rushed to meet the anticipated standards so that they could be eligible for promotions.

Promotions to jobs above the entry-level labor grade in the Federal system have been contingent on meeting a literacy standard since the inception of the mandatory literacy program in 1982. However, as long as the standard peaked at the 6th "or 8th grade and did not include the GED, the evidence suggests that many students stayed in class only

long enough to meet the requirement standard, and not a minute longer. Originally, some Bureau educators involved in the development of the mandatory literacy program speculated that there would be a dramatic increase in voluntary GED enrollments and completions as a result of the interest in education generated by the successful achievement of the 6th- or 8th-grade standard. This did not happen. Non-paid attendance in school did not compete well with paid employment.

Fiscal-year-end figures for 1991 revealed that the increase in the number of inmates who took the GED test leveled off, but the rate of increase, 22.7 percent over the number tested in FY 1990, was higher than the rate of increase for any of the preceding 5 years. It was also significantly higher than the 10.6-percent increase in the average daily population. Increases leveled off in 1992, when GED completions increased only 4.3 percent over the preceding year. The lower increase was attributable, in part, to greater emphasis placed on raising the pass/fail rate, which had dropped to 62.5 percent in 1991.

The Bureau has established a 70-percent pass rate as a national goal in 1993. Bureau educators anticipate a continued increase in the number of GED completions, but at a lower rate than in 1990 and 1991, since a greater emphasis will be placed on raising the pass rate.

It's the law

The mandatory education requirement for Federal prisoners has now been adopted into Federal legislation. The Crime Control Act of 1990 includes a requirement that the Bureau of Prisons establish an 8-grade mandatory literacy standard. The law also provides that the enrollments must be "for a mandatory period sufficient to provide the inmate with an adequate opportunity to achieve functional literacy, and appropriate incentives which lead to successful completion of such programs...." The new law placed into Federal legislation a concept that had been adopted, through policy requirements, by the Bureau of Prisons as early as 1982. Significantly, during the 1991 legislative session there was considerable discussion in the U.S. Congress about legislation to support mandatory literacy standards in State prisons.

Another source of support for mandatory literacy has developed within the American Bar Association. The Corrections and Sentencing Committee of the ABA reviewed the question of mandatory literacy at considerable length during 1990 and 1991. There was some opposition to the mandatory literacy concept, particularly as it applied to adults, but a vote to support the concept, and a Model Act, carried at the committee's May 30, 1991, meeting. The Model Act provides, among other things, for a high school diploma or its equivalent, the GED, as the mandatory literacy standard in all State adult correctional institutions. Subsequently, at the ABA's 1991 annual meeting, the Criminal

Justice Section Council approved the "Recommendations Concerning Mandatory Literacy Program for Adult Offenders"; the recommendations were approved by the ABA House of delegates in February 1992 and became official ABA policy. The Bureau of Prisons' literacy program, which had begun as a direct spinoff of Chief Justice Warren E. Burger's well-known "factories with fences" speech at the graduation ceremonies of the George Washington University Law School in 1981, has now been validated, in Federal legislation and in the actions of the American Bar Association. ■

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Recruitment *from. p.32*

Recruiters must ensure that requested job information is sent out immediately to the candidate. Remember, this person is looking for a job and will respond to the first information package he or she receives. If you wait 6 to 8 weeks to answer an applicant's inquiry, you probably will have lost him or her. On this note, please remember that if you use direct mail cards, you can expect upwards of a 3-percent return within the 2 weeks following the mailing. You will need to be prepared for an extensive information mailout when the cards are returned to you.

Finally, you must make an honest assessment of your recruitment program's effectiveness. Not all strategies work well in all areas of the country or for all positions. You will need to determine if you are tapping the appropriate applicant pool. For example, if none of 5,000 applicants meet your entry-level requirements, a new strategy is needed.

Recruiters coping with hard-to-fill positions, high turnover, and difficulty in finding qualified staff can adapt these proven ideas to help them establish a high-quality recruitment program. Innovative recruitment programs can lead to a decrease in vacancies and an increase in interested candidates for positions within your facility. ■

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Moscow Jails

A visit to a correctional system in transition

Gary O. George

While on leave from November 29 through December 13, 1991, accompanying my wife on a business trip to Moscow, Russia, I had the opportunity to visit two precinct police station jails and the central jail in Moscow. My wife's employer was acquainted with Iskander Rameev, a former precinct chief of police in Moscow, who was able to obtain permission for me to visit these three jails.

During these visits I was able to interview many staff and inmates. To my surprise I was also allowed to take pictures inside the jails and to make a videotape of the Moscow central jail and its staff and inmates. Iskander, who more than 5 years ago was one of the first police officials in Moscow to resign from the Communist party,

was an excellent interpreter and became a friend. He had been a major in the police force when he was forced out, due to his having joined the Democratic Party. Many of his peers are now members of the Democratic Party—one sign of changing times in Russia.

We arrived at the first precinct station at about 6:00 p.m., well after the 3:00 p.m. winter sunset. The exterior of the building was cracked and dirty, with refuse piled against the walls. I was told it was built during the early 1930's. The interior was similar to the exterior, with large cracks in the walls and floor tiles, chunks of masonry missing, dirty staircases, and litter on each of three stories. The cells were built for multiple occupancy and were about 12 feet deep by 25 feet

wide, with one 20-watt light bulb giving light and an open hole in the center of the room serving as a toilet. The cells, although cleaner than the rest of the station, smelled foul due to the lack of sanitation.

I asked how many prisoners they could handle in a cell and was told that they could pack in as many as they had to. There were three of these cells at each station I visited, but no prisoners in any of them. I was told that the prisoners were taken to the central jail as soon as possible, since these jails did not provide beds or food. According to the station commanders, the condition of these stations was representative of all station houses in Moscow due to their restricted budgets. What little money they had was expended on salaries, maintenance of cars and other



Moscow Central jail. Above: cellblock for hospital patients; middle: the control center; left: outside view.

equipment, and the electric (heating) bills.

Equipment, what there was of it, was antique and generally in a poor state of repair. Base-station radios looked like vacuum-tube sets. All typewriters were manual and no computers were in sight. Most of the officers (95 percent) were on foot and had to find telephones to call in for help or to make reports. Officers carried batons for protection and only the detectives had 9mm pistols. The telephones were rotary, single-line devices with no ability to record or trace calls. Office space was limited, with four detectives sharing one office and no interrogation rooms. Questioning victims and prisoners was difficult at best.

Given the officers' low salaries (a trash collector made 50 percent more than the average street cop), I was surprised by the professional dress and demeanor of the officers. Despite their working conditions, the officers seemed to take pride in themselves and their work. They were polite and shy, although very curious about this American who wanted to tour Russian jails. The station commanders expressed curiosity about life in the United States as a policeman. They wanted to know what types of equipment police officers have, how much officers are paid, whether there is a food shortage in the United States, and numerous details about what is and is not against the law.

The more we talked, the more apparent it became that the officers I met were dedicated policemen with an exceptionally difficult job. I was told they had been unable to buy sufficient basic equipment (radios, pistols, handcuffs,



patrol cars) for years, and with the recent political upheaval and concomitant crash in the economy, there were virtually no resources other than for salaries and electricity. Both station commanders defined their major problems as lack of officers, lack of facilities (modern cells and staff offices), lack of radio communications, lack of vehicles, and an overabundance of organized crime.

Obtaining permission to tour the Moscow central jail was more problematic. Just after the attempted coup in August 1991, a Democrat had been appointed chief of police but had no previous police experience, which almost provoked a walkout by officers. His position was still unstable while I was there and the warden of the jail was not certain from day to day who the chief of police would be. Since permission for me to tour had to come from the chief, the warden did not know whether to honor the letter the chief had signed. He finally agreed to my visiting on the last day of my stay in Russia. I was told to be there promptly at

9:30 a.m. and that I would be allowed no longer than 2 hours, since the warden was exceptionally busy.

The jail was built between 1774 and 1777! It has been used continuously since that time. Four major renovations have been made: the addition of telephones, plumbing, and electricity; and the conversion of the church into a hospital (just after the October Revolution in 1917). Some extra security measures have been added—razor wire, extra bars, and a few TV monitors—but no other major renovation has taken place. Paint was not the only thing peeling—plaster was literally falling off the walls. The facility was built as a prison for 2,500 male inmates. It currently is a jail and has 3,600 male and 500 female detainees. The only single cells were for receiving and discharge; they were about 8 feet high by 3 feet wide by 24 inches deep, with a 12-inch concrete seat as part of the rear wall. Cells built for 2 prisoners now house 4; cells for 20 prisoners house 50, with 10 left without one of the 40 beds.

All but a very few of the prisoners were pretrial or presentence. Due to the lack of judges and attorneys in Russia, prisoners wait from 6 months to 4 years to go to trial. They remain in their cells almost 23 hours each day, having 1 hour in the exercise yard. The only exception to this comes when their attorneys or members of their families visit. Inmates were not allowed to work due to the lack of staff to provide supervision.

During my tour the warden of the facility was Genady Areshkin. He had 19 years of service in corrections and had recently worked in their central office reviewing correctional research from throughout the world. He stated that it was his intent to spend the last few years of his career as a warden so that he could apply the

knowledge he had gained in that job. Iskander related that he is known within the Russian correctional system as a bright and innovative warden.

Upon Areshkin's appointment as warden of the central jail in Moscow he made several immediate changes: allowing inmates to take correspondence courses and read educational books, allowing inmates to attend religious services, making rounds to talk with both staff and inmates, and increasing the number and weight of packages families are allowed to bring their loved ones. The last innovation must be viewed in the context that all major cities in Russia had food shortages and the Soviet government (which ran the correctional system) was bankrupt. Allowing families to bring the prisoners food and clothing was possibly the only way the Warden could ensure that prisoners were fed and clothed. This probably also kept the prisoners from rioting. These considerations were viewed as acceptable tradeoffs, under the circumstances, for the security problems associated with the packages coming into the institution.

As we walked around the institution it soon became obvious that this warden had frequent contact with his officers and inmates. They recognized him immediately and asked him questions about subjects they had previously discussed. He offered to let me talk with prisoners and we walked into a cell. The prisoners were very friendly and eagerly asked questions about the American criminal justice system. They gave permission for me to photograph and videotape them and their rooms.

I was then taken to an area where each cell holds 50 prisoners and was asked if I wanted to go in and talk. The warden unlocked the cell with his personal key



Above: Warden Areshkin and Iskander Rameev in a four-person cell. Left: The author in a 50-person cell, Moscow central jail.

and I was introduced. I was asked to sit at a picnic-type table with the inmates standing, sitting, or laying all around me (the cell was quite small for 50 people). The prisoners asked scores of questions: first about American prisons, then about America in general, and finally about my reactions to Russia and the prison. As I talked with them through my translator I noticed two things: first, the warden had walked out of the cell and was talking with some of his staff; second, at least two home-made plexiglass knives lay on the table.

I finally asked the inmates about the knives and was told that they could keep them to use with the food they received from their families. I remarked that in our facilities such items are forbidden. They explained there is an unwritten rule: if any prisoner attacks another with one of these knives the other prisoners in the cell would immediately kill the aggressor. The warden told me later that these prisoners were all charged with violent crimes (Iskander, who served as my

interpreter, also recognized a couple of the prisoners as being fairly dangerous). The warden explained that he felt he could only control the prison effectively if he had established rapport with and control over the worst prisoners. My visit to their cell was possibly a "perk" earned through the prisoners' past cooperation with him.

I concluded that Warden Areshkin was indeed working towards improving prison conditions and providing needed services for the inmate population. He was treated with respect by inmates and staff as he walked about. In spite of the dilapidated condition of the facility, the shortage of equipment and personnel, and the length of time prisoners had to wait before trial, the overall climate was fairly good.

The major problem, as identified by both the warden and the prisoners, was the time it takes from arrest and confinement at the jail to trial. Many prisoners complained about this; the Warden stated that if the courts could solve this problem it would have an extremely positive effect on the operation of the institution. The next problem all agreed upon was the shortage of food and warm clothing for the winter. Shortage of staff and equipment (although shortage more often than not means nonexistence in Russia) were also problems, as was the condition of the physical plant.

The hospital was one of the cleanest areas in the institution. The staff were congenial, but far too few given the number of inmates. The hospital provided care for immediate medical needs only; there were no mental health staff or preventative programs such as clinics for monitoring blood pressure. Prisoners were given medical screenings upon arrival and were only seen again if described by the staff as being very sick.

The food service area was really a kitchen with storage areas. All meals were served in the cells, similar to Bureau of Prisons satellite feeding in jails. The kitchen was as sanitary as the hospital (the only two areas that could be described as clean).

The recreation areas consisted of 20- by 30-foot sections of the rooftop with concrete/stone walls and heavy wire tops. About a quarter of the top was covered against the weather—the only source of light was from the sky above. There were no weights, tracks, pool tables, or other recreational equipment. The prisoners were allowed 1 hour of recreation per day, usually in small groups.

A small series of maintenance shops was grossly understaffed. Since none of the prisoners were used as orderlies, the sanitation of all but the hospital and food-service areas was very poor. There were thick layers of dirt and dust everywhere. Narrow passageways and stairwells were especially filthy, and there was wiring hanging from the ceilings and walls. It would take well-trained maintenance crews 3 to 5 years to repair and clean the institution.

As was mentioned earlier, the chapel had been converted into the hospital. This occurred shortly after the October Revolution when religion was outlawed in the Soviet Union. Religious services allowed by the current warden were conducted in the inmates' cells. Other elements conspicuously missing, given the length of time prisoners were there, included comprehensive educational programs, vocational training, and access to a law library.

The quality and extent of my tour progressed as Warden Areshkin evalu-



ated me as a professional and as a person. The tour, scheduled for 2 hours (“absolutely no longer as the warden is extremely busy”), actually lasted 4 hours. The warden first established my identity by reviewing my Bureau credentials and passport; then he tactfully deduced my frame of reference toward the tour and my attitude toward the Russian government. As the tour progressed he carefully watched my reactions to the conditions in his prison and tested my understanding of how difficult it is to run such a large facility, given the lack of resources and the political upheaval just outside the prison gates. He took me farther and farther into the entrails of the institution, observing my reactions to inmates until we were in the cell surrounded by 50 of his worst. After this he started pointing out things I might want to photograph or videotape and began comparing notes on how such problems as forced cell moves, staff training in nonviolent crisis intervention, and providing educational programs and religious activities can be handled.

A feeling of camaraderie developed and, at the end of the tour, we engaged in several toasts (with vodka, of course) to the future of corrections. I felt more comfortable talking with the 50 inmates than I did drinking vodka in a prison, even though the warden was the one to provide it!

When I visited the Russian jails, I was curious about several things. Knowing that media reports about prisons are often exaggerated, I wondered if Russian jails were anything like their American counterparts. I think the best answer is “yes and no.” We have many problems in common, such as dealing with prisoners who have antisocial personality disorders, gathering intelligence from staff and inmates, dealing with staff corruption and misconduct, improving staff communications, devising innovative solutions for unique problems, dealing with crowded conditions, and using sound leadership practices.

However, the Russian system has to deal with severe budget restrictions in an economy that has just collapsed, with decisionmaking and policy-setting within a volatile political environment, with the decriminalization of such activities as buying a product in one city and selling it for a profit in another city, with maintaining institutions that were built just as the United States was becoming a country, and with political prisoners (although most have reportedly been released). This, in addition to overcoming 73 years of communist rule, policy, and fear.

Two dramatic events are taking place. First, not only are political prisoners being released as the criminal justice system comes under more control by the Democrats, but those found guilty of behaviors associated with a free market are starting to have their sentences

expunged or their convictions overturned. Those convicted of crimes relating to the practice of religion are reportedly also being released. The effect of this extensive decriminalization staggers the mind; tens of thousands of people being released, having their convictions overturned after serving years in prison. Second is the struggle common to correctional and other government administrators—controlling a large bureaucracy while the whole political system is crumbling. Given the extent and severity of the problems they presently face, I am not surprised that sanitation has been low on the priority list.

I was also curious about what direction Russian prisons will take as a result of the recent extensive political changes. The Russian economy will need to recover significantly before prison facilities can improve and staffing patterns can begin to meet needs. Prisons are not a high priority when law-abiding citizens lack food and winter clothes. Decrepit public utilities, the medical care system, and other areas of life will need to be improved before prisons benefit from a healthier economy. I believe that innovative wardens like Genady Areshkin will become more prevalent and will be able to make some improvements simply by sheer force of leadership. As the standard of living, rights of citizens, and living conditions improve in Russia, so will conditions within their prisons.

The time is ripe for positive relationships to be built between the Russian prison system and other departments of correction such as ours. Warden Areshkin has already been visited by a number of correctional professionals from outside Russia. He reported that the research department in the central office is



Above: Warden Areshkin talking with two prisoners inside a recreation area. Left: Looking across recreation area tops with guard stations above cellblock building.

reviewing better ways of managing the system—he seemed very familiar with Bureau of Prisons policies. I believe that many correctional professionals in Russia want to improve their prisons and that they are seeking help from a variety of sources, including their counterparts around the world.

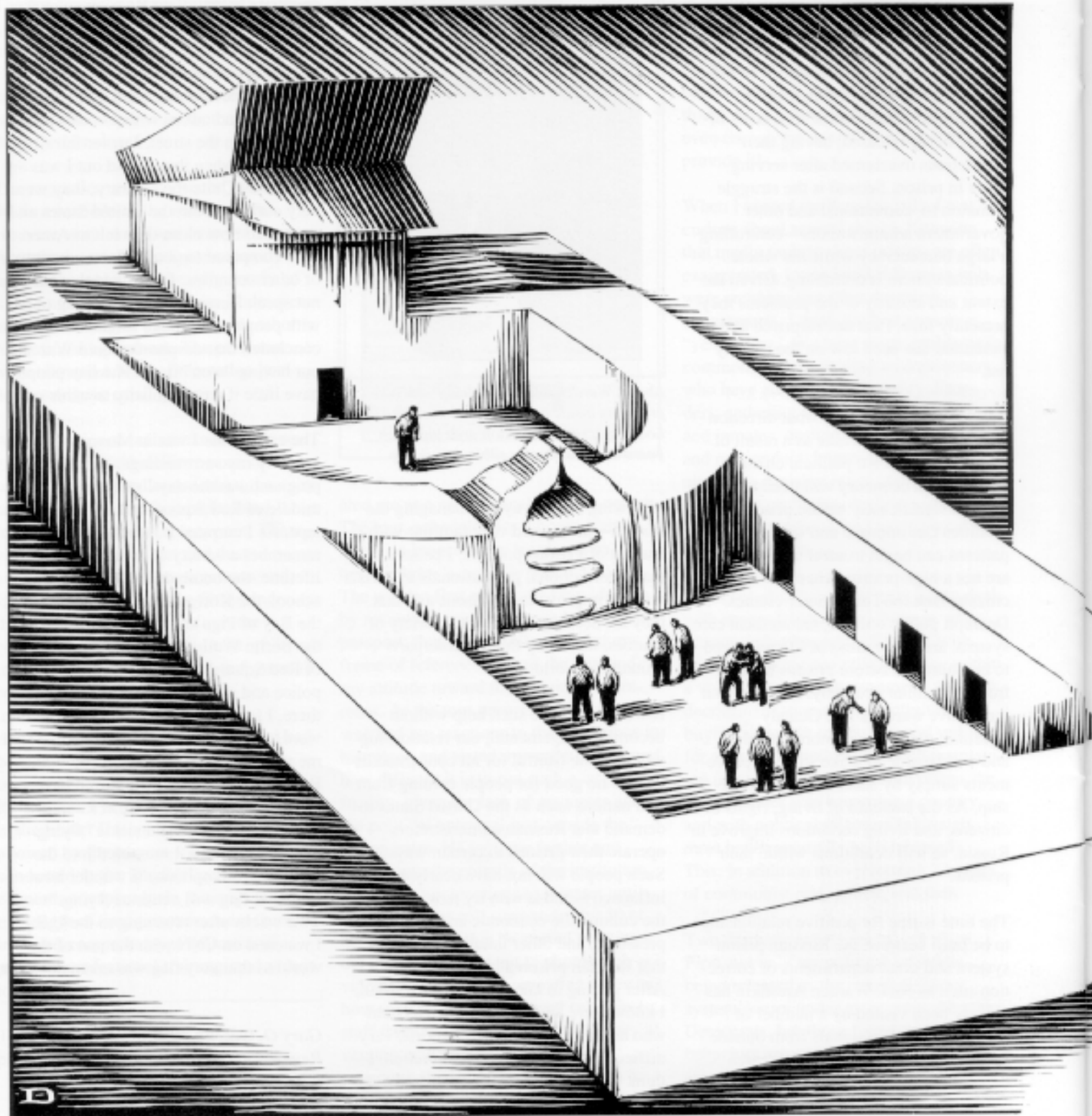
If we can provide such help without becoming judgemental, our relationship will become fruitful for all concerned. It will do no good for people coming from rich nations such as the United States to demand that Russian administrators operate their prisons in certain ways. Such people will not have nearly as much influence as those who try to understand the culture, the economic and political pressures, and other unique difficulties that Russian prison administrators face. After getting to know Genady Areshkin, I know there are people in their system who are motivated to take the first, very difficult, steps in a positive direction. I think now is the ideal time for correctional workers in America and other

countries to visit their Russian counterparts and vice versa.

During my more than 2 weeks in Moscow, I frequently went out without a translator and talked with a wide variety of people on the street. I never felt threatened when they found out I was an American. Quite the contrary, they were very curious about the United States and expressed how close they felt to Americans compared to people from a variety of other countries. I must add that I do not speak Russian and was talking only with people who spoke English. Still, I concluded that despite the Cold War and our having “won” it, the Russian people have little if any animosity towards us.

The entire time I was in Moscow I was awed by my surroundings. Especially poignant was the day I stood in the middle of Red Square making a videotape. As I narrated it I could not help but remember a variety of events during my lifetime: the bomb drills during grade school, the Korean and Vietnamese wars, the Bay of Pigs and the Cuban embargo, the Berlin Wall. Standing in the middle of Red Square talking with Russian police and soldiers scattered here and there, I felt something difficult to put into words. Not long ago, if someone had told me what our current relationship with Russia was going to be, I would have thought them crazy. Now, as I zoomed in on the “hammer and sickle” flying over the Kremlin, I mumbled into the camera’s microphone, “I wonder how long that flag will continue flying.” Two weeks after returning to the U.S., I watched on CNN with the rest of the world as that very flag was taken down! ■

Gary O. George, Ph.D., is Western Regional Drug Abuse Treatment Coordinator, stationed at the Federal Correctional Institution, Sheridan, Oregon.



D

Managing Protective Custody Units

James D. Henderson

Correctional administrators nationwide have been dealing with a decade of unprecedented population growth in their institutions. There has been a corresponding increase in the number of inmates who, for a variety of reasons, are unable to cope with the day-to-day routines of prison life—inmates who request protection and are placed in special housing status. Whether there is a causal relationship between increased prison crowding and protective custody is a matter best left to researchers. This article addresses the reality that faces prison staff each day as they work to provide the necessary programs and services to this special population in their facilities.

In general, the management of protective custody (PC) cases is becoming more professional and systematic. Prevention as well as after-the-fact management are increasingly recognized as the keys to keeping the PC population to a minimum. Individual management strategies differ from institution to institution, but a few principles are worth

- The personal involvement of top staff in the oversight of this critical section of the institution distinguishes the best of these units.

There has been a corresponding increase in the number of inmates who, for a variety of reasons, are unable to cope with the day-to-day routines of prison life—inmates who request protection and are placed in special housing status.

- Unit management is generally considered the most advantageous way of handling PC operations.
- In facilities where unit management is not used, the assignment of a mid-level manager, such as an experienced correctional supervisor, to full-time supervision of the PC operation helps pinpoint responsibility.
- Individualized attention to intake screening, case reviews, and regular efforts to reintegrate inmates into the general population should be the function of specific staff members.

Classification issues

Inmate classification is indispensable to effective correctional management, and a PC unit is no exception. Program and security decisions regarding each PC inmate can best be made when based on well-founded classification data. Good classification reduces assaults and threats, "pressure" activity, and personality conflicts.

Once a given offender's security and supervision needs are identified, decisions can be made as to which institution is best for him or her. Separate institutions in a system, units in a single institution, or even wings or pods in a single unit may be used to effect separation of PC inmates from the general population. This systematic separation will greatly reduce internal tensions and conflicts, which often cause inmates to "run for cover."

Indeed, proper inmate classification will prevent unmanageable combinations of weak and strong, sophisticated and unsophisticated, old and young inmates from interacting. Such disparities can often lead to the need for further PC commitments.

Developing criteria for protective custody placement is difficult. Each jurisdiction must operate within statutory and regulatory guidelines, as well as the limitations presented by staffing and physical plant. To a certain extent, protective custody categorization depends on these factors.

Once typical security and custody classifications are made, two broad groups of PC inmates can be identified: verified and unverified cases. Verified protection cases should be given top priority for program resources, with a secondary emphasis on those who have not been forthcoming about the reasons for their self-declared PC status. In either category, it is vital that staff fully document the reasons for placement or non-placement in PC status in the event of later complaint or litigation.

■ **Verified protection cases.** Victims and other verified protection cases need protection, whether on a short- or long-term basis. They should be treated differently from offenders separated for administrative or disciplinary reasons—that is, in a way that ensures that the same kinds of programs and services can be delivered to them as to the general population.

Administrators are often faced with the decision to lock up either the victim or the aggressor. Sadly, the policies and procedures that safeguard inmate rights in other areas work against equitable treatment in this area. Due-process requirements, limits on the amount of disciplinary time that can be imposed, and the realities of prison life with respect to associates taking up the cause of a segregated inmate—all argue in favor of removing the victim who appears unable to survive in the general population.

There will always be cases of this type. To deal with them, institutional staff must develop counseling and relocation strategies that will, to the degree possible, reduce the number of long-term protection cases.

■ **Unverified protection cases.** The second type of PC case also causes major concerns—the very large number of inmates who claim PC status but refuse to reveal the source of the alleged threat against them. Their intransigence prevents staff from verifying the alleged threat. Many of these inmates adopt this strategy in order to manipulate inter-institution or interstate transfers for personal motives.

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One might ask, “Why worry about unverified protection cases—why not just let them sit in the PC unit?” The answer is that PC cases and the operation of a PC unit are resource-intensive. More staff are required to run such a unit. Serving meals in the unit, or through elaborate escort and separation routines, is time-consuming and staff-intensive, as is virtually every other program provided to PC cases. Also, only a certain number of PC beds are available at any given time. The fewer inmates confined in PC status, the more efficiently the unit will operate, and the better the services and programs offered to legitimate PC cases.

In addition, an unverified protection case admitted to a PC unit could very easily be an assailant. This person would seek placement in the unit in order to kill an informant or other PC inmate. This tragedy is most likely if proper screening is not used and if proper separation is not effected between verified and unverified PC cases.

For inmates who refuse to name the party or parties who they fear will harm them, some agencies use a waiver form. If the inmate will not identify the source of the alleged threat, he or she signs the release form and may then (depending on circumstances) be put back on the compound. Other systems hold that inmates who refuse to cooperate in verifying their needs for protective custody do not warrant true PC programming. These inmates may be subject to disciplinary reports for refusing to go to population or to accept a program assignment, and can be held in administrative segregation status. This ensures that improperly classified cases do not enter the unit, and that program resources are properly used for those who actually need them.

■ **Racial concerns.** Short of clearly impermissible discrimination, the state may administratively dictate inmate classification to the degree it deems appropriate. Separation of inmates based on race, even for protection, cannot be accepted as a standard practice (*Wilson v. Kelly*, 294 F. Supp. 1005 [N.D. Ga. 1976]). However, even racial segregation, when implemented to relieve racial tensions and prevent assaults, may under extreme circumstances be permissible as a temporary measure (*Mickens v. Winston*, 462 F. Supp. 910 [E.D. Va. 1978]).

■ **Homosexuality.** One of the more severe protective custody problems in a jail or prison setting is the difficulty of handling aggressive and submissive homosexual inmates. There have been questions raised regarding the practice of segregating homosexuals without demonstrating the likelihood of each individual having some difficulty in the general population.

However, it can often be shown that without preventive action, the likelihood of sexual assault or other severe management problems provides a reasonable basis for some differential treatment.

n **Gangs.** Separation of gang members by affiliation is another issue. It may be a sound tactic for internal management reasons, but still raises legal questions because these groups are often organized along racial or ethnic lines. If, however, the reasons for that form of segregation are rationally based and articulated in policy and do not have discrimination as their purpose, separation is permissible (*David K. v. Lane*, 839 F.2d 1265 [7th Circuit 1988]).

In the last decade, gangs have become a significant factor in many prisons. Originally, many gangs appear to have been formed for self-protection; in recent years, however, gang-oriented activities have been organized along the lines of community, racial, or ethnic boundaries. Gangs use community ties to bridge the prison walls, contributing to the solidarity of the gang organization and its effective operation. These more sophisticated organizations have become involved in brutal "wars," often over drug trafficking; their tactics include extortion, threats, assaults, murders, and staff intimidation. Some gangs that have extended influence into surrounding communities make efforts to compete with more traditional organized crime.

Prison gang activities create tensions that can lead weaker inmates, or those who give information about gang activity, to request PC status. These pressures often focus on smuggling or holding drugs, providing sexual favors, conveying

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messages for gang members (either by inmates or their families), or doing other gang errands. Pressures can be exerted in the visiting room, against family members on the outside, or in other areas of the institution. Gangs can create a true climate of fear in an institution; to the degree their activity can be suppressed, fewer inmates will seek protection.

n **Drug trafficking.** The institutional drug trade can create conditions that force inmates to seek PC status. Inmates are sometimes pressured into introducing or holding drugs or inducing relatives to assist them in introducing drugs into the facility. When they refuse, or fail, they may be pressured into seeking protective status. An inmate who is holding a drug "stash" and loses it may be forced to make good the cost of the drugs or seek refuge in a PC unit. Informants revealing institutional drug trafficking may seek protection if their identities become known. As with gangs, to the degree that

administrators can reduce the level of drug trafficking, the fewer such PC cases will emerge.

n **Gambling.** Some PC cases can be prevented if gambling is curtailed. Inmates losing large amounts of money may be pressured for sex, payment through outside sources, or other favors. To avoid these alternatives, protective custody may be seen as a workable solution, if only to buy some "safe" time until the gambler can come up with the resources to pay the debt.

Separation from the general population

Each agency should maintain detailed, specific procedures for evaluating a request for PC status, admitting a PC case, providing periodic release counseling, and regularly reviewing the case for status changes. The initial segregation decision may be made by a first-line supervisor, but should be reviewed by a higher authority the next day. Once in PC, an inmate cannot be consigned there indefinitely. A regular review process, with specific time limits, should have as its goal returning every possible PC inmate to a general population setting.

Inmates in a PC unit should be housed with some degree of sophistication, not just placed in cells at random. The institution's custody classification system may very well provide a starting point for housing assignments. Another factor may be internal separation needs, due to gang associations or other factors. Units with their own internal segregation/detention sections will, of course, operate those areas differently.

An important factor to bear in mind in considering internal assignments is that in many correctional systems PC inmates will be living in close proximity for long periods of time. Tensions and disparities can create problems and aggressive actions within the unit—and aftereffects that may last for years.

The personal presence of top staff—wardens and associate wardens—in a PC unit is often the key to its successful operation. In some ways the most important factor in PC unit operations is the visibility of management. In addition to unit staff and security supervisors making daily rounds, administrators need to visit the unit at least weekly to assess living conditions as well as staff performance and inmate morale.

Support services

Staff who have worked with PC inmates know how demanding a subpopulation this can be. Some PC inmates, because of their personal inadequacies and general approach to life, are full of deep-seated anxieties. Others, in genuine fear for their lives, place unusual demands on staff. Still others see the PC unit as a manipulative opportunity and try to “play it” for all it is worth.

The keys to successfully managing this diverse, demanding population are professionalism and management oversight. Professional staff must be attuned to the needs of this population and prepared to deal with them in ways that will help inmates adapt to their circumstances. Inmate psychology programs, counseling, and other contacts should be principally geared toward the possibility of reintroduction to a general population unit whenever feasible and safe, not just adjustment to life in the PC unit.

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The behavior of line staff in the unit, and in the rest of the institution, is just as important in the operation of a PC unit. Inmates in the unit must not be treated as “snitches” or “rats.” They should be accorded the same respect and humane treatment applied to every inmate. In particular, disparaging remarks by staff in the presence of non-PC inmates can make it even more difficult to reintroduce PC inmates to the general population; such comments reinforce the kind of animosities that generate violence.

No unit in a correctional setting can function without complete operational procedures. Widespread knowledge of post orders, well-developed standard operating policies, and comprehensive training are vital parts of a successful PC unit’s operation, but not just for unit staff. Every employee who has contact with the unit: or who may potentially be assigned there, should be familiar with the rationale, concepts, and operating

principles that make its management different.

Transfers

In larger correctional systems, transfers to another institution can be an option for helping an inmate get a new start in the general population. However, it is not hard for inmates in one facility to obtain information from other locations, so PC inmates’ reputations often follow, not long after their transfer.

There also is the option of transfer to another correctional system under a contractual agreement. This option can be costly, but it is sometimes considered in high-profile cases or for long-term inmates for whom there is little chance of a successful reintroduction to any general population in the home State. In at least one case, a Federal appeals court ordered the transfer of an inmate from a State system to the Federal system because of the inability to ensure the inmate’s safety in any State facility (*Walker v. Lockhart*, 713 F.2d 1378 [8th Circuit 1983]).

Case monitoring issues

The lack of well-defined staff information-gathering and documentation can be the cause of PC-related problems. Systems should be devised to track the whereabouts of inmates who have testified against each other, or who for other reasons (a serious fight or stabbing in the past, for example) must be permanently separated. Computers can be used to good effect for this purpose, and the largest systems have online, immediate access to the location and status of all separatees.

For smaller institutions, file card systems, unit records, and other methods can help ensure that inmates with serious animosities do not live in the same units

or work in the same shops. These records must be protected against inmate access (as must computers).

Receiving and discharge

Staff in the receiving and discharge area should have access to information about separatees in the institution and the system as a whole, so that separatees are not processed together or sent out on the same transport.

Initial intake screening in the receiving area can also alert staff to potential problems. By screening incoming inmates for factual information about testimony against others, codefendant conflicts, and similar background information, many problems can be prevented. At a minimum, this kind of information is valuable for augmenting the inmate's central file and preventing the arrival of a potential adversary.

Early screening also should include a thorough review of all official records arriving with the inmate—past testimony, codefendant conflicts, and problems in other institutions are often reflected in official documents. Even if the inmate is not willing to disclose these data, staff can use official records to effect necessary safeguards.

Recreation, work, and other congregate activity

A principle repeatedly enunciated by the courts in recent years is substantially equivalent access to programs for PC inmates. That does not mean that access has to be identical, but it may be modified only in ways that bear a reasonable relationship to legitimate correctional needs.

In the PC unit itself, most activity can be scheduled in a way that maximizes the

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use of available facilities without jeopardizing safety. Inmates should be screened so that any congregate activity—recreation, education, religious programs, even TV viewing—is approved for compatible groups.

For activity off the unit, the same type of screening must take place, even though there will be no contact with the general population. Two members of opposing gangs can just as easily harm each other off as in the unit.

Visiting

Even though the visiting room is considered “neutral ground” to some extent, the risks of mingling PC and general population cases there are still quite high. As a result, scheduling and supervising visiting for PC inmates can be very difficult. If the designated visiting area is in the unit, visitors must be brought (under escort) into the secure area of the institution, with the accompanying risk to

personal safety and potential introduction of contraband.

On the other hand, if the institutional visiting room is used, the PC inmates must be moved through the compound, creating safety concerns and the need to shut off all other inmate traffic during those movements. If a separate PC visiting area is not available, separate visiting hours for PC cases is suggested.

Minimizing the problems

There are no pat solutions to the problems presented by protective custody inmates. Every institution will develop a different response to their needs, based on the available physical plant, the specific inmates involved, and the policies and traditions of that facility and its governing agency.

However, if one generality can be applied to all PC-related issues, it is that they are best addressed as an integrated whole. By acknowledging the fact that most institutions have a small number of inmates who cannot remain in the general population, by accepting that they should be treated as humanely as possible, by promoting the premise that they must be provided basic programming, and by designing a unified, closely supervised program for them, the many problems inherent in PC operations can be minimized. ■

James D. Henderson is a criminal justice consultant and retired regional director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. A different version of this article appeared in Protective Custody Management in Adult Correctional Facilities, developed by the American Correctional Association for the National Institute of Corrections.

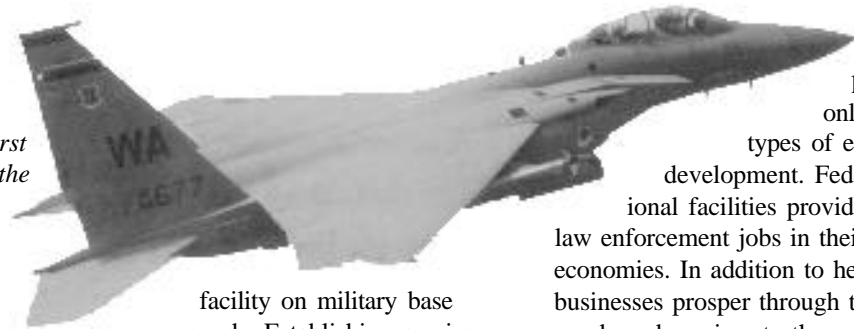
Reusing Military Bases

This correctional option can minimize community disruption

Kevin McMahon

Editor's note: The following article first appeared in slightly different form in the January/February 1992 edition of the NAID News, a publication of the National Association of Installation Developers. It has been updated to include information relating to all Federal Bureau of Prisons locations on both active and deactivated military bases or former military properties.

Finding uses for a closed military base can be a daunting task. The reuse of a military base slated for closure would be an ideal way to minimize the disruption to the surrounding community brought on by the loss of civilian and military jobs and reduced Federal expenditures for goods and services. One of the surest ways to maintain Federal dollars and Federal jobs in such a community has been to establish a Federal correctional



facility on military base grounds. Establishing a prison can be built into most reuse plans without excluding other potential uses for the site.

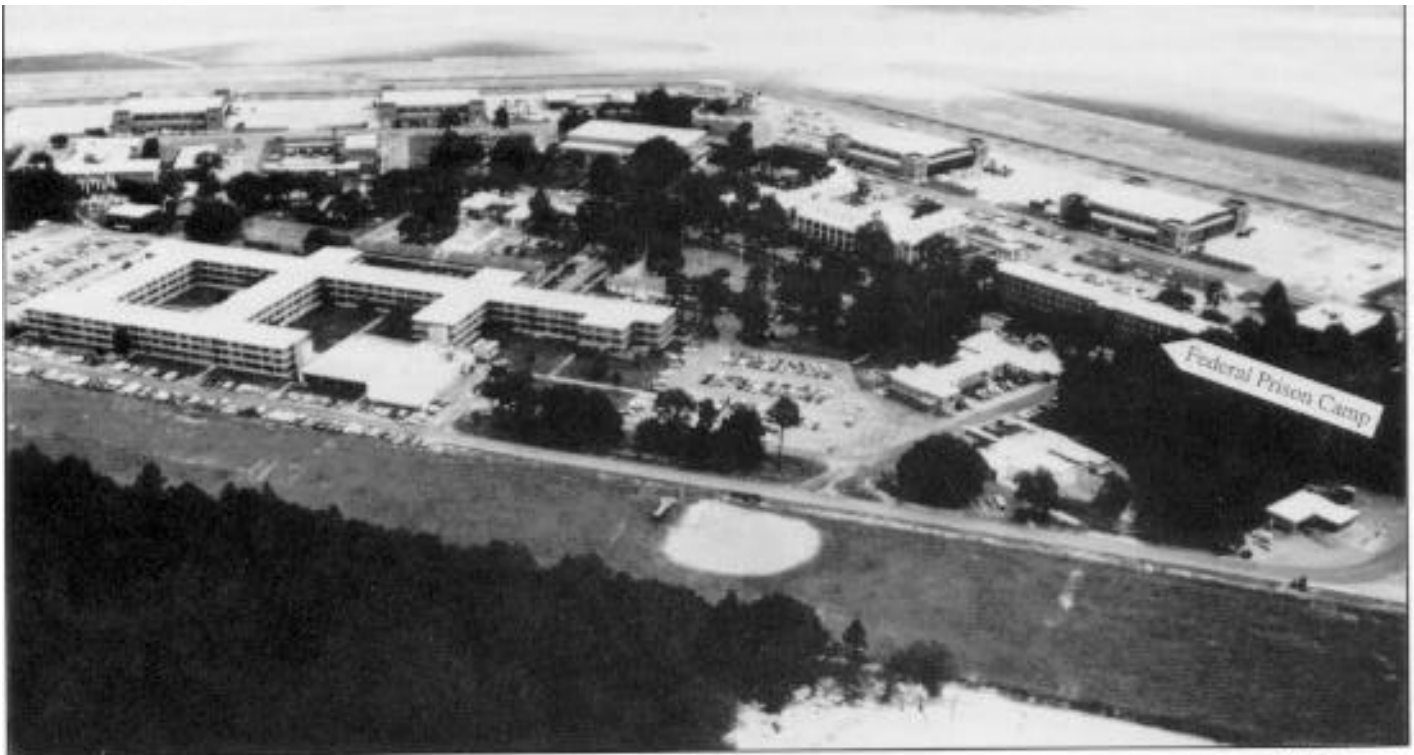
The Federal Bureau of Prisons has a long history of successfully operating correctional facilities on both active and former military bases, and has shown it can help soften some of the negative effects associated with base closure actions.

This is accomplished by keeping Federal jobs and dollars in the local area and by providing economic diversification to communities that might otherwise be

limited to only certain types of economic development. Federal correctional facilities provide numerous law enforcement jobs in their local economies. In addition to helping local businesses prosper through the sale of goods and services to the correctional facility, the institution itself can also serve as a magnet to attract new support businesses.

Acquiring portions of bases scheduled for closure for correctional use is appealing to the Bureau of Prisons as well. There are certain built-in advantages to acquiring military facilities—for instance, they have adequate infrastructures, including water and sewage treatment facilities.

Tougher sentencing laws, aggressive responses to illegal drug use, and the



elimination of parole are among the factors that have led to a dramatic increase in the Federal inmate population. This unprecedented growth makes conversion of surplus or underutilized Federal property a cost-effective option for the Bureau in its quest to bring on line additional, much-needed bedspace. Former military base locations such as Duluth Air Force Base, Minnesota, Boron Air Force Station, California, and Webb Air Force Base, Texas, are a few that have been converted to correctional use by the Bureau. A list of Bureau facilities located on current and former military properties is given on the next page.

Depending on the size and security level of the facility to be established, from 250 to more than 800 Federal jobs could be realized in communities for each institution. The average salary at a Federal correctional facility is about \$26,000;

once activated, the facility would have an annual operating budget of between \$12 and \$30 million. These dollars, injected into a community, go a long way in terms of replacing losses caused by the closure or downsizing of a base.

Day-to-day operation of Federal facilities involves substantial spending in local areas. Some examples, based on the Federal Prison Camp, Duluth, Minnesota's, experience in the local economy, are shown at right.

Top: An F-15 in flight. **Left:** Federal Prison Camp, Pensacola, Florida, located on the Naval Education and Training Program Management Support Activity at Saufley Field. About 350 inmates are housed in the long dormitory building at right. **Below:** F-16's on the flight line, Nellis Air Force Base, Nevada (near Las Vegas). The Bureau of Prisons maintains a minimum-security camp housing more than 400 inmates on the base.

FPC Duluth	
Goods and services purchased locally	
Type	Avr. %
Small purchases (clothing, medical supplies, building and hardware products, and other miscellaneous items)	50
Contract medical/hospital services	100
Utilities, including natural gas, oil, and electricity	100
Inmate commissary purchases, including food, personal items, soft drinks, etc.	80
Laundry and trash removal contracts	100
Non-personal service contracts (i.e., religious, psychological, and educational services)	100



Courtesy Nellis Air Force Base

Ultimately, the Department of Defense has the authority and responsibility to determine what the disposal action will be for each individual base, in accordance with the requirements of the 1989 and 1991 Base Realignment and Closure Acts.

Communities experiencing base closure define the eventual reuse of the base by developing a "Base Reuse Plan." The plan relies heavily on community input and is measured against major community goals and objectives.

The Bureau of Prisons seeks to be a part of this "reuse" plan in selected locations that meet its capacity expansion criteria. Currently, the Bureau is working with at least half a dozen communities nationwide where military bases in the area are scheduled for closure or realignment.

Correctional institutions can be beneficial to a community in many ways, and a "near perfect" alternative for a community whose economic base has been almost exclusively dependent on one industry-the military. ■

Kevin McMahon is a Senior Site Selection Specialist, Site Selection and Environmental Review Branch, Administration Division, Federal Bureau of Prisons.



The Memphis Naval Air Station, where 335 Federal inmates are housed at FPC Millington.

Federal Prisons on Military Property

on active bases, December 1992

Institution	Military base	Opened	Inmate pop.
FPC Eglin	Eglin Air Force Base, FL	1962	856
FPC El Paso	Fort Bliss, TX	1989	426
FPC Homestead*	Homestead Air Force Base, FL	1988	0
FPC Maxwell	Maxwell Air Force Base, AL	1930	846
FPC Millington	Memphis Naval Air Station, TN	1990	335
FPC Nellis	Nellis Air Force Base, NV	1990	430
FPC Pensacola	Pensacola Naval Air Station, FL	1988	354
FPC Seymour Johnson	Seymour Johnson Air Force Base, NC	1989	520
FPC Tyndall	Tyndall Air Force Base, FL	1988	143
FCI Fort Dix**	Fort Dix, NJ	1992	80

on deactivated bases or former military property, December 1992

FPC Allenwood	Pennsylvania Ordnance Works, PA	1952	904
LSCI Allenwood	Pennsylvania Ordnance Works, PA	1992	46
FCI Bastrop	Camp Swift, TX	1979	999
FCI Big Spring	Webb Air Force Base, TX	1990	1,017
FPC Big Spring	Webb Air Force Base, TX	1979	170
FPC Boron	Boron Air Force Radar Station, TX	1976	562
FCI Butner	Camp Butner, NC	1976	826
FPC Butner	Camp Butner, NC	1991	251
FCI Dublin***	Camp Parks, CA	1974	901
FPC Dublin***	Camp Parks, CA	1991	213
FPC Duluth	Duluth Air Force Base, MN	1983	622
FCI El Reno	Fort Reno, OK	1933	1,549
FPC El Reno	Fort Reno, OK	1980	274
MDC Guaynabo	Fort Buchanan Military Reservation, PR	1993	0
USP Leavenworth	Fort Leavenworth, KS	1906	1,658
FPC Leavenworth	Fort Leavenworth, KS	1960	398
USP Lompoc****	Vandenberg Air Force Base, CA	1959	1,676
FCI Lompoc****	Vandenberg Air Force Base, CA	1970	989
FPC Lompoc****	Vandenberg Air Force Base, CA	1991	288
MCC Miami	Naval Air Station, FL	1976	371
FCI Petersburg	Fort Lee, VA	1932	1,088
FPC Petersburg	Fort Lee, VA	1985	287
FCI Terminal Island	Terminal Island Naval Station, CA	1938	1,171

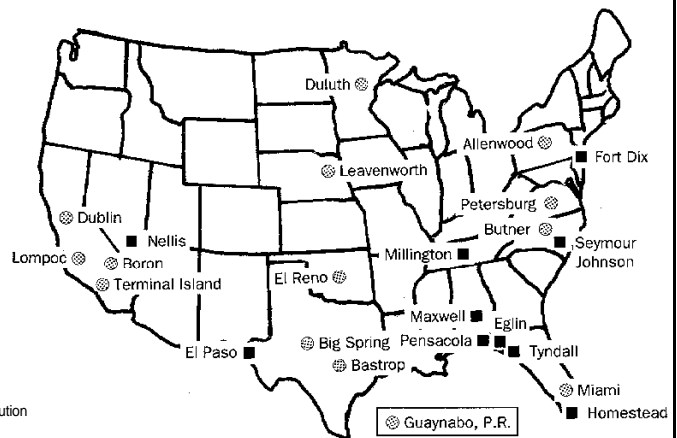
*Closed due to damage sustained during Hurricane Andrew. MCC Miami was also heavily damaged, but has partially returned to service.

**Renovation and conversion of existing facilities IS currently underway. Population will be up to 3,200 upon full activation.

***Formerly FCI/FPC Pleasanton.

****Adjacent to Vandenberg Air Force Base on land leased to the Bureau by the DoD.

FCI: Federal Correctional Institution
 FPC: Federal Prison Camp
 LSCI: Low Security Correctional Institution
 MCC: Metropolitan Correctional Center
 MDC: Metropolitan Detention Center
 USP: U.S. Penitentiary



W Active military bases 63 Deactivated military bases/former military property

Interview: Lee Jett

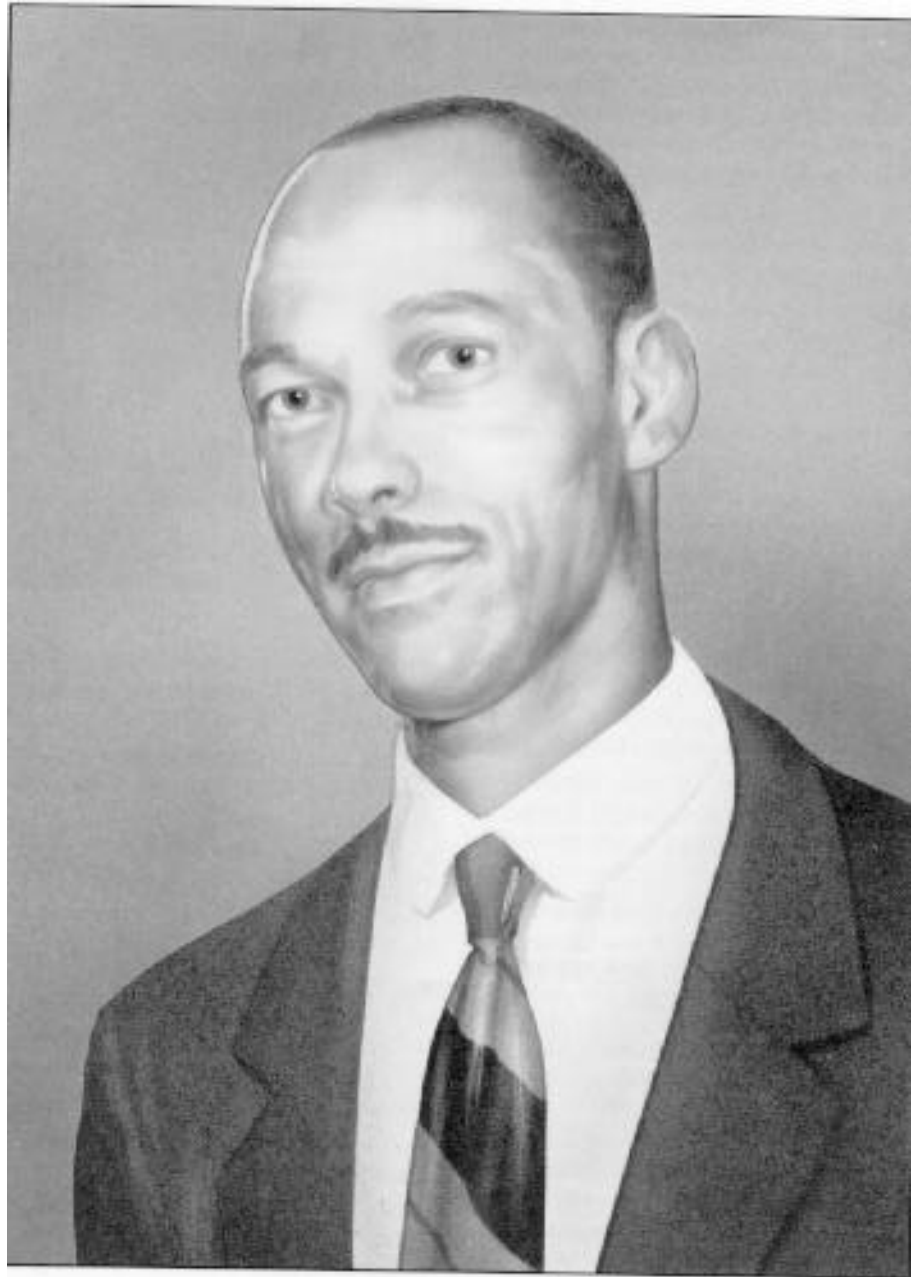
A former warden reflects on 30 years in corrections

Interviewed by John W. Roberts

Many people in the Federal Bureau of Prisons have heard of Lee Jett, partly because he was the Bureau's first African-American warden and his name is cited frequently during Black History Month ceremonies every February. Jett had a distinguished and highly varied career in the field of corrections that lasted nearly 3 decades. He participated in or witnessed many of the important changes that took place in the Bureau during the 1960's and 1970's.

Lee Jett started in corrections in 1948 as a social worker in the Cuyahoga County (Ohio) House of Corrections for 4 years and the County Probation Department for 2 years. In November 1954 he joined the Bureau as a case worker at the U.S. Penitentiary (USP), Terre Haute, Indiana, and eventually was promoted to chief of classification and parole at Terre Haute. He transferred to USP Atlanta as chief of classification and parole in 1965, and in 1967 was named associate warden at the Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) Terminal Island, California. The first black warden, Jett managed two Bureau facilities: FCI Englewood, Colorado, from 1971 to 1975, and FCI Terminal Island, from 1975 until his retirement in 1977. In retirement, Jett performed volunteer work for 8 years, supervising community service cases in the Los Angeles County Court system. In 1990 he was named Outstanding Volunteer of the Year in the South Bay Volunteer Center.

Jett's career was marked by widely varied experiences and responsibilities. He served at penitentiaries, a co-correctional Federal Correctional Institution, and a youth facility—FCI Englewood, which housed male inmates under 26, many of



whom had been sentenced under the Federal Youth Corrections Act. Jett was with the Bureau during the transition to unit management in the 1970's, helped desegregate inmate housing units at USP Atlanta in the 1960's, witnessed the origins of the Bureau's Equal Employment Opportunity program, and worked

extensively with volunteers. He recalls these diverse experiences in this article, which was taken from interviews conducted on July 12, 1988, and September 27, 1991, as part of the Bureau's oral history project.

You spent the first part of your career working in penitentiaries, but then went to a co-correctional FCI and then to a youth facility. How did those institutions differ? How easy was it for you to make the adjustment?

You find if you've spent most of your career in a penitentiary setting, your attitudes are going to be colored accordingly. I worked for 11 years at Terre Haute, then went to Atlanta for 2½ years, and things couldn't have been more tight than they were at either of those two places. And then I went to Terminal Island. The atmosphere was just totally different from the penitentiaries. Staff would tell you what they'd like to do and I'd say, "You've lost your mind!" And they would say, "Well, we've been doing this for 5 years!" So you'd start thinking a bit more, and, maybe, adapting your philosophies in working with new people—what can be done, what may not be done. All the while accepting the challenges and exploring the possibilities.

Female inmates were a little more difficult for me to manage. It was interesting working with them, but when one female inmate had a problem one day, a hundred of them would have a problem. One's not going to come up to see you; 50 are going to come up. I had a hell of a time getting used to that. You'd put somebody on callup, and, as a warden, I often saw the inmates. I wanted to talk with them and keep in touch, and I'd agree to see one, and here would come 20! Well, you know you're in for a long day then. There were not major problems, but issues that did rightfully concern them, whether it's medical or educational or whatever. It was not an unhappy time for me when the women were moved to



another institution, ending the problems common to coed institutions.

Atlanta was an interesting place to work. It was massive. People were doing serious time—15 years, 20 years, life sentences. Mafioso types from the northeast. The last thing they wanted to do was create disturbances, unless there was a big issue going on. They wanted to do their time and get out of the institution, so it was possible to handle the routine things that came up and let it go at that.

Inmates were much more impulsive at Englewood. If some inmate didn't like somebody he might say, "Look, let's fight." At Englewood, with so many kids doing the Youth Corrections Act, they might be in there 6 months, so that a good brawl to get the juices flowing was nothing unusual. Oh, boy, it kept you going.

So the kids were less of a security problem, in the sense that they were not part of organized crime families or whatever, but at the same time they created difficult management problems.

Yes, but you did roll with the punches. I can remember every so often sitting in the office around lunchtime, and I would look out the window, and here are about six kids just taking off right straight across the field towards the mountains! Over the fence, right in front of the warden's office. Middle of the day! They're not thinking. You had to laugh. They had no place to go; you'd just send some staff out to bring them back. But it kept you on your toes. It was quite a place.

It was still an enjoyable experience working with the younger people. It was enjoyable working with the adults, too, but they're a little more subdued, a little more businesslike, as opposed to the kids with their energy.

One thing you had at all the institutions, though, was community involvement and activities. We had very large volunteer programs.

Tell me about the volunteer programs.

Alcoholics Anonymous has always been, I guess, the strongest program in terms of volunteers—at least in the institutions that I've been in. And there was another program in Atlanta, where people came in from the community just to talk to the inmates. They did such an outstanding job that we were able to get a Presidential Commendation. I think that was when Richard Nixon was President.

The volunteer programs at Englewood were very large, in the hundreds from time to time. Englewood had such a big education program, and many of the people were volunteers coming in. We had the Explorer Scout program, with its corps of volunteers. It would have been difficult to function as well at a place like

Englewood without a large group of volunteers. The community was good to us.

At Terminal Island, in the Los Angeles area, we had so many resources to call on. We had a group of playwrights that would come in and teach drama and put on plays. [Singer] Lou Rawls put on shows at Terminal Island and at Englewood. He's good people. And things like that help an institution run better, help you manage it better, if you're able to offer diversions to the inmates.

Some people think that inmates respond better to more rigid controls. What do you think about that?

I don't think rigidity is always the answer. Firmness, absolutely. But with needless rigidity, you're just asking for problems in some institutions. People that are in an institution are locked up; they've lost their freedom, That's the bottom line. I don't care how many TV's they can see, how many shows come in, they are still locked up. They can't go home at night. That's the punishment, right there. And anything else, unless you really need it, makes your job tougher.

USP Atlanta was desegregated in the mid-'60's. You were Chief of Classification and Parole there at that time. I've heard there was resistance to desegregation in some quarters. What did you find?

One of the problems was that they asked people first! Inmates. And that's the worst thing in the world to do. I think it could have been done a better way. One of the big problems—and it wasn't management's fault—was that there weren't enough blacks to go around,



Above: Lee Jett with Mark Henry, current warden of the Federal Correctional Institution, Terminal Island, California, 1991, Left: Jett in the warden's office, Federal Correctional Institution, Englewood, Colorado, c. 1971.

basically, so you're going to end up with one black guy in a cell with 9 or 10 white inmates, and that's not going to work.

Was there any violence?

There was a lot of scuffling going on. I think, and I'm not sure this would have changed one earthly thing, but if maybe the warden had talked to some of his minority staff, at any level—back in those days there were a fair number of blacks working there—he might have gotten a little better insight on how you might want to work this. Although it's his decision to do it as he sees fit. But I don't think there was any input from minority staff.

How might it have been better?

They had huge cellhouses, with 200 or 300 people in them. The idea, I would have thought, would have been to divide it up as equally as possible, although I don't know how in the heck you'd do it. That's a problem in a lot of places. You have a cellhouse with 400 people, you can't put in 200 whites and 200 blacks if

it doesn't balance out that way. But you don't put one or two of one group in with 300 of the other group—that's where you have the problem.

At least initially, there was a lot of resistance among inmates. You heard it, They voiced it very openly. Not, "I'm going to kill somebody," but "Never will this happen." Fortunately it worked out OK ultimately, without any great big problems of any kind.

Was the resistance among white inmates and black inmates, both?

It worked on both sides. It wasn't just that some whites didn't want to live with blacks, but some blacks didn't want to live with whites. But you see the same thing today in universities. Blacks sit together in the dining halls. The Indians sit together, the Hispanics sit together, the whites sit together. Intellectuals in universities. So why should we think prisoners are going to be any different. So in retrospect, I guess we did pretty good, considering where we still are today.

About the time you first became a warden, the Bureau began implementing unit management. Was that a difficult process? Was there much resistance on the part of staff?

No. Staff generally like to be involved, more involved than they are. And you can do all sorts of things, you know, in a unit management concept.

Did you find that unit management increased staff professionalism? Did people, when they were given more responsibility, rise to the occasion?

They rose to the occasion. I find that is true, and that has been one of my own personal concerns. I like the idea of developing staff at every level. I'd like to see everybody that has the potential to be the next warden or the next director, because that's going to make me look good as warden and feel good too! I want my staff to be the best and to move up. I think of Gil Ingram; he was my associate warden at Englewood [and is now Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Regional Office].

When you give people more responsibility, you have more staff interaction. I used to enjoy changing roles. A unit manager becomes a captain, a captain becomes this, a chaplain goes to that. This kind of movement gives them additional experience in different areas of responsibility.

Sure, they grow. They enjoy coming to work because they've got something different to do, something new. In hindsight, it has not backfired. At least it never backfired during our time. But as I think about it, some of these things are easier done at some institutions than at others.

Where you have an institution with more adult offenders, maybe like at Terminal Island or Atlanta or whatever, you have to go very slowly in changing the roles. There's too much to lose if you make a mistake. But with young adults as there were at Englewood when I was warden, you can experiment a little. Not do things that are stupid. Take the food service administrator and make him an acting captain. Down the line, maybe he'll be



Jett in his office at the U.S. Penitentiary, Terre Haute, Indiana, with an inmate clerk, c. 1964. He was chief of classification and parole at the time.

considered for associate warden because of his experience. Or start taking chaplains and put them in the units. So I've always had a real interest in management concepts in that sense, and they work.

How did staff development under unit management differ from staff development when you first started?

In the '50's, the emphasis was on custody. Maybe that's because I started in a penitentiary. Custodial officers, the captain, the associate warden for custody, and the warden. That's the core. And everything seemed to flow through that. Many of your wardens came up that way. It wasn't till later-I'm not sure if that was when Norm [Carlson] became director or whether Alex [Myrl Alexander] was still director-when we began to look around at the other people working in the institutions and say, well, these people are doing a very good job in their particular areas; let's give them more opportunity for development. Let's move them up a notch. But that's something that has to start at the top. If it doesn't start at the very top, in terms of developing staff, it's not going to happen.

Do you think inmates were more easily managed under unit management than under the previous way of doing things?

I'm a firm believer that the unit management concept did more to help institutions run well than many things we had done in the past. I like to interact with people. People in institutions are no exception. There are certain restraints, certain rules that you have to live by. But my experience has shown me that you should set a comfortable atmosphere, and unit management can enhance that.

I think unit management worked so much better for the inmates because generally they could get responses to inquiries right away. They didn't have to wait until something went up through some classification committee that met once every couple of weeks, or goes to an associate warden or the warden, They talk to their caseworker or their counselor in the unit, and maybe the staff will meet about it the next day. At least the inmate is going to get an answer, whether yes or no. They may not like the answer, but they'll get a response and a reason, and they'll understand.

That's where unit management comes in, to try to resolve any kind of problems or questions that arise. You bring in the concept of control right there at the unit, not up at the warden's office. Many times a warden is not really going to know the inmates that he has to make decisions about, but unit staff get to know their clientele.

Getting decisions made at the lowest responsible level has been a pet of mine all through the years. Why have an associate warden or warden do it if you've got a good unit manager who can do it?

But you've got to work with them, train them, send them out to take management courses, those kinds of things. And then, let them do it. At some point, you have to get to where you trust the people that you say run the unit. If you're going to second-guess them all the time, you're defeating your own purpose.

Yet, at the same time, there's sort of a dichotomy. I'd tell the unit manager occasionally, "This is your baby. You guys make the decision." But if there is a problem, [Director] Norm Carlson isn't going to call the unit manager, he's going to call me! So you've got to keep that in the back of your mind all the time-accountability.

How were decisions about inmates made before unit management?

Under the old system, you had a classification committee that met once a week. Sometimes the warden would be there, a couple of associate wardens, the chief of classification and parole, the captain. The chaplain would be there too. I'm talking about back when I first started in the mid-'50's. They'd sit around and talk about the particular case and then they would bring the inmate in. These are new classifications, you know. They would tell the inmate, "This is your program." Not a heck of a lot of time for discussion. You didn't have the time.

For ongoing programs, there was a subcommittee, a smaller group, that met once a week to determine somebody's custody. I remember at a particular institution, which I won't mention, they were reviewing military cases on the subcommittee, for clemency or whatever. At this particular institution, they had hundreds of military cases*-30 years, 40 years, whatever. When I sat in on my first subcommittee, one of the caseworkers said



Warden Lee Jett and former Director Norman A. Carlson, FCI Terminal Island, California, 1976.

"The next 15 cases are military cases, no change." That's it. I almost fell out of my chair. How do I know there's no change? But you've got five caseworkers with 2,300 inmates. What are you going to do? You can't sit there and do the things you know should be done.

We changed that very quickly. This is where unit management comes in and makes the system more responsive.

If I'm not mistaken, you were the first black warden.

That's right.

Did you encounter any resistance early on, or any problems?

I'm thinking, and, very honestly, I don't remember anything. There was one comment-it was when I was in Atlanta, before I made warden. It was funny. I

*In the 1950's, when Lee Jett joined the Bureau, as much as 5 percent of the Bureau's inmate population in any given year could be made up of servicemen who were convicted in Courts Martial of having violated military law.

remember my secretary in Atlanta-and this wasn't negative-said "I never thought I'd be working for a Negro and a Yankee!" But that was the only comment she made. She was absolutely fantastic. And I can remember another instance that one of the staff members mentioned. I had the choice of living on the reservation [staff housing] at Atlanta, and I heard that there were some rumblings among staff there. Well, I didn't necessarily want to live there on the reservation in Atlanta. But other than those two relatively insignificant incidents, I never had a problem, either professionally or socially.

[Former Director] Norm Carlson told me that Equal Employment Opportunity [EEO] was important not just because it was the right thing to do for staff, but also because it was an important correctional goal to increase minority staffing in decision-making positions-particularly after the racially charged riot at [the New York State prison at] Attica. Could you discuss Director Carlson's general attitude toward EEO and how it affected prison operations?

I had thought, and I still do think, that the Bureau's EEO program seems to be one of the best in the Government, bar none. I think it's all due to Norm Carlson. And Myrl Alexander. Actually, Myrl was director when I was promoted to associate warden, but from that point forward, Norm took the lead. Equal Employment Opportunity would not have happened without Norm. He had the commitment that paid off. He had a personal interest in it. I rarely thought of it in terms of a good correctional philosophy or policy. I'm thinking this is within this guy's heart. He believes this, and if he believes it, it's going to get done. If it happened to

make an institution run a little better, that's a little extra plus. The inmates are aware of what's going on. You bet they know how many top staff are minorities.

I remember [former EEO chief] Dick Lyles. We worked together for years. In fact, I finally convinced him to go to Washington when they wanted him as EEO coordinator. He had a lot to do with getting the mechanics of the program set up.

But if the top man doesn't want it, it's not going to fly. I don't care how many people down below want it to go, it won't go until he says, "We'll do it." I can remember when we first started on the really serious EEO program. The momentum was at the top. As long as you have the momentum there, it's going to work. I've been very happy with the Bureau's EEO program. I think the program's doing fine, as I now view it from a distance.

Looking back over your career, are there any additional observations that you would like to make?

It was a good 23 years for me. I didn't know anyone to get me into the Bureau. I just saw an announcement on the bulletin board at the county probation office where I was working. Heck, send the thing in. It didn't cost anything, you know. Form 57, I think it was. The next thing you know, I heard from the warden at Terre Haute. As they say, the rest is history. It was a good 23 years. I enjoyed it. You have your ups and downs in any job. I don't care what it is. You get mad at people and happy for people and you go through all the same kinds of emotions as people come and go. It's interesting to remember all these people I knew 20, 30 years ago. It's a big family. ■

The Youth Corrections Act



Warden Jett at a Youth Explorers' track meet, Englewood, Colorado, c. 1972.

During the 1950's and 1960's, the "treatment" or "medical model" of corrections enjoyed its greatest influence. It sought to rehabilitate offenders by treating crime as if it were a "disease" that could be cured. Case studies were used to diagnose social problems or character traits that caused an offender to commit crimes, and individualized counseling and training programs were prescribed to achieve rehabilitation. One of the chief exponents of the medical model was James V. Bennett, who was director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons from 1937 to 1964.

An early Federal effort in line with medical model theories was the Youth Corrections Act (YCA), which was enacted in 1950. Bennett played a key role in securing Congressional approval of the legislation. Youths between the ages of 18 and 22 who were convicted under YCA were sentenced to indeterminate sentences—for example, a sentence of 2 to 4 years, rather than a straight sentence of 4 years—and could be paroled at any time that they appeared to be sufficiently rehabili-

tated to return to the community. Parole authorities could even expunge YCA convictions from offenders' records. Under YCA, youthful offenders were housed separately from adults, and intensified diagnostic services and programming were available to them.

Bennett and the Bureau implemented YCA enthusiastically, and designated several institutions to accept YCA cases. One of those institutions was FCI Englewood, where Lee Jett served as warden from 1971 to 1975.

Congress repealed YCA in 1980. The law had been difficult to administer in numerous respects. Moreover, there was a general trend throughout corrections away from the medical model; while many programs remained available for inmates who wished to take advantage of them, empirical studies were showing that mandatory programs were not uniformly effective with inmates, and that the concentration of young inmates in prison populations was the source of very difficult management problems, including violence. ■

Prisons in Israel

Judith D. Simon and Rita J. Simon

In the spring of 1990, Middle East Watch, a human rights organization, received permission from the Israeli government to send a delegation to visit prisons in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. In August 1990, a three-person delegation consisting of Rita Simon, a sociologist, Judith Simon, an attorney and a former corrections officer, and Eric Goldstein, a staff member of Middle East Watch, visited four prisons run by the National Prison Service, two police lockups run by the Ministry of Police, and five detention camps run by the Israeli Defense Forces (the Israeli army). Our objective was to inspect and report on conditions inside the facilities. We were instructed not to investigate or report on the propriety of incarcerating any particular inmates or groups of inmates (such as Palestinians being held under administrative detention).¹ We returned in August 1992 for a followup visit to several institutions.

The National Prison Service, a division within the Ministry of Police, operates all of the prisons to which adults convicted under Israeli

criminal laws are sent. Arabs (except those convicted of security offenses) and Jews are housed in common living units in these facilities. Residents of the occupied territories (the West Bank and the Gaza Strip) who are being held under administrative detention² or who have been convicted of a crime are not sent to Prison Service prisons, but instead are held in camps run by the army. Finally, the Police Ministry operates lockups for pretrial detainees and for convicted offenders awaiting transfer to a Prison Service facility. Israeli law requires that juveniles be separated from adult inmates, and in all facilities women are kept separate from men.

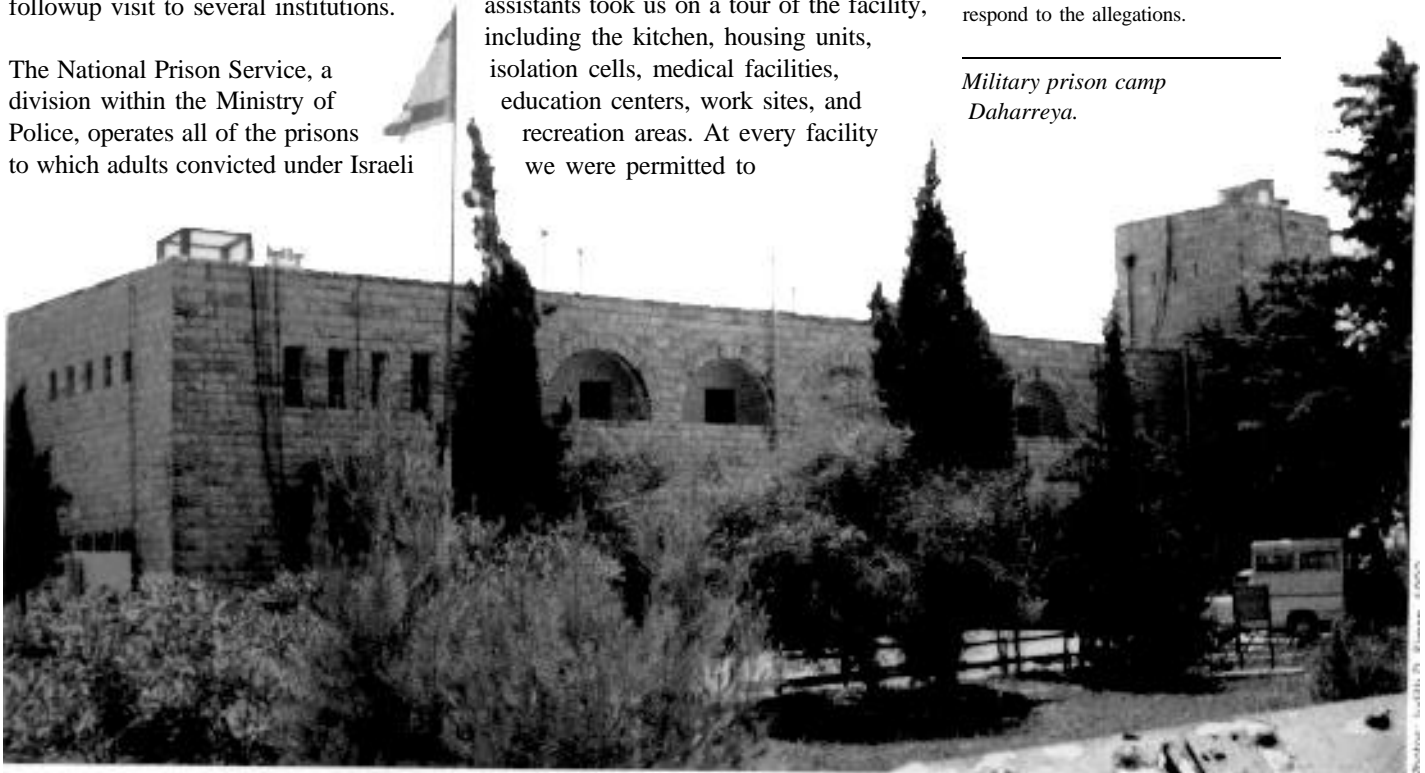
At each facility we met with the warden or commander, who gave us a brief overview of the types of prisoners housed at the institution, explained general institution policies, and answered our many questions. Following the briefing, the commander or one of his (or her) assistants took us on a tour of the facility, including the kitchen, housing units, isolation cells, medical facilities, education centers, work sites, and recreation areas. At every facility we were permitted to

talk freely with randomly selected inmates and with specific inmates whose names were known to the Middle East Watch staff member. In all facilities our conversations with the inmates took place outside the hearing of staff members. At some places we were given a private room in which to meet with prisoners and conduct extended interviews.

¹The views expressed in this article are not shared by one member of the delegation, Eric Goldstein, who wrote a separate report from that written by the other two members of the team.

²Administrative detention is not part of Israeli law and therefore does not apply to Israeli citizens. It is a law left over from British-ruled Palestine and has been maintained pursuant to the Hague and Geneva Conventions. This law permits the Israeli government to hold detainees for up to 6 months without charging them with a specific crime. At the end of 6 months the detention may be extended for another 6-month period, there is no limit on the number of extensions. The detainee is not without legal recourse because he can always file a complaint (a "Bagatz") with the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court must review each complaint received and ask the government to respond to the allegations.

*Military prison camp
Daharreya.*



National Prison Service prisons

The four Prison Service facilities we visited appeared to be orderly, well-run institutions that more than adequately provide for the inmates' basic needs such as food and shelter, and provide an impressive array of educational, vocational, and recreational opportunities. Each prison has a small clinic for treating minor health problems. Inmates needing extensive treatment are sent to hospitals in the community or to the large prison medical center. The prisoners with whom we spoke appeared healthy and active.



Isolation building, military prison camp Ketsiot.

National Prison Service policy requires the administration to allow inmates to receive at minimum one 30-minute visit per month, one phone call per week, and an unlimited number of incoming and outgoing letters. Inmates are permitted to visit and speak over the phone with their attorneys as often as the attorney deems necessary. None of the inmates with whom we spoke indicated that the facilities failed to adhere to these policies.

The institutions varied in population from 125 (at Nevei Terza, a women's facility) to 640 (at Maasiyahu, a minimum-security men's facility). We saw one minimum-security facility, two maximum-security facilities, and the sole women's facility. Housing accommodations vary among the facilities, but at most institutions at least two inmates are assigned to a room or cell. All cells or rooms contain a sink, a toilet, a bed for each inhabitant, and usually a shower and a window. Many inmates have personal radios, and some have televisions. Inmates are permitted to wear their own clothing and to decorate their rooms with pictures and other personal items. The rooms are not spacious, but the system is not overcrowded and in some places we even saw empty beds.³ Most inmates spend a large part of the day outside of their cells at school, work, recreation, and meals. All institutions have dining halls where the prisoners take three daily meals. We noted that the kitchens and dining halls appeared clean and the food (meat and vegetables) looked appetizing.⁴ All institutions have outside recreation areas, most with basketball courts. Nearly all of the facilities have lovely grounds with well-kept lawns and many flowers, all maintained by the inmates.

The National Prison Service maintains contracts with private companies that set up workshops at the institutions and employ inmates at the prevailing minimum wage, a rate of pay higher than that offered by the government-owned prison

³Qraeli law and Prison Service regulations permit the Prison Service to refuse to accept inmates from the prison lockups if there is no space in any of the institutions. Of course: this sometimes results in the lockups becoming overcrowded, such as the Russian Compound in Jerusalem.

⁴The inmates complained that the food was bland and not often to their liking, but none complained that there was not enough to eat.

industries. These private industries include woodworking and an electrical shop. Prison industries employ inmates in print shops, and inmates work as groundskeepers, cooks, and maintenance workers. Several prisoners complained about the lack of safety in the workshops and recounted stories of inmates suffering severe injuries.

Many prisoners take classes to earn their high school equivalency, and others take specialized courses in computers, art, religious study, interpersonal skills, or languages. Correspondence courses are available for prisoners wishing to earn college credits.

The Prison Service has a number of other programs of interest:

- Most inmates are eligible for a furlough program after serving one-fourth of their sentences. The furlough program permits inmates to leave the institution for up to 72 hours. Additionally, inmates at the minimum-security facility who have 2 years or less remaining on their sentences are permitted to work outside the prison during the day and return at night.



Deputy commander in yard outside protective custody, sink and showers in background; military prison camp Ketsiot.



One side of family visiting area, village on outside of fence; military prison camp Daharreya.

- Some of the facilities have “drug-free wards” that permit prisoners who have demonstrated a commitment to remain free of drugs and alcohol to enjoy privileges not available to the general population, such as a later “lights out” time, additional recreation time, and more spacious quarters. Some prisons also have religious wards that permit prisoners who so wish to devote many hours each day to religious studies and to lead a relatively pious life.
- Women inmates who bear children while they are in prison are permitted to keep their children at the facility until the child reaches age 2.⁵
- Several facilities have family therapy programs to help inmates improve communication within their families. The therapy sessions are conducted during

⁵We saw a woman and her child living at the women’s prison. The child seemed healthy and happy and the women seemed pleased to have him there. The mother’s roommate had volunteered to live with the woman and her child and enjoyed the responsibility of helping with the baby.

visitation times in special areas where recreational facilities are available for the children. A counselor employed by the Prison Service works with the inmate and his family each week, or whenever the family can visit.

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of the prisons run by the Prison Service is the relationships we observed between inmates and staff and among the inmates. None of the inmates reported violence on the part of staff members, and both inmates and staff members told us that there were very few incidents of violence between inmates. Many staff members who accompanied us on our tours knew prisoners by name, and the prisoners were obviously acquainted with the staff members (including commanders), some of whom they addressed by their first names! On several occasions inmates would approach staff members with requests and seemed satisfied with the responses they received. There was no yelling or catcalling as we passed through various parts of the institutions. Arab and Jewish inmates reportedly get along, with few problems.

The Prison Service has in its custody juveniles who, by law, must be kept separate from adult inmates. The juveniles fall into two groups: those charged with ordinary crimes such as car theft, and those charged with *intifada*⁶-related crimes such as stone throwing. One Prison Service facility, Ha Sharon, houses all of the youth charged with ordinary crimes, and some of the youth charged with *intifada*-related activities.⁷

⁶“Intifada” refers to the uprising of the Palestinians living in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem that has continued since the late 1980’s.

⁷ Arab juveniles arrested for *intifada*-related activities also were held in one of the military camps and at the Russian Compound in Jerusalem.

The two groups live in separate areas, but have similar facilities. They eat three meals each day in a dining hall; have a recreation room with books, a television, and a ping-pong table; and have weekly half-hour family visits. The youth are out of their cells most of the day, attending classes in basic education, arts and crafts, religion, and recreation. The youth convicted of ordinary crimes are permitted to work in a private industry shop.

Police Ministry lockups

The police lockups in Israel (the equivalent of our county and city jails) are under the direct control of the Police Ministry and are staffed by police officers. The National Prison Service has no involvement with these facilities. We visited the two largest facilities, one in Tel Aviv—Abu Kabir—and the other in Jerusalem—the Russian Compound. The facilities could not have been more different.

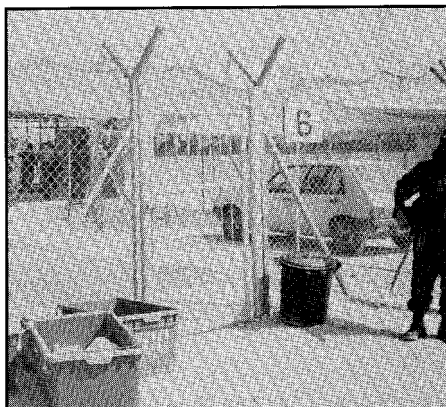
The Russian Compound, a building constructed by the British in 1856 to house Russian pilgrims to Jerusalem, was the worst facility we saw on our 1990 visit. The 300 inmates (most of whom



Youth living area, military prison camp Meggido.

were adult Arab men) were crammed into hot, poorly lit, poorly ventilated, smoke-filled cells, where they remain all day save for mealtime in the dining hall three times a day, and 1 hour of yard time. Prior to 1988 the Russian Compound held about 80 detainees, but the facility had since been expanded to accommodate the increase in arrests due to the *intifada*. The Police Ministry had plans to further expand the complex to improve the deplorable conditions.

Many of those held at the Russian Compound have been convicted and sentenced and are awaiting transfer to a Prison Service facility as soon as space becomes available. To accommodate sentenced inmates, who by law are entitled to rights not afforded detainees, the facility commander created a canteen and visiting area where the inmates can visit with their families on a weekly basis. A doctor is on call 24 hours a day, and a medic passes through each wing of the compound every day to speak with the prisoners and make a list of those wishing to see the doctor. Despite the poor living conditions, the inmates looked healthy. The Red Cross provides reading materials, though the detainees



Family visiting area, military prison camp Ketsiot. Families place items brought to prisoners in separate bins.

reported that they receive very few newspapers and books, The kitchen looked clean and the food looked and smelled good.

Women detainees and women convicted of minor crimes are also held at the Compound in a separate wing. The two cells, each holding 11 women, were not crowded, and were well lit and well ventilated. The women have reading material provided by the Red Cross and are permitted to bring their own bed linens. Like the men, they are permitted weekly family visits. In addition to the prison doctor, who they can see by placing a request with the medic, the women may have their private doctors examine them at the facility. We heard no complaints about abuse by staff or other inmates.

The Russian Compound also holds Arab juveniles arrested for *intifada*-related activities. These youth are kept in a separate wing; the cells each hold 35-41 juveniles, some of whom had to sleep on mattresses on the floor. Despite the ventilator, and in some cases a window, the rooms were stuffy and dark. There is a recreation room with a television, board games, and a ping-pong table; a proba-

tion officer spends 90 minutes to 2 hours each day with the youth in the recreation room and on the yard outside.

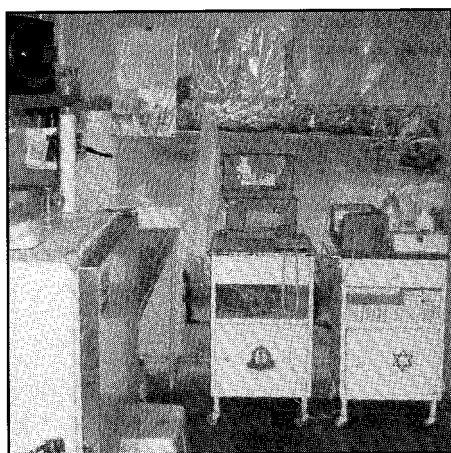
The second police lockup, the Abu Kabir facility in Tel Aviv, is entirely different. It is a much newer and larger building (capacity is 500 detainees) with large, well-lit, well-ventilated cells, many of which were empty. Like the inmates at the Russian Compound, the inmates spend at least 1 hour on the yard each day; eat three meals a day in the dining hall; may purchase cigarettes, toiletries, and food from a canteen; and have weekly 90-minute family visits in an open visiting area.

Army detention camps

The Israeli army operates a number of detention camps in which they hold Arab residents of the occupied territories who have been arrested for *intifada*-related activities (including printing pamphlets, building explosives, and possessing weapons) or who are being administratively detained.⁸ No Palestinian women are held in army-run facilities; rather, they are housed in a separate section of a Prison Service prison. The camps are governed by the "Military Policy Directive Concerning Detention Centers" and the Israeli Defense Forces' Standing Orders. In accordance with international law, administrative detainees are held separately from those who are awaiting trial or have been convicted.⁹

The need for facilities to house large numbers of detainees and persons charged with *intifada*-related crimes arose quickly; therefore, the army was

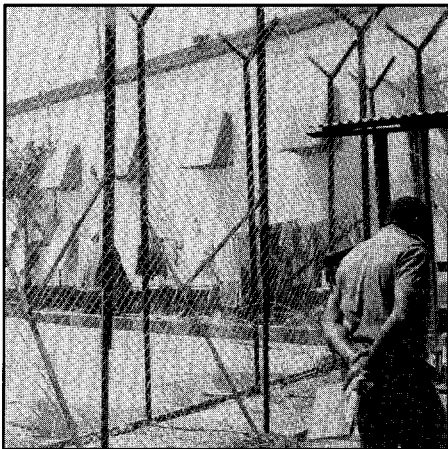
⁸The government explains that it is often unable to charge individuals with specific crimes; in order to prove that such crimes were committed the government would be forced to expose informants whose lives would then be in jeopardy.



Infirmary, military prison camp Ketsiot.

forced to convert existing buildings into appropriate holding facilities¹⁰ and to construct camps similar to those set up for soldiers (with the addition of barbed-wire fencing surrounding each group of tents and surrounding the entire camp). The camps are all quite large; in 1990 the smallest held 450 prisoners, and the largest 6,200. The atmosphere at all of the camps was markedly more tense and more hostile than at the Prison Service prisons. The soldiers who guard the inmates were not specially trained in corrections, and they were forced to live in camps adjacent to the prison camps and endure the same uncomfortable conditions as the prisoners.

Most of the detainees live in large tents, each with 26 beds. They sleep on mattresses placed on top of wood pallets (as do the soldiers). In all but one of the camps, each group of tents has showers and toilet facilities accessible at all times, though hot water may only be available several times per week. Most inmates leave their tent areas only for attorney or family visits, or to see the doctor. There are few work opportunities in the camps,



Yard outside general population housing unit, military prison camp Meggido.

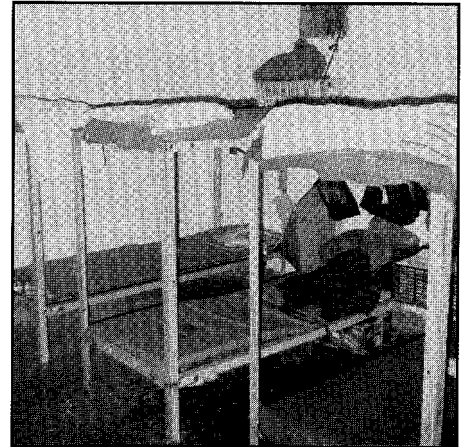
aside from food preparation and laundry. The areas are large enough to permit the men to exercise and to gather in small groups to pray.

The camp commanders generally leave the day-to-day living arrangements to the prisoners. Nearly all the camps employ the “shaweesh” system, whereby a group of men are selected jointly by the prison commander and the inmates to act as spokesmen for the prisoners. Prisoners other than the *shaweeshim* are generally prohibited from speaking to the soldiers, but this rule is not enforced at all facilities. The *shaweeshim* are responsible for such things as meal planning and setting portion sizes (the inmates’ kitchens receive raw ingredients, the same as those given the soldiers, from which they prepare food as they see fit), for resolving problems among the inmates, and for speaking with the commanders about complaints and problems the prisoners are having. Aside from the counts taken several times a day and the weekly or monthly searches, the soldiers rarely enter the inmates’ living areas, and generally have little contact with them. At several facilities the inmates offered us coffee, tea, and sweets while we spoke with them. At one facility the commander drank coffee and chatted with prisoners in the kitchen area while we wandered around and spoke with other inmates.

⁹Administrative detainees are entitled to greater rights and privileges than prisoners charged with or convicted of specific charges. The Israeli army provides them with somewhat better living accommodations.

¹⁰One camp, Meggido, had been a military prison for Israeli soldiers, and a second, Fara’ah, was built by the British as a prison.

¹¹Inmates suspected of “collaborating” with the Israelis are frequently attacked or killed—often before they are aware of such suspicions. If the officials are notified, they immediately remove the suspected prisoner from the general population.



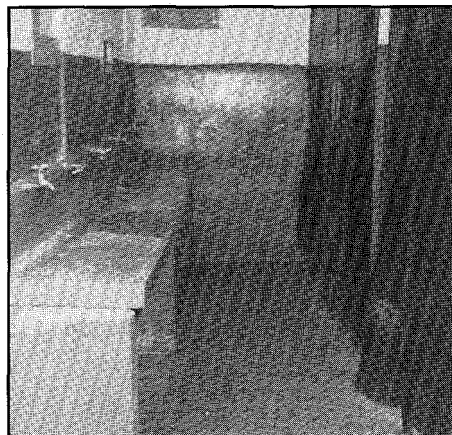
General population living unit, military prison camp Ketsiot.

In 1990, all the camps had isolation cells for prisoners who violate rules, and for inmates needing protection.” These cells were, in all cases, dark, small, and hot. In some camps the cells were empty, but those that were occupied were quite crowded and the occupants looked somewhat dazed.

Inmates are entitled to three meals a day, to visit with lawyers freely and frequently, to receive and send mail, to receive medical treatment, and to be free from physical abuse. In no facilities are the prisoners permitted to make phone calls. Personal radios and televisions are prohibited, but news and music are broadcast several times a day in Hebrew and Arabic. The Red Cross provides reading materials, including newspapers and books; only titles on an “approved book list” are permitted. Inmates wear their own clothing, but in some facilities they are prohibited from wearing red, black, or green—the colors of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Also prohibited are the giving of lectures or seminars, and wearing jewelry (though we noticed that many inmates were wearing watches and necklaces).

The inmates at the military camps had many more complaints than did those at Prison Service facilities on our 1990 visit. The physical setup at the camps was more rugged and less comfortable, but this was not the source of the complaints. Rather, the men complained that their mail was often delayed weeks and sometimes never received at all; they lacked interesting reading material and suffered from boredom; they were not permitted to visit with their lawyers or their families as often as they desired,¹² and they did not receive adequate medical care.

All of the members of our delegation were pleasantly surprised at the conditions we saw at the 11 facilities during our 1990 visit. The National Prison Service prisons were impressive by any standards—in terms of the physical conditions, the relations between inmates and their custodians, and the policies. The camps run by the army were less impressive in those aspects, but were far better than we expected. We saw no evidence that the prisoners are subjected



Shower/bathroom area inside living area, military prison camp Fara'ah.

to physical abuse. The inmates are well fed and receive medical treatment, they are free to spend time with one another, and they receive visits from their lawyers and families.

We did see problems that needed to be addressed, including the lack of family visits at the largest army camp, the deplorable conditions at the Russian Compound in Jerusalem, and the lack of activities for the prisoners held in the army camps.

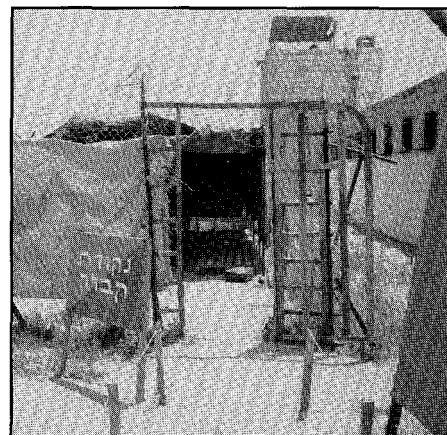
A second visit: 1992

In the summer of 1992, the authors returned to three of the prison camps run by the Israeli Defense Forces that we visited 2 years earlier, and also visited an additional camp. The overall population of Palestinians held in prison camps under administrative detention has decreased significantly,¹³ due in part to a change in the policy of the military justice system to detain only those charged with more substantial offenses.¹⁴ The decrease in population has alleviated most of the overcrowding problems. As a result, living conditions have improved and there is less tension at the camps. In the past year there were only two murders, no suicides, and very little violence either on the part of inmates or staff.

¹²There continues to be a serious problem with family visits at Ketsiot, the largest military detention camp. Because the camp is located in a security zone, the prisoners' families may not travel there without escort. The families—as a form of protesting the civilian administration that governs the West Bank—have refused to participate in the escort program arranged by the Red Cross. The army continues to negotiate with the Palestinians in the hope of working out a mutually acceptable plan.

¹³Presently there are about 7,500 detainees. Persons are being detained at the rate of 10-12,000 per year, down from 20,000 per year at the high point.

¹⁴The number of administrative detainees has dropped 70 percent over the past 2 years.



Reception area for new intakes, military prison camp Daharreya.

During the past 2 years, the Israeli Defense Forces have been able to give additional training to the Military Police commanders in charge of the facilities, and they now have military police at nearly all facilities. These soldiers have been specifically trained to work with prisoners. These factors—the decrease in population, the additional training provided to staff, and the expertise gained from operating the prison camps for several years—has led to many changes in the prisons that render them more humane places of confinement.

Improvements have been made regarding the processing of mail, the quality of food, conditions under which family and attorney visits take place, forms of punishment for disciplinary violations, and staff-detainee relations. Two years ago, the detainees complained that they did not receive their mail in a timely fashion, they were not permitted to see their lawyers as often as needed, and that their family visits were problematic. In 1992 we heard no complaints about the mail except at Ketsiot (the largest facility), where we were told that

inmates received very little mail and were not permitted to send out letters. We investigated these allegations and saw the log where all the incoming and outgoing mail is recorded—about 2,500 pieces each week. At every facility we were told by the military commanders that the censors were able to process the mail quickly and no problems existed.

In 1992 we heard no complaints regarding lawyer visits. At every facility new structures have been built that provide the detainees and their attorneys a fair amount of privacy; the soldier who is monitoring the visit stands in a room with a closed door separating him from the detainees and lawyers. The prisoners' only complaint regarding family visits in 1992 was that the buildings are too crowded and noisy so that the visits are not as pleasant as if they were more private. An alternative would be to cut back on the frequency of visits for each detainee, but this is not an attractive possibility.

Every facility had new structures for family visits that provide shelter from the sun and rain. Even at Ketsiot, where there had been no family visits for several years, visits now take place twice a month. Family visits were taking place the day we were there, and we were able to see the families and detainees talking and visiting. When the detainee's family includes very young children the men are permitted to visit outside of the main structure (where two meshes separate the two groups) in an area where there is only a single fence. This way the father is able to put his hand through the holes in the fence and touch the child. We were able to see the orderly manner in which the army inspects and processes the packages of food, clothing, and personal supplies brought for the detainees.

The army now rarely uses isolation cells as punishment. In three of the four camps we visited, isolation cells are not used at all, and at Ketsiot, where they continue to be used, new cells are a dramatic improvement over the small, dark, hot cells we previously saw. The new cells are large (12 square meters with a maximum of four prisoners and a minimum of two), each has a big window, and, most importantly, the occupants are permitted to spend 90 minutes outside each day.

A significant number of detainees were in protective custody at Ketsiot. These men are permitted 6 hours in the yard, and they are the only prisoners held by the Israeli Defense Forces who are afforded the luxury of viewing television! To date there are still no personal radios allowed inside the facilities, but there is talk of changing this policy in the near future.

Detainees (administrative and others) are still prohibited from holding classes or giving lectures, though most of the commanders permit the inmates to sit in their tents and speak quietly about whatever they wish. The only exception to the prohibition against conducting



Recreation yard for isolation section, military prison camp Ketsiot.

classes is at Meggido. The commander of Meggido permits one of the adults to serve as a teacher for the 300 youth (aged 14-16) and hold classes in subjects such as math and history. The adults at Meggido are also permitted to hold classes (so long as the subject is not terrorism), but the detainees rarely do so.

In none of the camps did we hear allegations of staff brutality and in only one facility did we hear allegations of staff misconduct: at Ketsiot the *shaweeshim* with whom we spoke claimed that soldiers have stolen from the families during the course of searching them before the visit. The Commander and his staff reported that such allegations had never been raised before, either to them or to the members of the Red Cross who visit Ketsiot.

In general, both detainees and staff felt that relations were much improved as compared to several years ago and that there was little hostility or animosity at the camps. At Meggido, where relations between staff and the detainees were remarkably good 2 years ago, the situation is extraordinary. Not only did both the detainees and the staff mention this in our discussions, but their actions made this eminently clear. For example, as we sat and talked with the *shaweeshim*, they welcomed the commander, his deputy, and the officer in charge of the section to sit at their table under a tent, smoke their cigarettes, drink their coffee, and eat their pastries and candies. They also provided these refreshments to the officer standing watch outside the gate! One of the *shaweeshim* explained:

The commander has taught us how to live together in peace. My dream is for our own country, for peace, for our children, mine and his, to go to the same school.

At the time of the Israeli elections we held a congress that met for 10 days to discuss the *intifada*, prison, and the world. This was our experience with democracy.



Mobile dental unit treating prisoners, military prison camp Ketsiot.

The detainees were not without complaints: there is not enough variety in the food, medical treatment is not as good as it should be, the rooms are hot, and visits are too short. But it was clear that the situation at the prisons run by the Israeli Defense Forces had improved dramatically in the past 2 years, and they cannot now be said to violate accepted standards for care of prisoners.

In addition to the army prison camps, we also returned to the Russian Compound, the city jail in Jerusalem that is run by the Police Ministry. Two years ago we found conditions in the Russian Compound to be substantially worse than at

any of the army prison camps or the National Prison Service facilities. In early August 1992, several Knesset members visited the Russian Compound and reported deplorable conditions, similar to those we witnessed in 1990. When we visited the Russian Compound on August 16, 1992, we were pleasantly surprised at the remarkable improvements that had been made! The most important difference was the size of the population, down from 300, at the time of our 1990 visit, to just 204.¹⁵ (It was interesting to note that at the time of our visit, 56 out of the 174 adult men were Jews.)

This reduction has led to a dramatic improvement in the living conditions inside the cells; no longer were large numbers of inmates sleeping on the floor, no longer was the air in the rooms so hot and stale that breathing was difficult. Instead, the ventilators seemed to keep the air circulating; one could even feel a breeze in some of the rooms. Very few inmates were forced to sleep on the floor. There was enough room in the cells for the inmates to have a little table and chair, to keep their personal property, to hang their laundry to dry, and to walk around without stepping on someone. Other improvements included new paint on the walls, beautiful murals on the walls in the dining halls (where every prisoner eats three meals a day), clean cells, and much less tension.

The inmates at the Russian Compound had some complaints, but many fewer than we heard in 1990. No longer is there a problem with inmates notifying their families that they are being held; the

¹⁵This reduction was the result of the National Prison Service accepting from the jail a significant number of sentenced prisoners. The population could again rise if the National Prison Service waits a long time before accepting another batch of prisoners.

police telephone or personally visit the inmate's family within 48 hours of his or her arrival at the jail. Every inmate (except those in interrogation) is permitted to visit with family once a week, and to place a phone call to family once a week as well. The complaints are that the 30 minutes outside in the yard is not enough, the food lacks variety, and the medical care is not as good as it should be (though there have been no outbreaks of disease). Conditions at the Russian Compound did not, at the time of our visit, differ dramatically from those at the army prison camps.

Both the Israeli Defense Forces and the Ministry of Police should be commended on the significant efforts they have made to improve the facilities we visited. The Israeli army should also be commended for the extraordinary access they granted us to visit their facilities and to speak with the inmates. ■

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Overlooking general population living area, military prison camp Fara'ah.