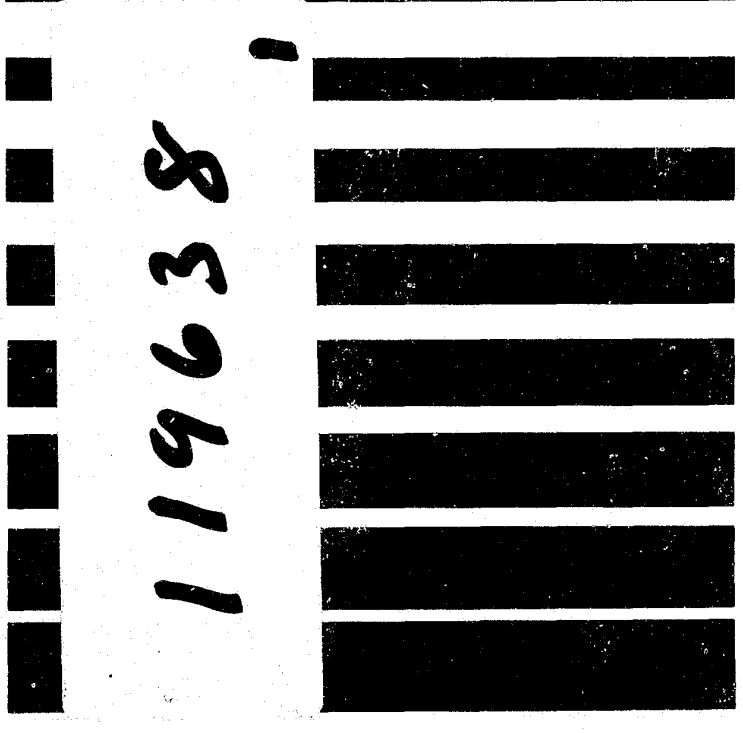
U.S. Department of Justice National Institute of Corrections

Management of Crowded Prisons



Management of Crowded Prisons

George M. and Camille G. Camp, Principals
The Criminal Justice Institute
South Salem, New York

January 1989

This project was supported by Grant GC-0 from the National Institute of Corrections, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Table of Contents

Appendices

List of Illustrations

List of Tables

Foreword

More than 600,000 prisoners are confined in state and federal prisons whose capacities are severely strained to meet their jurisdictional mandates and inmate needs. New construction has helped, but has not kept pace with the need for more bed space and the demands for programs and increased service delivery capability. Prison administrators operating under these conditions have struggled to meet their obligations and objectives. Many administrators have been persistent in developing practical and innovative solutions to operational problems caused by crowded conditions.

The National Institute of Corrections has a history of interest in identifying and disseminating management practices that may be helpful to administrators of crowded prisons. For several years NIC has provided technical assistance and support to agencies that have addressed specific crowding issues. In this report, we are pleased to present a national overview of correctional management issues as they pertain to crowded prisons.

Raymond C. Brown, Director
National Institute of Corrections

Acknowledgements

If the strategies for managing crowded prisons contained in this report are found helpful to the corrections community, it will be due largely to the contributions of corrections staff in the prison systems that were studied. Nearly 100 state and federal prisons across the country willingly shared information and experiences upon which our findings were based. To the staff in each of those institutions who completed questionnaires, we are extremely grateful for your cooperation.

Eleven institutions allowed us to explore their crowded environments. The staff in each prison patiently answered our questions, provided us with pertinent reports and documents and painstakingly showed us every affected area of the prison. Moreover, they conveyed to us years of insight and experience on how to manage difficult situations. We are convinced that their success as managers is due to their perseverance and innovation. Our report reflects demonstrations of their current practices and their explanations of the shortcomings of abandoned strategies.

The eleven prisons represent ten agencies whose directors included Daniel McCarthy, California Department of Corrections; Louie Wainwright, Florida Department of Corrections; Richard Mills, Kansas Department of Corrections; Arnold Hopkins, Maryland Division of Corrections; Michael Fair, Massachusetts Department of Correction; Orville Pung, Minnesota Department of Corrections; Richard Seiter, Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Corrections; Thomas Toombs, Oregon Division of Corrections; Edward Murray, Virginia Department of Corrections; and Norman Carlson, Federal Bureau of Prisons. Each of them gave us access to their agencies and institutions and made available to us information and staff. We thank them for their cooperation.

At each of the institutions where we conducted visits, the wardens and their staff were extremely cooperative and generous of their time and knowledge. We hope that this listing of individuals who assisted us at each of those institutions is complete. If we overlooked anyone, we apologize.

At the California Institution for Women, Superintendent Annie Alexander, Associate Superintendent Don Rassmussen, Associate Superintendent Glynn Smith, Program Administrator Mike Burns, Business Service Manager Judy Jones, and Maintenance Manager Ken Akins were extremely helpful. At the Avon Park Correctional Institution, Superintendent Dale Landress, Assistant Superintendent Charles Richard Hamm, Classification Supervisor Jimmy Prevatt, Medical Administrator William Lansing, Business Office Assistant Donna Weeks, Personnel Manager Don Wilcox, and Maintenance and Construction Supervisor Murray Spurlock recounted past difficulties and current strategies for managing their crowded prison.

At the Kansas State Penitentiary, Director Herb Maschner, Deputy Director Randy Buford, Deputy Director Robert J. Tansy, Acting Deputy Director David McKune, Director of Classification Larry Hicks, Maintenance and Plant Manager Jerry Wooddell, Administrative Captain Philip Swope, Director of Training Kathy Lynch, Business Manager Richard Plummer, and Personnel Director Phillip Ronnau assisted us in gathering pertinent information and in explaining their approaches to managing the institution. At the Maryland Correctional Institution for Women, Warden Sharon Johnson, Classification Supervisor Sally Beauchamp, Education Supervisor Irwin Dorsey, Maintenance Supervisor R. Kline, Chief of Security Salvador Marner, and Fiscal Manager Debby Russ shared their institution and practices.

At the Massachusetts Correctional Institution - Norfolk, Superintendent Norman Butler, Deputy Superintendent Ken Nelson, Deputy Superintendent James Randall, Lieutenant Steve Northrop, Lieutenant Jim Brevlieri, and Director of Engineering Services Dave Cook spent hours showing us the operation of the institution and describing past and present strategies. At the Minnesota Correctional Facility - Stillwater, Warden Bob Erickson, Security Captain Charles Ferrise, Associate Warden John Twohig, Associate Warden Tom Dowdle, Unit Manager Dick Craven, Captain Rod DeReu, Industries Director Dick Christ, Staff Development Director Linda Harder, Fiscal/Business Director Wayne Erickson, and Unit Director Don Engeldinger extended themselves in relating the positive and negative results they had experienced from employing various strategies.

At the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility, Superintendent Terry Morris, Administrative Assistant Ron Edwards, Security Director Bill Seth, Maintenance Director Norm McGinnis, Fiscal Director Terry McGraw, Grievance Coordinator Jim Eichenbaum, Captain Paul Blair, and Sergeant Steve Dillon spent considerable time answering our questions and sharing with us their perspectives on the management of crowded prisons. At the Oregon State Correctional Institution, Superintendent Dick Peterson, Food Service Manager Charles Tate, Security Manager Dan Johnson, Plant Manager Dallas Robinson, Social Services Manager Jim Bartlett, Executive Assistant to the Superintendent Larry Daniels, and Lieutenant George Beaudrys gave us a complete picture of the development and implementation of management strategies.

At the Nottoway Correctional Center, Warden Dave Garraghty and Captain Walker showed us how their strategies had been implemented throughout the prison. At the Federal Correctional Institution in Danbury, in Warden Dennis Luther's absence, Associate Warden Page True, Personnel Officer Ken Ryelzewski, Chief Correctional Supervisor N. Wayne Smith, Chief Mechanical Services Bart Pitney, Executive Assistant to the Warden Bob Hassen, and Industry Manager Joe Guerriero skillfully described the management philosophy and practices that Warden Luther had implemented and how they had helped to improve operations in their crowded institution. At the Federal Correctional Institution in Otisville, in Warden Jessie James' absence, Associate Warden Lonnie Moore, Associate Warden Lee Conner, Executive Assistant to the Warden Greg Bogdan, Unit Manager John Brown, Chief Correctional Supervisor Jerry Brookmole, Administrative Systems Manager Mike Garrett, Food Service Administrator John Scozzafava, Supervisor of Industries Larry Servoss, and Chief Mechanical Services Clint Sherwood explained their management approaches and how they were put into operation throughout the institution.

We also want to express our appreciation to Clair Cripe, General Counsel for the Federal Bureau of Prisons, who provided us with significant insight into the development of case law as it relates to prison crowding. His knowledge of prison law on a national basis assisted us in understanding the chronological development of the courts' interest in prison crowding issues. His contribution to our work cannot be overestimated and we thank him.

The National Institute of Corrections provided the funds to conduct this study. We acknowledge that support and thank Raymond C. Brown, Director of the National Institute of Corrections, for NIC's confidence in us. Throughout the course of the project, we were guided by Susan Hunter of NIC, who served as our monitor and provided insightful comments throughout the study. We have appreciated her encouragement and guidance throughout the course of the work.

Introduction

IMPETUS FOR DEVELOPING CROWDING MANAGEMENT GUIDELINES

From the end of 1944 to the end of 1986, the number of state and federal prisoners has risen from a low of 131,974 to a high of 546,656.[1] From 1930 to 1973, the average annual rate of increase was only 1.7 percent, but from 1973 to 1978, it rose dramatically to 7.4 percent.[2] Subsequent years have shown a continuation of the pattern established in the mid-1970's as the number of state and federal prisoners has exceeded the half million mark, nearly doubling from 1973 to 1986.

State prison capacity has not kept pace with the increasing numbers of prisoners. From 1972 to 1977, approximately 23,000 state prison beds were added through new construction or remodeling of existing facilities, while the number of prisoners increased by more than 81,000.[3] In the more recent period from 1981 to 1985, 158 state and federal prisons have been added at a construction cost of $1.9 billion. Another 62,861 beds are currently planned, but will not be produced at a rate fast enough to meet the demand for space. It is estimated that five 500-bed prisons would have to be opened each month until the year 2000 to accommodate current and anticipated numbers of prisoners.[4]

While there are variations among jurisdictions in prisoner growth rates and prison construction programs, most correctional administrators are facing the fact that managing crowded prisons is likely to be the norm in the foreseeable future. In a 1983 survey of state correctional agencies, administrators projected that they would be operating at 125.8 percent of capacity in 1990.[5] As of January 1, 1986, state and federal correctional agencies were at 115.2 percent of capacity and only 15 states did not report being overcrowded.[6]

The causes and consequences of crowding have been addressed by correctional administrators, the courts, legislatures, researchers, and various professional associations and organizations in an attempt to resolve the problem. The impact of other criminal justice agencies' policies and practices, the public's demand for stricter sanctions, increases in reported crime, the postwar baby

---

[1]*National Prisoner Statistics - Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions 1950* (Leavenworth, Kansas: U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 1954), p. 6 and *State and Federal Prisons* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1986).
[2]Joan Mullen, *American Prisons and Jails - Volume 1: Summary Findings and Policy Implications of a National Survey* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, October, 1980).
[3]*Ibid.* p. 12.
[4]George M. Camp and Camille G. Camp, *The Corrections Yearbook* (South Salem, New York: Criminal Justice Institute, 1981-1986).
[5]*Federal, District of Columbia, and States Future Prison and Correctional Institution Populations and Capacities* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Accounting Office, February, 1984), p. 2.
[6]George M. Camp and Camille G. Camp, *The Corrections Yearbook* (South Salem, New York: Criminal Justice Institute, 1986), p.17.

boom, and unaddressed social problems have been linked to the rise in the number of prisoners.[7] Prison violence, reduced delivery of services, deteriorated physical conditions, and ineffective management are frequently attributed to prison crowding.[8]

This study focuses on the management of crowded prisons, not causes or resolution of crowding. Despite the documentation of the causes and consequences of crowding, little has been done to explore systematically the strategies and methods that are effective in managing crowded prisons. What administrators need most is some help in coping with the problem; therefore, this manual focuses on managerial approaches and practices that have proven successful for some prison administrators. Practical guidelines that have validity in the real corrections world are presented for administrators to assess and apply to their individual situations.

OVERVIEW OF THE PROJECT

Major Objectives

This inquiry has concentrated on the practical aspects of managing crowded prisons and has defined its mission according to three main objectives:

1. Identify institutional problems that arise or worsen as a result of prison crowding.
2. Recommend courses of action that correctional managers may undertake.
3. Minimize the impact of crowding on prison management.

Methods Used to Complete the Project Tasks

During the course of preparing this manual, data collection and analysis was organized into four major tasks.

- Relevant studies of prison crowding were examined and used to frame issues and develop data collection instruments.
- All state correctional agencies, the District of Columbia, and the Federal Bureau of Prisons were screened to determine the extent and types of currently crowded prisons.

---

[7]See for instance, P. Finn, "Judicial Responses to Prison Crowding," *Judicature*, Vol 67, No. 7, (February, 1984).
[8]See for instance, McCain, Cox, and Paulus, *The Effect of Prison Crowding on Inmate Behavior* (Washington, D.C.: Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Grant 78-NI-AX-0019, 1980) and Nacci, Teitelbaum, and Prather, "Population Density and Inmate Misconduct Rates in the Federal Prison System," *Federal Probation*, Vol. 41, No. 2, (June 1977), pp. 26-31.

- A national sample of these crowded prisons was surveyed using a mailed questionnaire to gather specific information on problems created by crowding and what changes had been made to address those problems.

- Site visit observations and a series of structured interviews were conducted at a subset of crowded prisons to gather additional information regarding their individual problems and unique approaches.

Data Collection Instruments. Two questionnaires and a series of structured interview formats were developed to gather information on the management of crowded prisons. A one-page screening device (Crowded Institutions Screen) elicited from correctional agencies a list of the crowded prisons in their systems, and a ten-page questionnaire (Survey of Crowded Institutions) requested information about those crowded institutions and how they were managed. Copies of these two data collection instruments are Appendix A and Appendix B respectively. To facilitate information collection during the site visits, a series of prepared questions and follow-up inquiries were outlined to be used during interviews with prison officials.

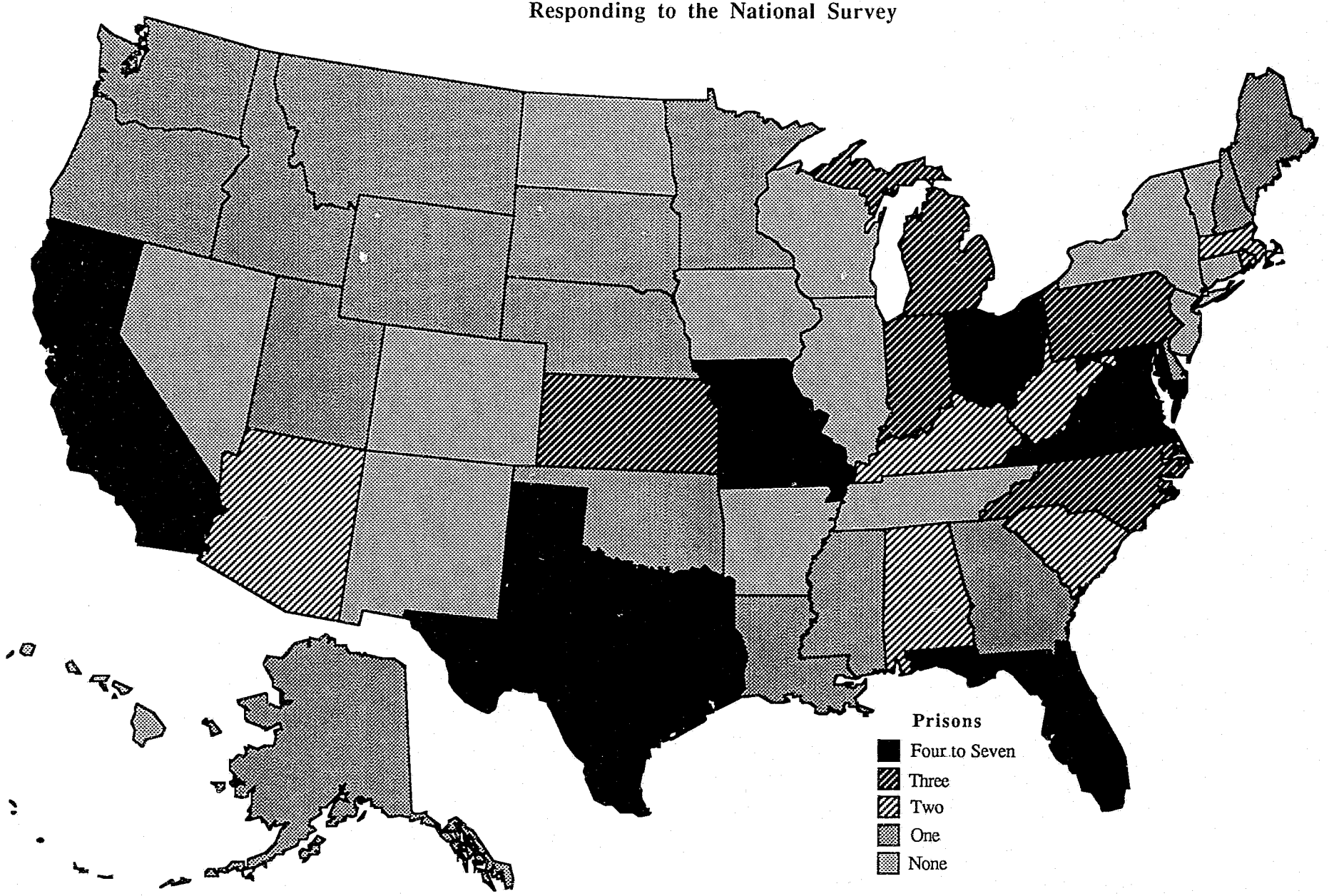
Participating Institutions. This report is based on information initially gathered from the 49 correctional agencies that responded to the one-page screening device (a response rate of 94.2 percent). They identified 401 crowded prisons in their respective systems. A representative group of crowded prisons was selected from the 401 identified prisons. To ensure as broad a representation as possible, several factors were taken into consideration, including: (1) the extent, duration, and type of crowding; (2) the number and gender of inmates confined; (3) security level and age of the institution; and (4) the agency's jurisdiction. Using these factors, a representative sample of 124 institutions from 44 correctional agencies was drawn, and each of the institutions was sent the survey questionnaire.[9] Responses were received from 90 institutions (providing a response rate of 72.6 percent) representing a total of 40 jurisdictions (90.9 percent of the jurisdictions queried), including 38 state correctional agencies, the District of Columbia Department of Corrections, and the Federal Bureau of Prisons. On the following page, a map depicts these 40 jurisdictions and the number of crowded prisons that responded within each jurisdiction. A list of all institutions that responded to the survey is included in Appendix C.

On-site Assessment of Crowded Prisons. Recognizing the limitations of survey questionnaire approaches to the collection of management practice information, the researchers combined direct observation and interviews with managers to develop a more complete picture of the methods used to manage a crowded prison. Within the parameters of time and money, eleven crowded prisons were selected for site visits. They were chosen from the 90 crowded prisons that had returned the survey questionnaire. A preliminary analysis of survey responses was conducted to identify a variety of crowded prisons that appeared to be using interesting, novel, and practical management

---

[9]Hawaii, New Jersey, New York, and Vermont institutions were sent a survey questionnaire, but did not respond. Illinois, Nevada, and Tennessee did not respond to the request for information in the Screening Instrument and thus it was not possible to sample crowded institutions in those agencies.

USA Map Depicting the Number of Crowded Prisons Responding to the National Survey



approaches to cope with crowded conditions. The eleven institutions that were selected included nine state prisons, each from a different agency and two federal prisons. They are listed alphabetically by state, the state prisons preceding the federal prisons.

Crowded Prison	City	State
California Institution for Women	Frontera	California
Avon Park Correctional Institution	Avon Park	Florida
Kansas State Penitentiary	Lansing	Kansas
Correctional Institution for Women	Jessup	Maryland
Massachusetts Correctional Institution	Norfolk	Massachusetts
Minnesota Correctional Facility	Stillwater	Minnesota
Southern Ohio Correctional Facility	Lucasville	Ohio
Oregon State Correctional Institution	Salem	Oregon
Nottoway Correctional Center	Nottoway	Virginia
Federal Correctional Institution	Danbury	Connecticut
Federal Correctional Institution	Otisville	New York

A variety of institutional characteristics are represented in these eleven prisons. State and federal prisons, male and female prisoners, as well as higher security institutions (Kansas, Minnesota, Ohio, and Virginia), medium security institutions (California, Maryland, Massachusetts, Oregon and Federal), and minimum security institutions (Florida and Federal) are included. Smaller and larger inmate population levels as well as older and newer physical plants are represented to provide a diversity of crowding environments from which to assess management practices.

The Courts' Impact on Crowded Prison Management

A discussion of the management of crowded prisons would not be complete without an assessment of the significant way in which the courts, primarily the federal courts, have influenced the establishment of prison policy. A brief overview of that role is presented, examining the extent to which key cases bear on prison administrators' options for addressing management issues in crowded prisons.

Analysis and Report Preparation

This research relied heavily on the authors' own 35 years of correctional experience and on the knowledge previously acquired in the first-hand study and analysis of more than 125 state and federal prisons. The information gathered in this study from the written responses to the survey questionnaires, prison officials' answers to probing questions, and the observation of prison practices and procedures was assessed and examined from the authors' perspectives. Every attempt was made to reflect accurately what was reported and observed in an understandable and helpful manner. Our success in accurately capturing the reality of crowded prison management and

the value of specific approaches will be determined by the extent to which practitioners find this manual useful.

The Manual. The results of the analysis of the legal issues, the survey data, and the site observations and interviews are presented in this manual. It is written and presented as a guide for correctional administrators, wardens, institution department heads, correctional planners, and other prison-related decision makers. The material is discussed in five chapters entitled:

Chapter One	The Current State of Crowding
Chapter Two	Legal Ramifications of Prison Crowding
Chapter Three	Problems Reported In Crowded Institutions
Chapter Four	Administrators' Approaches to Crowding
Chapter Five	Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapters may be read sequentially or studied according to the reader's interest in a particular section's subject matter. The manual may also be used as a training text for correctional managers in crowded prisons. It should be updated regularly to include new information and the first-hand experiences of prison managers.

Chapter One

THE CURRENT STATE OF CROWDING

DEFINITION OF CROWDING

This manual addresses the management of *crowded prisons*, not necessarily *overcrowded prisons*. Not all crowded prisons are overcrowded, but all overcrowded prisons are certainly crowded. The concept of overcrowding implies that the institution has not only exceeded its capacity (however that may be defined), but that it also has exceeded crowdedness. In addition, overcrowding may imply that the institution either has been or may be found by the courts to be in violation of the constitution.

Before defining crowding, it is helpful to note how overcrowding has been determined. Prison officials, researchers, the courts and others have defined overcrowding using a variety of criteria. Indicators of overcrowding have included:

- an excess of prisoners over the designed, rated or operating capacity of the prison;
- more prisoners confined in cells than they were originally designed to hold (double-celling, for example);
- prisoners confined in cells that have less than a prescribed number of square feet;
- long periods of time during which prisoners are restricted to cells that have less than a perscribed square footage;
- failure to meet professionally adopted or legislatively mandated space standards; or
- a combination of any of the aforementioned.

This study has avoided the confusion and debate over the merits of different definitions of overcrowding and crowding. Its focus has been on the broader issue of crowding management and not on the legal status of the conditions of confinement in a crowded or an overcrowded prison. To ensure that crowded prisons using creative management approaches were not excluded by a narrow definition, each agency was asked to apply its own definition to indicate which of its prisons were crowded. Specifically, agencies were asked to include those prisons that had "more inmates than desired according to the standard formulated by the agency or jurisdiction." As a result, the reader can examine a more diverse set of crowding situations and the management approaches employed to address them.

NATURE OF CROWDING

What are some of the characteristics of crowded prisons as identified by agency administrators? What kinds of prisons are crowded? What kinds of prisoners are confined in them? Based on an analysis of information reported from the 90 crowded prisons, answers to these and other questions are presented in this portion of the manual. Among other characteristics, crowded prisons tend to be large, multi-level security facilities.

A Variety of Security Levels

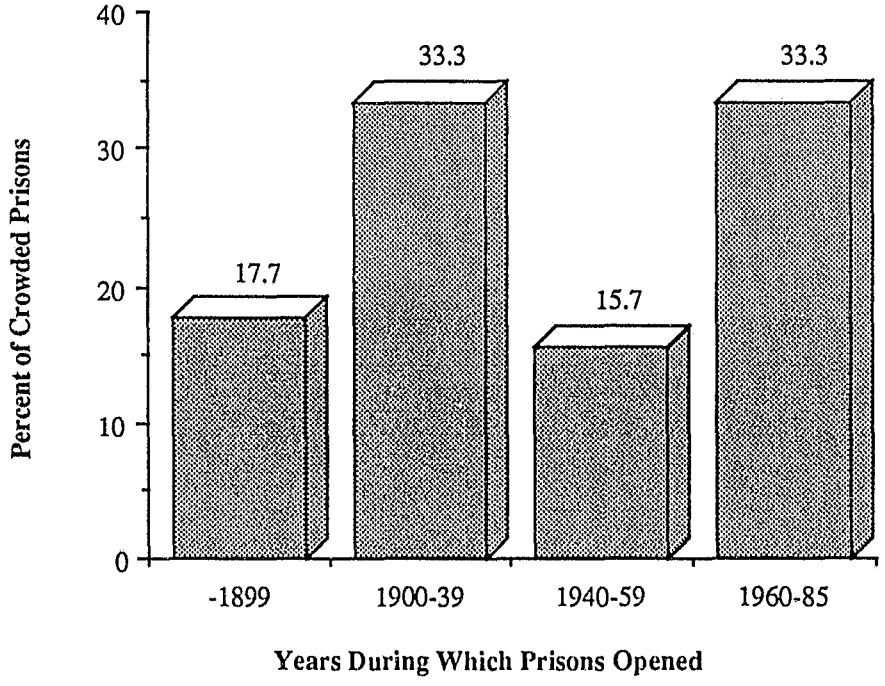
Fifty-five percent, or 50 of the 90 prisons in the sample, are multi-level security facilities. Of those prisons that house only one security level, the largest number (23) are medium security, eight are maximum, six are minimum, and three are high/close security level facilities.

Age of Crowded Prisons

Crowding occurs both in more recently opened prisons, as well as in those that have been in operation for long periods of time. One-third of the currently crowded prisons were opened after 1960, while 18 percent were opened prior to 1900. Another third opened between 1900-1939, and the remaining 15 percent from 1940 to 1959. Chart 1 illustrates the range in the age of crowded prisons, 86 percent of which were originally opened as prisons.

Chart 1

Percentages of Currently Crowded Prisons That Opened Prior to 1899 Through 1985



Several Forms of Organization

A traditional hierarchical organizational structure was the predominant form found in the crowded prisons. Of the sample, 35 percent used this structure and another 18 percent employed it in concert with some other organizational structure. A decentralized unit management structure appeared in 21 percent, with another 20 percent employing some form of unit management in combination with other organizational formats. A small number (15) of these crowded prisons were also part of a larger organizational complex of two or more institutions.

Large Numbers of Inmates

Not surprisingly, crowded prisons have relatively large numbers of inmates. The average crowded prison in 1985 had an Average Daily Population (ADP) of 1,411, an increase of 6 percent over 1984 and 11 percent over 1983. The largest crowded prison's average daily population was 6,615 and the smallest was 176. Table 1 presents the percentage of crowded institutions in 1983, 1984, and 1985 within four average daily population ranges.

Table 1

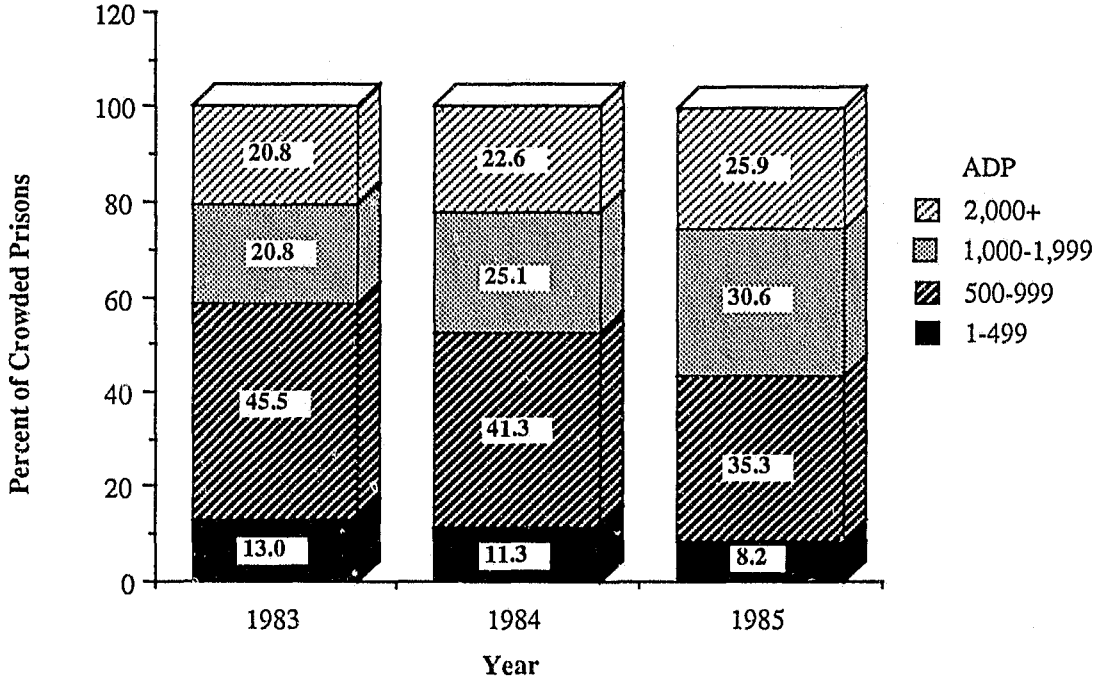
Percentages of Crowded Prisons with Average Daily Populations Within Four Ranges

ADP	1983	1984	1985
1 - 499	3.0%	11.3%	8.2%
500 - 999	45.5%	41.3%	35.3%
1,000 -1,999	20.8%	25.1%	30.6%
2,000+	20.8%	22.6%	25.9%

In 1983, 48.5 percent of the crowded prisons had average daily populations under 1,000 but by 1985 that percentage had dropped to 43.5. During that same period of time, however, the percentage of crowded prisons with more than 1,000 inmates increased from 41.6 to 56.5. The smaller crowded prisons were becoming fewer in number while the larger ones were becoming more numerous. Chart 2 depicts shifts in the sizes of these crowded prisons.

Chart 2

Percentages of Crowded Prisons Within Particular Average Daily Population Ranges (During 1983, 1984 and 1985)



Special Offender Services

Slightly less than half (47 percent) of the crowded prisons studied were facilities with one or more groups of special needs offenders. Of those 43 institutions, 30 confined prisoners in protective custody and/or administrative segregation units, while 25 provided care for inmates in need of special medical and psychiatric services, and 9 provided services for geriatric inmates.

Younger Inmates

The average age of inmates admitted to these crowded institutions in 1985 was 29, similar to the overall average age of admissions to all institutions that year which equalled 28.6 years.[1]

---

[1]Camp, George and Camp, Camille G., *The Corrections Yearbook*, Criminal Justice Institute, South Salem, New York, 1986, p. 10.

Ethnic Composition

The crowded institution population was not remarkably different from the national prisoner population. An average of 50 percent of the inmates were minority group members as compared to 54.7 percent in all state and federal correctional agencies.[2] Nearly three-quarters of the crowded institutions (73 percent) housed anywhere from 31 to 70 percent minority populations. Of the crowded prisons 14 percent confined less than 31 percent minority inmates and 13 percent of the crowded prisons housed inmates who were anywhere from 71 to 90 percent non-white.

Murder or Manslaughter Sentences

The number of inmates serving sentences for murder or manslaughter averages 13.8 percent of the crowded prison's population, ranging from less than one percent of the prison's population to a high of 35 percent. Table 2 summarizes the data.

Table 2

Percentage of Inmates Serving Sentences For Murder or Manslaughter in Crowded Prisons

Percent Inmates	Crowded Prisons
1 - 10%	44
11 - 20%	32
21 - 30%	7
31 - 40%	7

Number of Staff

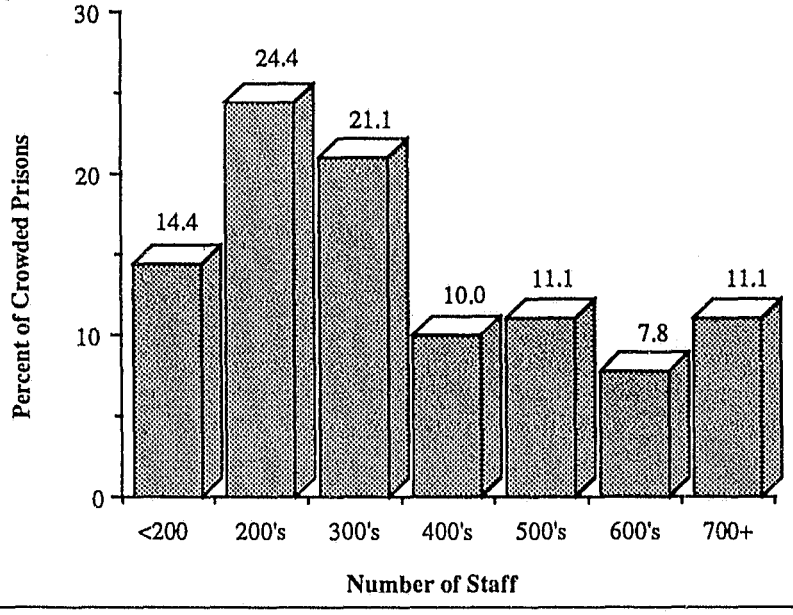
The average number of employees in crowded prisons during 1985 was 432; this represents an increase of 7 percent over 1984 and 17 percent over 1983. A crowded prison's average number of correctional officers in 1985 was 262, or 61 percent of the total staff. Just as crowded prisons display a wide range of inmate and institutional characteristics, so do they present a wide range in staffing levels. Chart 3 shows the percentages of the sample crowded prisons that fall into seven staffing level ranges.

---

[2]Ibid, pp. 2-4.

Chart 3

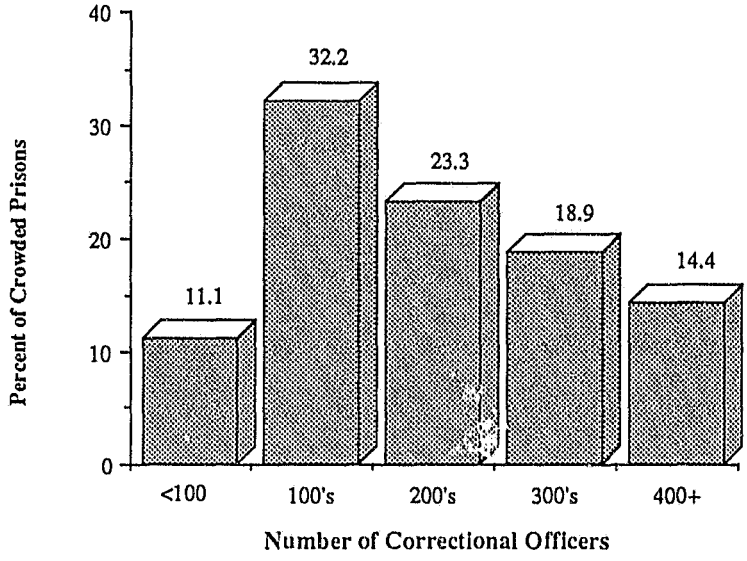
Percentages of Crowded Prisons
By the Number of Staff Employed



As shown in Chart 4, when the crowded prison sample is broken into five ranges according to the number of officers, very few crowded prisons (11.1 percent) have relatively small numbers of officers and significantly more (32.2 percent) have 100 to 199 correctional officers. There is a similar pattern of more crowded institutions having mid-level average daily inmate populations.

Chart 4

Percentages of Crowded Prisons
By the Number of Correctional Officers Employed



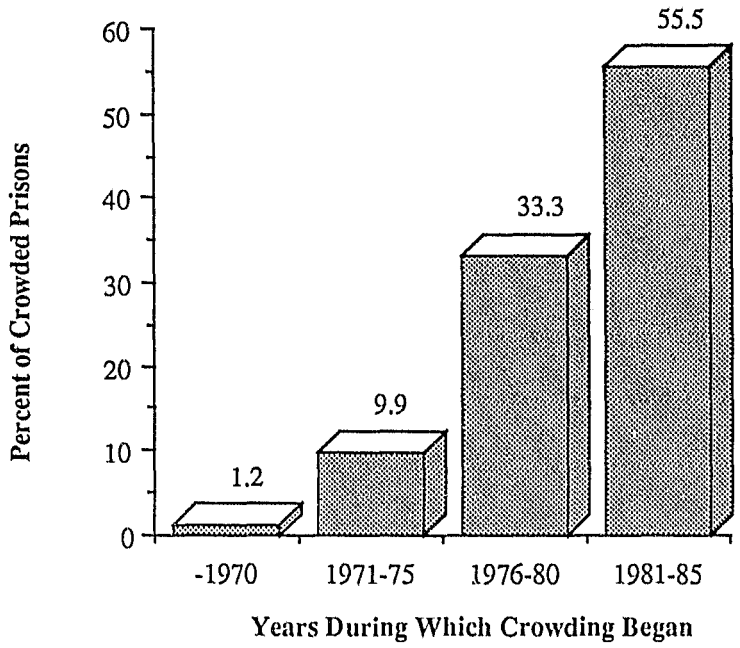
EXTENSIVENESS OF CROWDING

Duration

While prison crowding is certainly not a new phenomenon, current crowded conditions have developed over a relatively short period of time. Nearly 56 percent of the currently crowded prisons have been crowded for five years or less, but only 1.2 percent were crowded prior to 1970. Chart 5 illustrates this continual increase in prisons achieving "crowded" status, culminating most dramatically in recent years.

Chart 5

The Onset of Prison Crowding

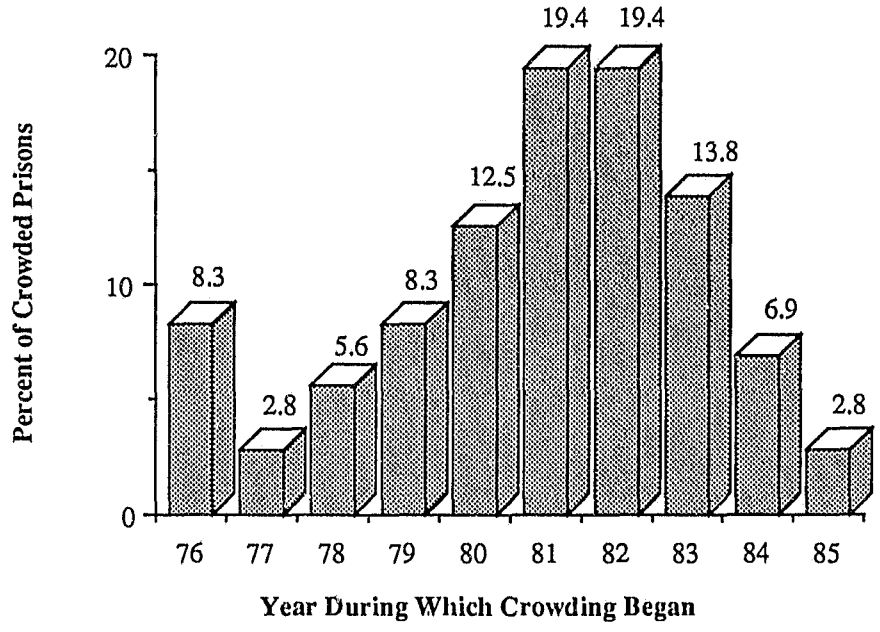


The four-year period from 1980 through 1983 saw the largest number of institutions (47) moving from normal population levels to crowded levels. Moreover, in both 1984 and 1985, the number of institutions becoming crowded declined by five in 1984 and by two more in 1985. Chart 6 gives a graphic presentation of this rise and decline in the percent of sample prisons reaching a crowded level.

The data below seems to indicate that the peak years of crowding have passed. This may be somewhat misleading, however, because once an institution reaches a crowded level, it appears to retain that status for a long time.

Chart 6

Percentages of Prisons Becoming Crowded (1976 - 1985)

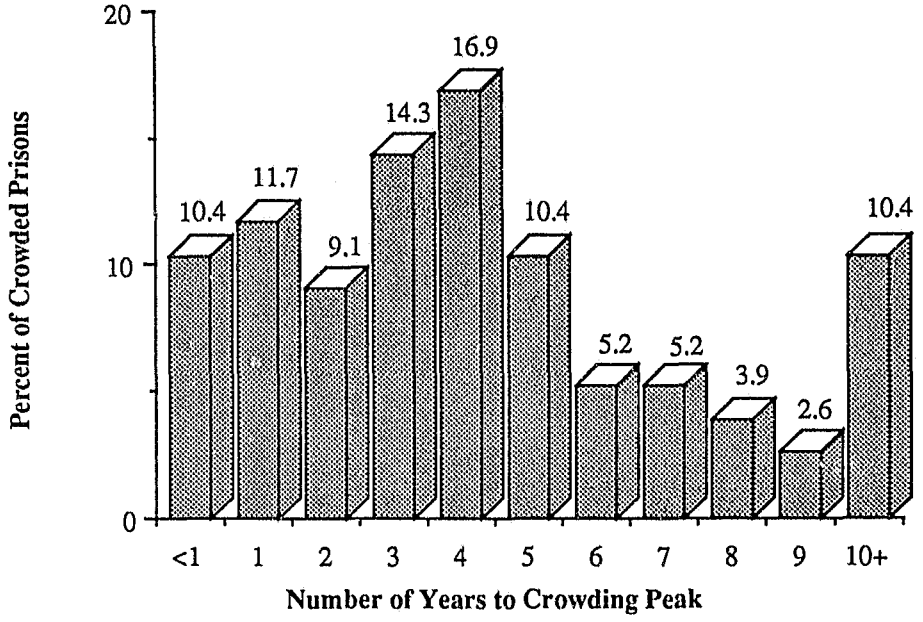


This very recent shift may indicate that planners are staying ahead of the numbers, and administrators are doing a better job at managing. It may also mean that the initial stages of crowding are not recognized or are not considered serious enough to warrant alarm and immediate action. Perhaps it is only when crowding becomes severe that it is addressed as a significant problem.

In any event, there does appear to be sufficient lead time to implement management measures prior to the point of severe crowding. In 34 percent of the institutions, it took five years or more for the crowding to reach its peak and, in 65 percent, three years or more. On the other hand, 10 percent of the prisons reached a crowding peak in less than one year. The relationship between the time crowding begins to its peak is presented in Chart 7.

Chart 7

Percentages of Crowded Prisons by the Length of Time To Reach Crowding Peaks



It took an average of four and one-half years for the crowding to reach its peak in the sample of 90 institutions. In a great many cases, this length of time provides an adequate amount of time in which to plan and take action in order to minimize the consequences of crowding. If administrators could recognize that the first signs of population increases are likely to bring more of the same, then they could move more quickly to meet the problem before it becomes overwhelming. Once prison populations begin to rise, they tend to continue increasing at varying rates rather than abating and decreasing. Administrators have learned that the problem will not disappear on its own, and it is preferable to deal with it early rather than allow it to chart its own course.

EARLY WARNINGS

In most institutions crowding grows gradually and persistently over time. Prison administrators recognize the obvious—that they have more inmates than they had the week before. What is less obvious to even some of the more experienced managers is that the consequences of rising numbers gradually become unmanageable. Recognizing the early warning signs and signals of crowding consequences is a managerial skill and a useful tool in combatting possible repercussions.

There are two sets of indicators that can alert prison managers to possible future problems. The first group of factors relates to not only increasing numbers of inmates, but also longer sentences. A lack of involvement in the analysis of such factors on the part of the prison warden in a correctional agency may be a strategic error. Ignorance of the indicators of a growing crowding crisis precludes alerting decision makers and gathering the public and government support necessary to avert the crisis. Moreover, the prison administration's credibility with legislators and the public will foster ongoing assistance. While the issue of preventing crowding is not central to this analysis, a thorough understanding of the factors that contribute to prisoner population increase is still important so that the administration can predict increase and plan to meet more pressing demands.

The second set of indicators relates to changes in the internal environment of the prison. The skills required to detect the nature of crowding and the extent of its consequences are by no means magically acquired. A manager has to (1) know what crowding consequences indicators are, (2) scan the prison operation for indicative data systematically, (3) produce documentation indicative of the situation, and (4) make wise use of the information. A discussion of the indicators of crowding consequences will be discussed in Chapter Four along with some advice on how to document them.

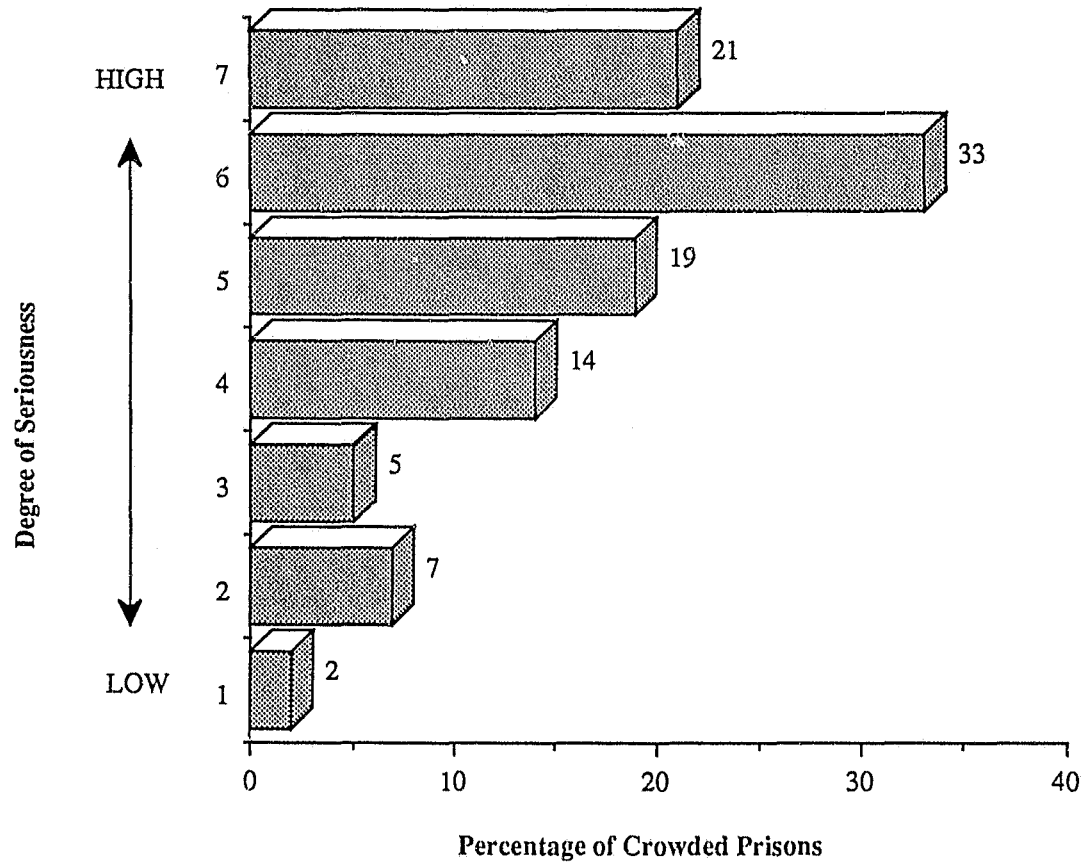
INTENSITY (SERIOUSNESS) OF CROWDING

While Chart 4 indicates that the number of sample institutions becoming crowded began to decline in 1983, it also shows that those already-crowded institutions were apparently experiencing more serious crowding consequences. For example, 38 percent of the crowded prisons indicate that the current (1986) degree of crowding represents the worst crowding situation they have had to manage. The degree of further population increases in these institutions can only be projected. Based on the fact that more inmates continue to enter prison than new bed spaces are created, it seems likely that crowding will continue to worsen for many institutions, and that institutions already crowded may bear the greatest new burdens.

This point has been echoed by administrators of crowded institutions. While not citing any specific reason, 63 percent of those surveyed indicated that crowding had become a more serious problem for them than it had been in the past. Further, more than 90 percent of those who thought it more serious now than in the past also rated crowding (on a scaled response) as an **extremely** serious problem. This pattern also emerges when the responses from all crowded prisons are included. Crowding is viewed as a serious problem and is ranked on average at 5.2 on a scale of 1 to 7, with 7 representing the greatest degree of seriousness. Chart 8 depicts those rankings graphically.

Chart 8

Percentages of Crowded Prisons That Rated Seriousness of Crowding at Varying Degrees (Rated from 1 to 7, Lowest to Highest in Severity)



CONCLUSION

Crowding continues to be a significant problem for correctional managers. The consequences of crowding are felt not only inside the institution, but outside it as well. The courts, legislatures, the public, and other bodies react in their own way to prison crowding. The competing demands on correctional administrators to respond both to those concerns and also to their own sometimes make management difficult. The courts are a primary source of concern to the administration. A significant body of case law on the subject of prison crowding has evolved. A thorough understanding of those cases can contribute to making sound and lawful management decisions. The next chapter discusses those issues.

Chapter Two

LEGAL RAMIFICATIONS OF PRISON CROWDING

PRECIPITATING EVENTS

Two major prison events have served to focus both public and judicial attention on prison crowding and confinement conditions.

The first occurred in Arkansas in 1969 when allegations that prisoners were in the custody of other prisoners and that prisoners had been buried secretly on the prison farm grounds received national attention. The ensuing litigation (*Holt v. Sarver)* challenged successfully the manner in which the prison system was operated and forced dramatic changes in housing configurations, conditions, and management practices. Of larger significance, however, was the dramatic shift in the role that federal courts would begin to play in corrections. The "hands-off doctrine" language of the past would not be so quickly inserted into federal court decisions, and many federal courts would begin to play a more active role in determining the direction of prison management.

The second precipitating event was the Attica uprising of September, 1971. (See for instance McKay, 1972, Oswald, 1972, and Wicker, 1975.) The events and aftermath of that uprising focused public attention on prisons, precipitated greater judicial intervention into crowding and conditions of confinement issues, and alerted correctional administrators to the challenges that would follow. The current involvement of the courts in prison management is rooted in these two events, as well as the dramatic rise in prisoner populations that began in 1973.

RISE IN PRISON POPULATION AND LITIGATION

As prisoner population levels were rising dramatically, the constitutionality of prison conditions began to be challenged. In Alabama, the federal court in *Pugh v. Locke* (1976) found that the "crowded conditions of confinement produced inmate idleness and an adverse environment in which rehabilitation was impossible and debilitation inevitable." Federal court intervention into crowding in Mississippi (*Gates v. Collier,* 1974), Florida (*Costello v. Wainwright,* 1975), Louisiana (*Williams v. Edwards,* 1976), and Rhode Island (*Palmigiano v. Garrahy,* 1977) was followed by two prison crowding cases which were eventually decided by the Supreme Court. Those two cases, *Bell v. Wolfish* from the Federal Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York City and *Chapman v. Rhodes* from the Ohio penitentiary at Lucasville, were decided in 1979 and 1981 respectively.

THE IMPACT OF *WOLFISH* AND *CHAPMAN*

In *Wolfish v. Bell,* the Supreme Court reversed the lower courts' decisions and found that the constitution did not include a "one man, one cell" right for pre-trial prisoners. Crowding at the new

federal jail in New York City, where two pre-trial inmates were confined in a single cell, did not subject the inmates to punishment. The Court pointed to the fact that inmates were confined to their 75 square foot cells for eight hours or less each day and that they were confined at the jail for relatively short periods of time (85 percent for less than 60 days). In addition, the modern design of the facility and its emphasis on programs and services appeared to have convinced the Court that confinement under these conditions did not constitute a punishment, and certainly not cruel and unusual punishment.

Between the Supreme Court's rulings in *Wolfish* and *Chapman*, several lower court crowding cases involving double-celling were decided (see for example, *Capps v. Atyieh*, 1980 and *Lareau v. Manson*, 1980), noting less favorable institutional conditions than those in *Wolfish* and declaring them unconstitutional. Those conditions included:

- confinement for extended periods in double-bunked cells;
- smaller cells, or less cell floor space per inmate;
- longer sentences served by inmates;
- less than adequate facilities and services; and
- deficiencies in institutional security and inmate safety.

Two years later, *Chapman v. Rhodes* expanded the *Wolfish* precedent to include not only pre-trial prisoners but also sentenced inmates. Double-celling *per se* was not deemed cruel and unusual punishment and therefore was not an unconstitutional practice; however, if the conditions in crowded prisons were deemed cruel and unusual punishment, they were declared unconstitutional.

Specifically, the Supreme Court found in *Chapman* that in an institution operating at 138 percent of capacity, prisoners who served long sentences, spent long periods of time in cells that were not double-bunked on a temporary basis, and who lived in less cell space per prisoner than the 50-55 square feet that expert witnesses had recommended, did not reach the level of cruel and unusual punishment. Specifically, the justices explained their rationale as follows:

> *...there is no evidence that double-celling under these circumstances either inflicts unnecessary or wanton pain or is grossly disproportionate to the severity of the cries warranting imprisonment.*

Chapman remains the most current Supreme Court case on prison crowding. However, several district and circuit court cases since *Chapman* warrant comment because they indicate how *Chapman* is applied and affects correctional management.

Two district court cases, *Hendrix v. Faulkner* (1981) and *French v. Owens* (1982), addressed crowding issues in two Indiana prisons. In *Hendrix,* the court found that confining inmates within 38 square foot cells in an admissions unit constituted cruel and unusual punishment because the

inmates were "not free to move about," and such confinement "subjects the inmates to genuine privations and hardships." In *French*, the court found that confining two inmates in cells of 44 or 47.6 square feet was unconstitutional because the prison's general conditions were worse than the conditions found in *Chapman*. The prison was older, had inadequate ventilation, undependable heating and no cooling, and an antiquated electrical system. In both of these cases, the courts placed more emphasis on the consequences of crowding and the conditions under which crowding existed, than on the degree of crowding itself. If the prison could not be managed under crowded conditions, then it was more likely to be judged unconstitutional.

The circuit courts have followed this same path in affirming or reversing lower courts. Four crowding cases *(Ruiz v. Estelle, Nelson v. Collins, Hoptowit v. Ray,* and *Smith v. Fairman)* serve as examples. In 1982, the circuit court in *Ruiz* reversed the district court's order that all Texas inmates be confined in single cells, but upheld the court's finding that the conditions of confinement under which crowding existed were in violation of the constitution's guarantee against cruel and unusual punishment. In *Nelson*, 1982, the circuit court found double bunking constitutional in a Maryland prison because the conditions of confinement were insignificantly different from those reported in *Chapman*.

In *Hoptowit,* the appeals court in 1982 reversed the lower court's finding that crowding at Washington's prison at Walla Walla had created a violation of inmates' constitutional rights. The reversal was based on the fact that the crowding was not proven to have had a harmful effect on the inmates. In *Smith*, the circuit court reversed a district court's ruling that crowding in an Illinois prison constituted cruel and unusual punishment. It found that the conditions under which crowding existed met the *Chapman* "test" in that there was adequate food and medical care, reasonable sanitation, and a lessening of institutional violence.

The impact of *Wolfish* and *Chapman* on prison managers has been to direct their attention to service delivery and inmate safety issues. If the prison environment does not suffer, then the courts will permit a considerable amount of prisoner crowding. Finding ways to provide for the basics — a safe, clean, well maintained prison with adequate recreational, food, and medical services — becomes the challenge of managing crowded prisons constitutionally.

THE LITIGATION EXPLOSION OF THE 80'S

By 1983, conditions of confinement in crowded prisons and prison systems were challenged in 38 states. Table 3 lists those systems and the status of litigation during that time as reported by the American Civil Liberties Union in its January, 1983 newsletter.

Table 3

EXTENT OF PRISON CROWDING AND STATUS OF CROWDING LITIGATION IN 1983[1]

	Litigation Status			
Extent of crowding in the system[1]	Entire prison system declared unconstitutional	One or more facilities under court order	One or more facilities in litigation	No litigation on crowding pending
80-100%	Texas		North Carolina South Carolina	
60-79%	Florida Mississippi Tennessee	Georgia Illinois Louisiana New Mexico		Nebraska
40-59%	Alabama Oklahoma	Maryland Missouri Nevada Ohio Oregon Washington		Alaska Arkansas
20-39%		Delaware Utah Virginia Wyoming		Hawaii Idaho Kansas New York
Less than 19%	Michigan[2] Rhode Island	Arizona Colorado Connecticut Indiana Iowa Kentucky New Hampshire	California Maine Massachusetts West Virginia Wisconsin	Minnesota Montana New Jersey North Dakota Pennsylvania South Dakota Vermont[3]

[1]Inmates in multiple-inmate confinement units with less than 60 square feet per prisoner

[2]Male prisoners only

[3]Vermont State Prison closed

While some thought that *Wolfish* and *Chapman* meant the end of the court's involvement in crowding issues, it has clearly not been the case and is not likely to be so in the future. Current decisions are following the same line of reasoning. In *Crain v. Bordenkircher,* a 1986 West Virginia Supreme Court case concerning the state's penitentiary, the court noted that the crowding in West Virginia was clearly different and unacceptable when compared to the conditions at Lucasville in *Rhodes v. Chapman.*

Crowding remains just as much a concern for correctional administrators as it is for the courts. For both, the bottom line is the ability to manage the prison effectively and constitutionally. Emphasis on management skills and practices presents wardens and others with opportunities to demonstrate their abilities, but not without the risk of being overcome by the consequences of crowding.

The relationship between crowding and litigation is further demonstrated by the fact that 62 percent of the crowded institutions studied are currently in court over crowding issues. Another 10 percent have previously had court orders regarding crowding, but currently do not. Table 4 presents the current status (1985-86) of crowding litigation for the sample of crowded institutions.

Table 4

THE STATUS OF CURRENT CROWDING LITIGATION

Crowding Litigation	Crowded Institutions	
	Number	Percent
None	35	38
Ongoing	30	33
Court Order	23	25
Consent Decree	20	22
Prior Court Order	9	10

THE IMPACT OF CROWDING LITIGATION ON FOUR PRISONS

Of the 11 crowded prisons whose crowding management approach and programs were studied first hand, four had experienced class action crowding law suits. The results of these suits provided an opportunity to assess the impact litigation has on the management of crowded prisons.

Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Connecticut

In *Miles v. Bell,* the U.S. District Court decided that crowding in the institution's dormitories, where double-bunking was the rule, did not adversely affect the inmates. The plaintiff's claims that

the conditions at Danbury constituted cruel and unusual punishment were dismissed. The institution opened in 1940 with a design capacity of 514. A minimum security camp was opened in 1982 with a design capacity of 107. By the end of January, 1986, the total count had reached 1,177 (975 inside the perimeter and 202 in the camp). The institution is designated as a Level 2 facility (a low-medium security institution) with the inmates inside serving an average of 16 months prior to release. The majority of the inmates are double-bunked in dormitory settings, with others in a small cell block (with cells on the outside walls), and a few in a cell block (with cells backing one another in the middle of the block) for short-term segregation and detention purposes. The institution's case was bolstered by a work program that employed every inmate and an industry operation that provided employment in several areas on two shifts. The lack of violence also worked in the institution's favor.

Since the Court entered its order in 1985, the number of inmates within the perimeter has remained fairly constant, and double-bunking has continued to be necessary. Institutional maintenance and sanitation has improved. Inmate idleness is not an issue. Danbury's crowding litigation is a good example of a successful post-*Chapman* defense. It was based on the correct assumption that the delivery of essential services and the maintenance of a clean and safe environment would be the legal standard by which prisons would be judged.

Southern Ohio Correctional Facility, Lucasville, Ohio

Southern Ohio Correctional Facility at Lucasville is the only maximum security prison in the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction. It was the subject of *Chapman v. Rhodes*. The institution is located in rural southern Ohio and was opened in 1972. The facility was designed for single-cell housing of 1,620 prisoners, including those in administrative segregation and detention. Fifteen different buildings are connected under one roof that covers approximately 22 acres. Almost from the beginning, general population inmates were double-celled in small 68.25 square foot cells (with cells along the outside walls) in cells that measured 6'6" wide by 10'6" deep by 9' high. Inmates in segregation and detention have always been confined in single cells.

Following the Supreme Court's decision reversing the lower courts' prohibition of double-celling, officials at the ten-year-old prison began increasing the number of inmates from approximately 1,200 to the level at which it was operating just prior to the lower court's order, or approximately 2,100. Double-celling was again the means by which the increases were made possible. Essential services are provided as they were prior to the litigation. Staff have sought inventive ways to keep as many inmates as possible productively employed and there has been no further litigation on this issue.

Avon Park Correctional Institution, Avon Park, Florida

As a result of an agency-wide class action lawsuit, *Costello v. Wainwright,* the Florida Department of Corrections agreed in 1982 to a population ceiling for each of its institutions. The effect of that agreement at Avon Park was to establish an inmate population limit of 1,245.

Originally, the facility served as a housing area for the Air Force during World War II. For a brief period after the war, it was used to house federal prisoners and, in 1956, it was turned over to the state

and used as a minimum security facility for 700 inmates. In 1978, a new unit for close custody inmates was added and directly adjoined the existing unit. The newer housing areas are individual outside cells, although 273 cells are doubled. The older unit consists of nineteen military-style barracks, housing 42 inmates per barracks. The entire institution has a perimeter fence and an armed mobile patrol. The institution's physical layout encourages communication between staff and inmates and provides inmates the opportunity to spend a major portion of their time outside their dormitories which are small but not cramped.

Oregon State Correctional Institution, Salem, Oregon

The institution first opened in 1959 with a design capacity of 476. It was intended for medium and close custody inmates and has retained that security level. Inmates are housed primarily in cells, although there is one large dormitory. All but 30 general population cells and 48 administrative segregation cells are occupied by two inmates. Most of the cell block day rooms are used as sleeping areas. The dormitory is partially double-bunked. When the population was at a high of 1,034, inmates were also sleeping on the cell block "flats." A major class action crowding lawsuit, *Capps v. Atiyeh*, initiated by inmates confined in the institution in the late 1970's, was decided by the district court in 1980. In the court's original order, the institution was forced to reduce its inmate population to its original design capacity and not to double-cell. Less than a year later, after the Supreme Court's ruling in *Chapman*, the district court reversed itself and concluded that the prior conditions at the institution were not in violation of the constitution.

As a result, the institution was allowed to return to the use of doubling-celling as the number of inmates continued to increase. Officials agreed, however, not to permit inmates to sleep in corridors or on floors. In spite of both double-celling and very limited work opportunities (there are no prison industries), the institution has not been summoned back into court on crowding matters. The totality of the conditions under which inmates continue to be confined has been judged as not constituting cruel and unusual punishment.

CONCLUSIONS

A review of the impact that courts have had on the management of crowded prisons has been presented in terms of relevant judicial decisions. The influence of the decisions has been felt relative to the consequences which crowding can have on the delivery of essential services and on the maintenance of a reasonably safe environment. The decisions have not, however, had any significant impact on the establishment of finite spatial standards or a minimum number of prisoners per cell. The law has provided prison managers with flexibility and the accompanying responsibility to manage their institutions fairly and reasonably. The courts have continued to intervene in prison crowding issues since *Wolfish* and *Chapman*. They are likely to continue such a course in the future, particularly when the consequences of crowding raise the possibility that the resultant problems constitute cruel and unusual punishment for those confined.

Chapter Three

PROBLEMS REPORTED BY CROWDED INSTITUTIONS

It is impossible and irresponsible to attribute any management problem directly to a cause (for example, crowding) without conducting empirical studies that are highly controlled for error and that make use of statistical analysis. The survey questionnaire for this study requested opinions of the administrators about the effects of crowding on their institutions and the best methods for control under these circumstances. The results give a clear picture of what managers think about crowding and the management issues it presents.

Administrators of the 90 sampled crowded prisons agree on the kinds of problems caused by crowding, but often attribute different degrees of seriousness to them. The fact is that some crowded prisons experience serious problems in areas where others feel little or no effects. Some of these differences in opinion may be explained by dissimilarities in institutional characteristics; more may be explained by differences in the managers themselves.

For the sake of organizing the presentation, the crowding problems reported were divided into three management areas:

1. Size and upkeep of the facility,
2. Care and treatment of inmates, and
3. Recruitment, retention, and well-being of staff.

Many of the problems have been ranked by the administrators on a scale from 1 to 7, with 1 representing the least degree of seriousness, and 7 representing the highest degree of seriousness. Those rankings are referred to in the discussion to give the reader an idea of how important administrators think the problems are. The problems considered to be the most serious are listed in descending order in Table 5 on the following page. One item was rated at the 5-level; twelve were rated between 4.00 and 4.99; six were between 3.00 and 3.99; and two were rated less than 3.00. The range of responses to each of the problems is reported in Appendix D.

Table 5

The Average Degree of Seriousness At Which Problems Are Rated in Crowded Prisons Scale: 1 (lowest) to 7 (highest)

Discipline Reports	5.03
Overtime	4.95
Drugs	4.89
Inmate Idleness	4.88
Protective Custody	4.77
Inmate Grievances	4.73
Equipment Breakdowns	4.59
Assaults on Inmates	4.58
Sanitation	4.36
Lawsuits	4.29
Weapons	4.24
Staff Training	4.20
Contraband Money	4.06
Assaults on Staff	3.86
Sick Leave	3.70
Absenteeism	3.53
Staff Turnover	3.40
Group Disturbances	3.29
Staff Recruitment	3.13
Attempted Escapes	2.62
Escapes	2.52

FACILITY PROBLEMS

Facility problems primarily concern space deficits and the effects of increasing numbers of inmates on the institution's buildings and equipment.

Space Deficits

Bed space. The lack of enough bed space for inmates assigned to an institution has forced many administrators to double-bunk dormitories and place two inmates in cells designed for one. For inmates, privacy is minimal, personal property is limited, and tension between inmates may increase.

For staff, cell searches become more time-consuming, and inmate supervision more difficult. It becomes extremely taxing for classification officers to assign inmates to areas and programs that are appropriate for them. At Virginia's Nottoway Correctional Facility, every regular population cell is double-bunked, allowing virtually no cell assignment flexibility.

Program space. In almost all crowded prisons, lack of bed space is the major obstacle to efficient operation. However, cramped conditions in program and service areas are the causes of management frustrations in some instances. In the case of the Minnesota State Prison at Stillwater, for example, bed space is not the major problem since single celling is provided throughout the institution.

Compared to those that have bed space shortages, fewer crowded prisons have problems resulting from a lack of program space, although many have been forced to give up dayroom space in order to provide bed space for more inmates. At the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Norfolk, it was necessary to convert housing units into bed space. At the Oregon State Correctional Institution, dayroom space has been filled with double-bunked beds. The resulting loss of space exacerbates idleness with no immediate solution. However, an extremely well-organized and executed recreational program which makes continual use of the gymnasium compensates somewhat. At Virginia's Nottoway Correctional Facility, lack of program space poses a major problem. Institutional staff have managed to provide inmate access to program space by allocating those areas alternately to portions of the inmate population for specified periods of time that extend well into the evening.

In most cases, crowding in these prisons was not foreseen at the time they were designed and constructed. Even if it had been, some would argue that facilities should not be designed to add more inmates unless additional space is created for inmate housing, programs, and services. At Southern Ohio Correctional Facility at Lucasville, however, it appears that correctional planners, anticipating that the institution would have to be double-celled in the near future, built larger service and program areas to accommodate additional inmates. The oversized water and sewage pipes, wide corridors, spacious health service areas, and a second gymnasium were all part of the original design and undoubtedly were impressive to the Supreme Court in its ruling in *Chapman*, as well as helpful to institutional managers. If these areas had not been generously designed, it is difficult to envision how double-celling could have been successful.

Maintenance

Particularly in the older crowded prisons, maintenance is a major concern. Crowding places additional wear and tear on already extended facilities. Administrators rank equipment breakdowns (4.59) and problems with maintaining sanitation (4.36) as relatively high, warranting a great deal of time and attention. The increasing numbers of work orders tax maintenance staff's ability to keep pace. The need to reduce equipment "down time" and increase the use of institutional areas has led some institutions to attempt to automate their maintenance and repair procedures. Microcomputers were introduced at the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Norfolk and the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury in order to organize, prioritize, and thereby accelerate maintenance work. At Norfolk, all of the utility systems have been mapped, inventoried, and organized on the computer, and the preventive maintenance program schedule is generated by the same computer

located in the Maintenance Supervisor's offices. At Danbury, requests for repairs to the institution are received by telephone and fed directly into a computer for scheduling, assignment, and follow-up. The extent to which the above mentioned problems are viewed as serious is presented in Appendix D.

STAFF

Excessive numbers of inmates generate excessive demands on staff. Demands for maintaining acceptable levels of service and operations in spite of increasing numbers may adversely affect the institution's ability to recruit, hire, and train its staff. The heavier demands on prison staff at all levels also may increase the use of sick leave, staff turnover, and overtime hours. The continual presence of these problems can be frustrating and fatiguing. Increasing the number of institutional staff is the most frequently used method to address the problems.

Number of Staff

The average number of employees in the crowded prisons surveyed for this sample has risen from 346 in 1980 to 432 in 1985, nearly a 25 percent increase. Among the 11 crowded prisons that were studied on site, there was one notable exception where the number of inmates had increased so had the number of staff. At the Oregon State Correctional Institution, which is currently operating at nearly 200 percent of capacity, there are presently 20 fewer staff than there were several years ago when the inmate population was closer to its design capacity. This shift is explained partly by the introduction of an electronic perimeter security system that was designed to eliminate 20 positions. The institution reduced manpower as planned, but the system did not prove to function adequately. It was necessary to remove the 20 staff positions inside the institution even as the number of inmates inside the institution continued to climb.

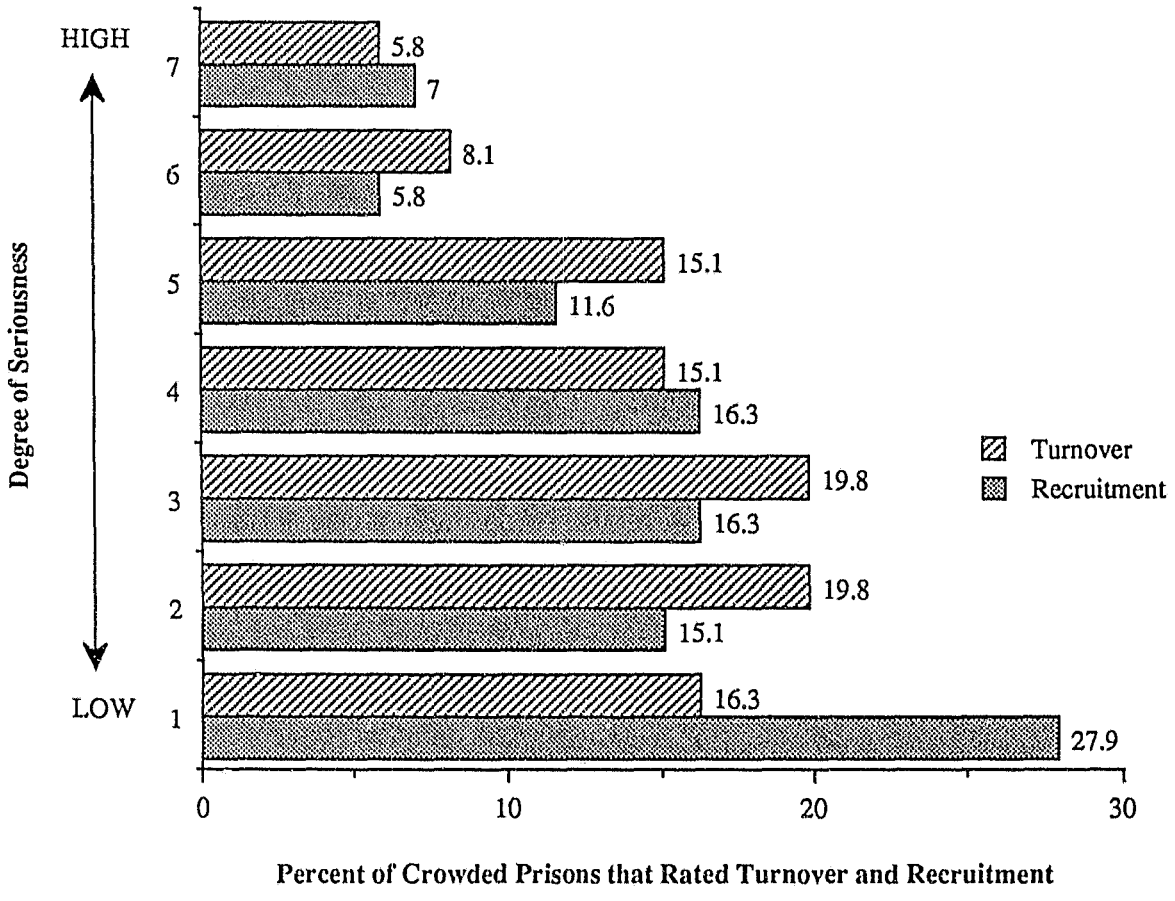
Staff Recruitment and Turnover

Staff recruitment has not been as adversely affected by prison crowding as might have been expected. It was ranked 3.13, not as serious as some other problems, but more serious than most. For the most part, administrators have been able to fill staff vacancies despite the crowding, and where they have not been able to, factors other than crowding seem to be related. Those factors include entry level salaries that are not competitive with other institutions and law enforcement agencies; the high cost of living in areas near the prison; and the lack of staff housing, schools, and other facilities. It is difficult to say with any degree of certainty whether recruitment would have been easier under less crowded conditions. At some crowded institutions, such as Florida's Avon Park, the less problematic minimum security inmate probably helps keep turnover down to a 2 percent annual rate; however, at the Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville, the more difficult to manage, higher security inmates may serve to increase the turnover rate as well as contribute to recruitment problems. The influence of other factors, such as the lack of job alternatives and general economic conditions at the time of recruitment is not known. The degree to which salaries are competitive in specific job markets may play a bigger role in turnover than does crowding itself.

Administrators indicate that staff turnover is aggravated by prison crowding and rank its seriousness at 3.44. They see it as less problematic, however, than increases in sick leave and more problematic than recruitment difficulties. (Chart 9 illustrates the level of seriousness of staff recruitment and turnover as reported by prison administrators.) The staff situation becomes critical when the attrition rate is so high that there are large numbers of line correctional officers with limited experience, thereby increasing the likelihood of costly mistakes. The Federal Correctional Institution in Danbury, Connecticut, has such a situation where 60 percent of staff have been employed less than three years. At the Federal Correctional Institution in Otisville, New York, 50 percent of the correctional officers have not completed their first-year probationary period.

Chart 9

The Problem of Turnover and Recruitment in Crowded Prisons (Rated From 1 to 7, Lowest to Highest in Severity)



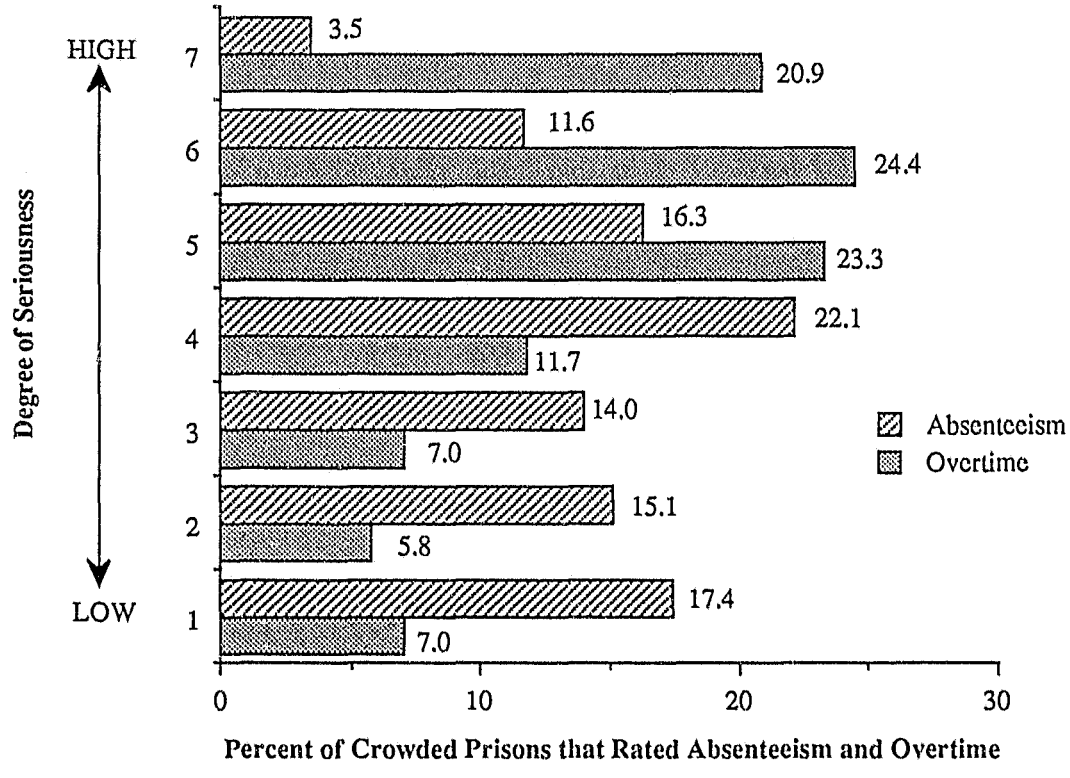
In spite of sustained periods of crowding, staff turnover has not increased in many other institutions and, in some, it has remained very low. At Florida's Avon Park facility, a low turnover rate of 2 percent has been the rule for the last few years. A significant number of employees have been working at the institution for 15 years or more.

Overtime

The use of overtime to cover unfilled posts has been cited as one of the more critical problems (4.95) associated with crowding. The need to staff the crowded prison at acceptable levels places many staff in the position of working excessive amounts of hours thus increasing the likelihood of fatigue and error. The situation is further aggravated by increases in sick leave, which lead to even more use of staff overtime work. The budgetary and political consequences of expanded overtime can be equally as absorbing and tiring. Overtime and absenteeism are problems that affect most crowded prisons, and many of them to a serious degree. Chart 10 shows that absenteeism (3.53) is not aggravated by crowding to the same extent as overtime.

Chart 10

Employee Absenteeism and Overtime in Crowded Prisons
(Rated From 1 to 7, Lowest to Highest in Severity)

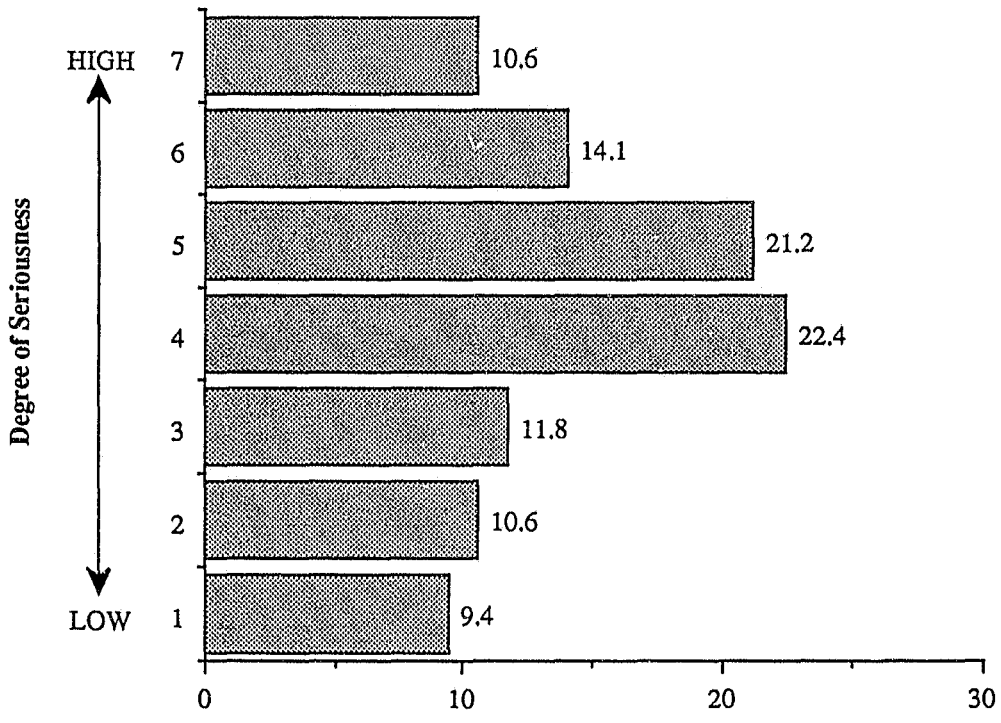


Training

Allocating time for training staff is likely to become more complicated and difficult as crowding worsens, and administrators rank the difficulty as significant (4.20). Chart 11 depicts the ratings.

Chart 11

Seriousness of Staff Training Problems in Crowded Prisons (Rated from 1 to 7, Lowest to Highest in Severity)



In spite of the increasing demands for staff in the institution, some managers place a high priority on the continuance of staff training to its completion. Those managers firmly believe that in the long run the institution is better served by that policy. Among others, the Kansas State Penitentiary reflects this approach. At that institution, the importance of conducting pre-service and in-service training is communicated to all staff by the warden and his assistants. Close attention is paid to ensuring that line and supervisory staff attend all training sessions. Training staff are given effective and regular reinforcement as to the value of their efforts in helping to create a professionally operated institution, and the importance of their role is continually brought to the attention of all personnel.

INMATES

Crowding directly or indirectly exacerbates many institutional problems for inmates. Most of those problems arise when staff cannot provide adequate supervision and regulation of inmate behavior. An increase in the frequency and severity of violent acts is often attributed to crowding; however, some administrators and researchers believe that there are different forces at work. These non-crowding variables include: the age of the inmate population; the ethnic composition of inmates and staff; inmates' prior criminal sophistication and extent of violent histories; and the instability of the inmate population as measured by movement in and out of the institution. The degree to which violent acts are reported in crowded prisons is presented without attempt to determine on which side the preponderance of evidence falls.

Violence in Crowded Prisons

Although correctional administrators think that crowding has contributed to a rise in violent acts between individual inmates, they do not relate crowding to group disturbances which they ranked in severity at 3.29. Table 6 presents the annual institutional rates for homicides, suicides, assaults on inmates, and escapes from 1980 to 1985 for the 90 crowded prisons surveyed.

Table 6

Annual Homicide, Suicide, Assault, and Escape Rates in Crowded Prisons (1980 - 1985)

(Average Rate Among 90 Prisons)

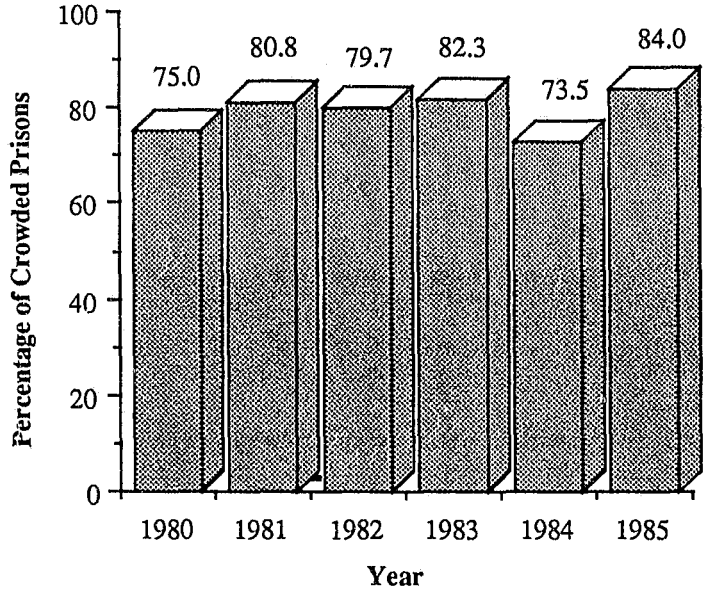
Year	Homicide	Suicide	Inmate Assault	Staff Assault	Escape
1980	.44	.19	49.4	13.3	6.8
1981	.45	.38	46.9	24.6	6.8
1982	.32	.31	49.8	27.3	5.4
1983	.29	.38	53.5	25.7	4.7
1984	.49	.46	63.6	35.6	5.0
1985	.49	.42	58.0	48.8	5.2

Homicides

The average number of homicides per crowded institution increased slightly from .44 in 1980 to .49 in 1985. In the intervening years the rate rose slightly and then declined significantly before climbing again. During this same six-year period, the average daily population of crowded prisons rose by 25 percent while the number of homicides increased by 33 percent. The percentage of crowded prisons that did not experience a homicide grew from 75 to 84 percent. Chart 12 graphically illustrates the variation over time in the percentage of crowded prisons that did not have a homicide. The trend appears to show a small and somewhat steady increase in that percentage.

Chart 12

Percentages of Crowded Prisons Without a Homicide (1980 - 1985)



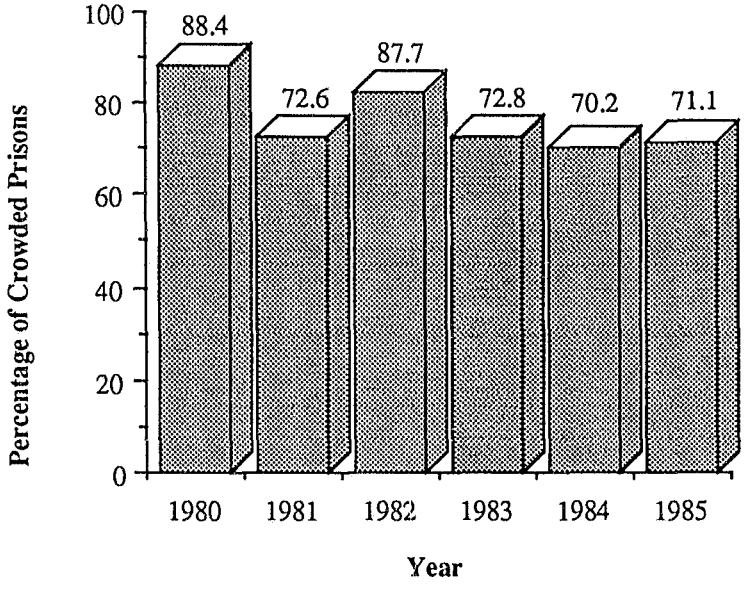
Several crowded prisons have experienced a low number of violent inmate deaths. For example, the Federal Correctional Institution in Danbury has had no inmates murdered since 1980. At the Kansas State Prison, the last inmate homicide occurred in October, 1983, despite expanded crowding since that time. The Oregon State Correctional Institution reported only one inmate murdered since opening in 1959, and the facility has been operating at nearly 200 percent of its designed capacity.

Suicides

The number of suicides per crowded prison has risen recently. The years 1980 to 1985 saw the numbers increase from .19 to .42 per prison. An ascent of 33 percent in the average number of inmates confined was contemporaneous with a 169 percent increase in the number of suicides. Over the same period, the percent of crowded prisons that did not have a suicide declined from 88.4 to 71.1 percent. Chart 13 illustrates this change.

Chart 13

Percentages of Crowded Prisons Without a Suicide (1980 - 1985)



Suicides evidence a closer tie to crowding than homicides and represent an acute problem for some correctional administrators. Does the isolation and idleness found in some crowded prisons contribute to the increased rate, or are other factors responsible? The data are inconclusive and warrant further exploration and analysis as well as close attention on the part of prison managers.

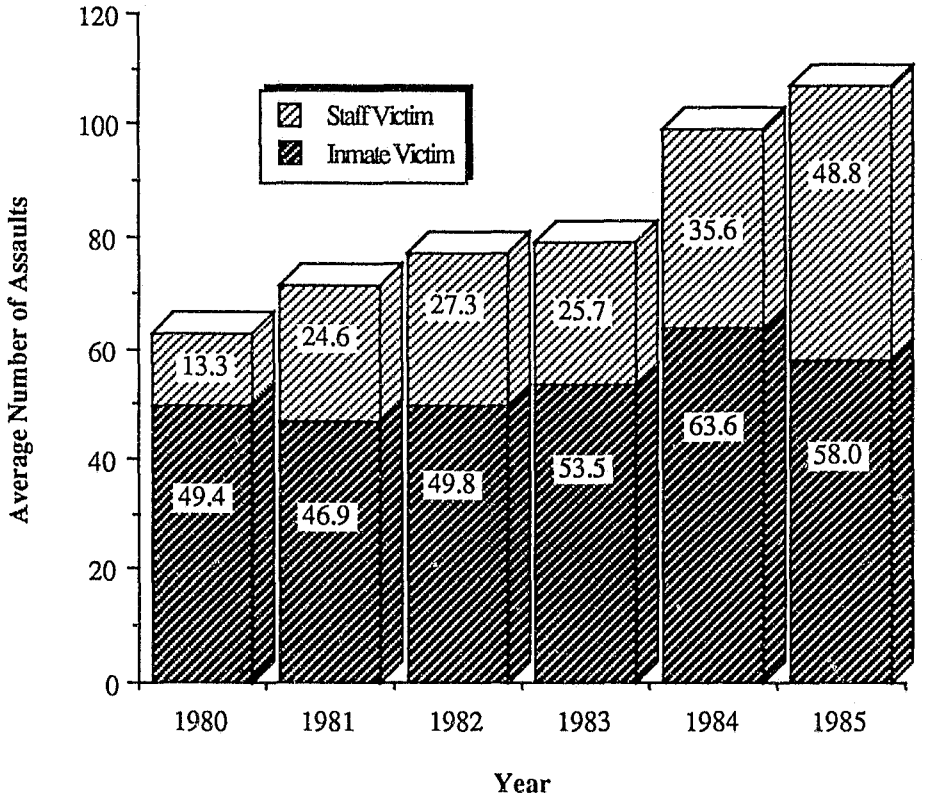
Assaults

As far as correctional managers are concerned, crowding has contributed to increases in assaults among inmates and to a greater degree on staff. These cognitions are supported by the aggregated data. For the years 1980 to 1985, the average number of assaults on inmates per crowded prison increased from 49.4 to 58.0, while those on staff escalated dramatically from 13.3 to 48.8. The extent

to which this latter increase is influenced by reporting definitions and practices is not known. Even assuming a partial role in the resulting figures, the likelihood that it could account for most of the increase seems quite low. Chart 14 compares the variations in the two assault rates from 1980 through 1985.

Chart 14

Average Number of Assaults on Inmates and Staff in Crowded Prisons (1980 - 1985)

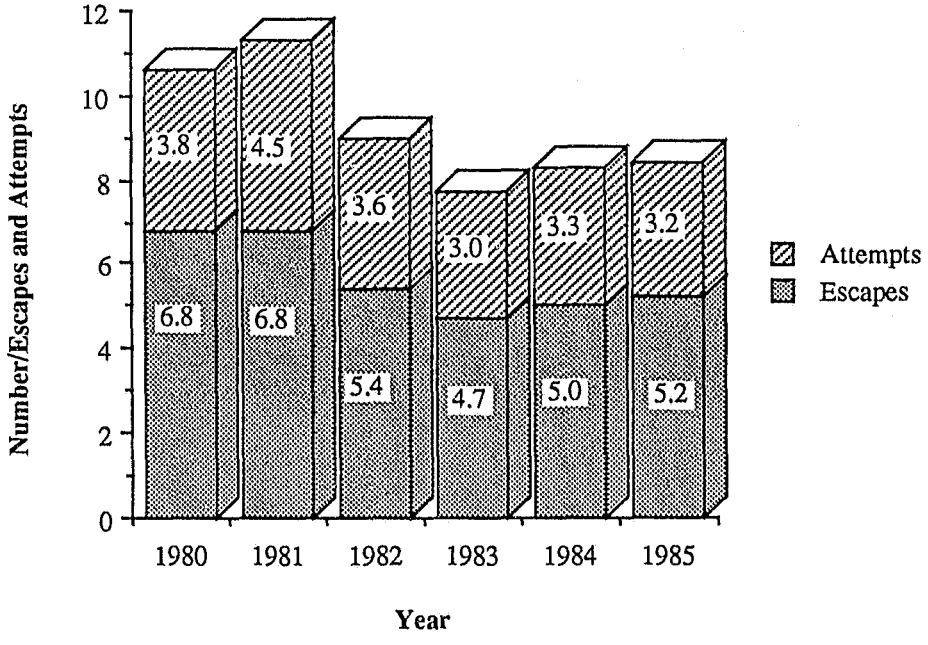


Escapes

Interestingly enough, neither escapes nor attempted escapes from crowded prisons have increased. From 1980 to 1985 the actual number of escapes declined from 6.8 per prison to 5.2, and attempts at escape decreased from 3.8 to 3.2. The maintenance of a secure perimeter remains a high priority. The negative consequences of having to cope with the aftermath of a successful escape may motivate administrators to ensure that breaches do not occur. Further, the increasing use of electronic perimeter security systems may be providing prison managers with improved technology to counter inmate plans for escape. Chart 15 illustrates the changes in the escape and attempted escape rates from 1980 to 1985.

Chart 15

Average Number of Escapes and Attempted Escapes From Crowded Prisons (1980 - 1985)



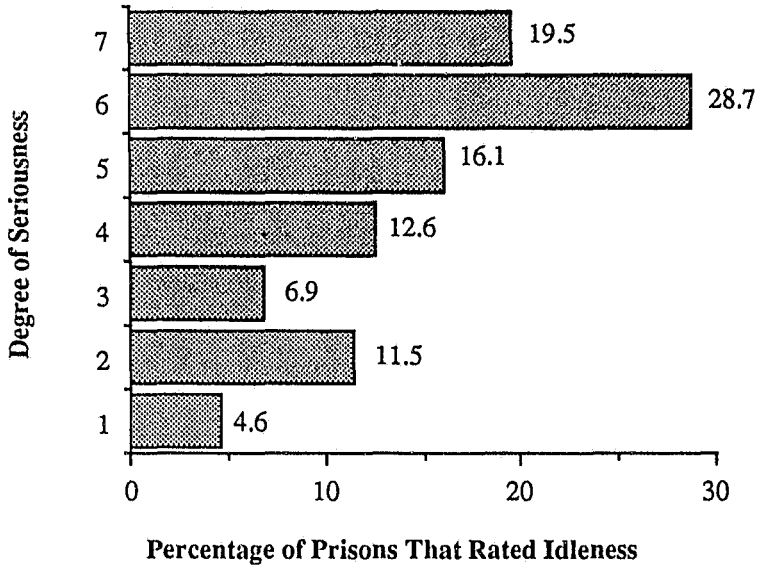
The declines have been fairly constant in spite of the 33 percent rise in the prisoner populations of these institutions. In fact, administrators' low rankings of escapes as a problem (2.52) and attempted escapes (2.62) indicate that there is little perceived connection to crowding. For example, at the Kansas State Prison there were 13 escapes in 1982 and just 4 per year, including walk-always from minimum security during 1983 through 1985. On the other hand, escapes have been more prevalent at the Federal Correctional Institution in Danbury where, since 1980, 19 inmates have escaped from inside the perimeter and 9 others have walked away from the minimum security camp outside.

Idleness

A major problem related to crowding is inmate idleness. Lack of sufficient productive work for prisoners means that inmates are either unassigned or assigned to jobs that require little work. Administrators rank this as one of the more significant problems related to crowding at 4.88. At the same time there is no universal agreement on how to cope with inmate inactivity while waiting for meaningful jobs to be created. Chart 16 illustrates the degree to which administrators rank idleness as a very serious problem.

Chart 16

The Problem of Inmate Idleness in Crowded Prisons (Rated From 1 to 7, Lowest to Highest in Severity)



In response to other questions on this subject, administrators indicated that in 1985, 20.1 percent of all inmates in crowded prisons were unassigned because they were either in lockup status (8.6 percent), pre-classification (5.8 percent), or because no assignment was available (5.7 percent). Of the crowded prisons, 57 percent reported 100 or more prisoners unassigned because of insufficient work assignments; 28 percent had 200 or more idle, and 10 percent had 300 or more idle. Idleness due to the lack of jobs represents only part of the problem. Many institutions prefer to place prisoners on work assignments for which there was little to do in order to avoid complete job inactivity.

- At the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility in Lucasville, a lack of work and training programs has resulted in 25 percent of the inmates being assigned to jobs every other day.

- At the Kansas State Penitentiary, 300 inmates are unassigned regularly because no jobs are available, or because they are not yet classified (it usually takes five weeks to be assigned); 600 are unassigned because they are in a restricted status (segregation, detention, or protective custody).

- At Virginia's Nottoway Correctional Facility, idleness continues to be a major problem. Very few inmates work more than four hours a day because there are only 250 inmate jobs. Four hundred inmates have not been assigned jobs and do not attend school.

- At Massachusetts' Norfolk Correctional Institution, idleness is still a major problem even though all inmates are assigned to a job because very few actually work a full day. Only about 300 out of 975 prisoners work six hours a day or more.

- At Florida's Avon Park, the major problem is idleness. Every inmate is assigned a job, but most need far less than a day to complete their work. Wages can be earned only through the 90 assignments in the privately operated prison industry.

- At the Oregon State Correctional Institution, approximately 400 inmates have no job assignments and 80 percent of those inmates would work if a job were available. The absence of a prison industry program compounds the problem.

Other Inmate-Related Issues

The prevention of inmate thefts is a constant problem in many prisons. In particularly crowded living units, the problem can become more serious. For example, at the Federal Correctional Institution in Danbury, officials cite stealing as the biggest inmate management problem. While the amount of personal property per inmate has increased as well as the number of inmates, the number of staff has not kept pace. The result is less dormitory supervision, allowing inmates more opportunities to steal each other's property.

Prison crowding has impeded staff's attempts to control the introduction of contraband, especially drugs. Administrators have ranked the severity of this problem quite high (4.89). Drugs are passed by mouth, from visitor to inmate, in crowded and difficult-to-supervise visiting rooms. At the California Women's Facility, the introduction and use of drugs is the biggest problem faced by staff.

An increase in the numbers of inmates seeking protective custody is frequently cited as a problem resulting from magnified prison crowding. As a management problem, administrators rank protective custody management very high at 4.77. At the Kansas State Penitentiary, escorting protective custody inmates to the dining hall and yard is difficult without hindering other inmate movement and use of these areas.

Monitoring Inmate Behavior

Increasing numbers of inmates have made monitoring inmate activities more difficult. Staff are frequently spread thin and limited in the amount of time they can devote to conducting cell searches, inmate searches, and searches of specific institution areas. The numbers of inmates assigned to job details or confined in cell houses make the direct observation and supervision of inmates more infrequent. This situation has made it harder for staff to stay on top of contraband in the form of drugs, money, and weapons. It has also made it more difficult to determine if inmates are in the right place

at the right time. Prisoners are frequently found "out of bounds" in many crowded prisons, but staff find it almost impossible to know which prisoners are the ones that are in the wrong place. Stopping each prisoner can prove to have more negative consequences than positive. This problem is of particular concern at the Oregon State Correctional Institution where it has proven increasingly difficult to monitor inmates and inmate movement satisfactorily. Since more inmates are discovered "out of bounds" as crowding grows, staff believe that an even higher number of inmates than they know are "beating" them.

CONCLUSIONS

Crowding adds to the problems that are normally found in prisons. These problems can be serious, but need not become overwhelming. In fact, despite the numerous problems that can arise in conjunction with crowding, staff morale does not necessarily suffer. Crowding alone does not appear to weaken or strengthen morale. Actually, staff morale may be more dependent on how administrators react to the crowding pressure, and what they do to manage the situation.

In the next chapter, prison administrators' methods of managing crowded prisons will be presented. Managing crowding problems resourcefully can make a difference. It should not be overlooked however, that prison managers have not been alone in working on ways to address the problem. Others have devoted considerable effort to developing and promoting approaches to eliminate crowding entirely. These efforts have taken people in two very different directions.

Some have advocated the construction of new prisons and/or the expansion of existing facilities, while others have pressed for greater use of alternative forms of punishment that would involve less and shorter use of prison terms. As a means of reaching the goal of eliminating crowding, there have been recommendations for massive funding from the federal government to support construction of state and local prisons. Others, with the same goal, support diversion programs and the imposition of population "caps." While the debate continues as to whether crowding is better addressed by reducing the number of inmates or increasing the number of prisons, correctional administrators must wrestle with the resultant problems.

Chapter Four

ADMINISTRATORS' SOLUTIONS TO CROWDING PROBLEMS

How administrators respond to crowding and the problems it generates is the major focus of this manual. In the course of accumulating information on those experiences, several facts appear inescapably self-evident.

1. The management of crowded prisons is not significantly different from the management of prisons in general.
2. The management of crowded or non-crowded prisons is dependent primarily on the managerial skills and leadership ability of the warden or superintendent.
3. The application of sound management principles and correctional management techniques in particular can make a difference in the successful operation of a crowded prison.

Managers of different crowded prisons may institute the same procedures and programs in their facilities, but how they are implemented will frequently determine their ultimate value as a managerial solution. This section of the manual discusses both how managers implement strategies as well as the specific components of those managerial programs.

MANAGERIAL APPROACHES TO CROWDING

The success of managing a crowded institution not only depends on the warden's technical competency as a manager, but also on his/her approach to management that finds its roots in a person's values, beliefs, and interpersonal relationship skills. The attitude and approach that is taken by the manager tends to have a significant impact on his/her success as a manager of a crowded prison.

In the course of the study of crowded prisons, four characteristics of prison managers who appeared to be relatively successful in addressing institutional problems were identified. Each of those attributes may be collectively described as "the four C's of crowded prison management." In alphabetical order they are **candor, caring, commitment,** and **confidence.** These characteristics appear to play a significant role in successfully addressing the problem inherent in crowded prison management. With varying degrees of emphasis, crowded prison managers exhibit these qualities in their work and believe strongly in their value and importance.

In addition to the four characteristics, the style and substance of crowded prison management employed in the 11 institutions were examined first hand, analyzed, and collapsed into six categories. These six types of crowded prison management are not necessarily distinct nor do they include examples of what was found at all 11 institutions. In varying degrees, aspects of all six of the types presented were found in each of the 11 institutions. However, those in the seven institutions noted here contain significant examples of practices thought to be worth emulating. They include many

overlapping elements, but for the sake of organizing the material in a manageable fashion they are presented as discrete entities. The six types of crowded prison management identified are:

- "Natural Consequences" Management,
- "Situational Contingency" Management,
- "Do Rather Than Be Done" Management,
- "Systems Approach" Management,
- "Constructive Opportunity Theory" Management, and
- "Creative Risk" Management.

The above labels were derived from observed practices and approaches, and in some cases from the words used by managers to describe their management of the prison. In the discussion that follows, each of the six management approaches is examined and related to specific examples of that particular method.

"Natural Consequences"

At the Kansas State Penitentiary, the underlying philosophy of management is described by top staff as a system of "natural consequences." This description seems to be a corollary to Newton's law regarding equal and opposite reactions, or to the Biblical tale of sowing and reaping, or to the more recent commercial phrase, "you get what you pay for." It reflects a positive outlook on life and a sincere belief that both staff and inmates will respond positively if treated that way. Managers are to be open, cooperative, and supportive of staff. The warden's confidence in his own abilities is communicated and shared with all staff. A unit management form of organization is used to carry out this approach; team managers run the housing units and are responsible for inmate care and discipline. Staff are trained to communicate with inmates in a non-threatening manner. Supervisors move around the facility to assist and support staff and lead by example.

"Situational Contingency"

Virginia's Nottoway Correctional Institution's approach is best described as "situational contingency management." Under normal operating conditions, unless there is an emergency or crisis situation, the approach is interactive and a great deal of emphasis and importance is placed on communicating with staff and inmates. Ideas and comment are solicited and staff and inmates are encouraged to participate by sharing their thoughts. On the other hand, during emergency conditions, management's approach becomes more authoritarian. Orders are given and are to be obeyed quickly and to the letter. The two basic assumptions underlying this approach are that, "inmates will go to the line you draw," and that a strong leader will be followed. Management's role is to lead and communicate a genuine concern for staff and inmates.

Emphasis is placed on managing by means of written policy and procedures, as opposed to a given staff member's "personal policy." However, the warden is clearly the dominant figure in the organization and the originator of most of the management ideas that are eventually implemented as policy and procedures.

"Do Rather Than Be Done"

Danbury's approach to management is that staff can, should, and will run the institution, crowded or not crowded, difficult as that might be. One manager characterized their management by stating, "you can make a difference if you want to." The approach is based on the assumption that staff and inmates can be motivated and encouraged to succeed if given direction and positive reinforcement. To accomplish this end, staff are held accountable. Positive reinforcement is given in the form of monetary awards and public praise. A staff incentive awards program is used to demonstrate management's commitment to staff and to these goals. Frequent awards ceremonies are attended by large numbers of staff at which time recognition for achievement is publicly acknowledged. Whenever possible, promotions are made from within the institution's own ranks, as opposed to bringing in someone from another institution. Unit management is used as the organizational tool to run the institution. Caseworkers and correctional staff work side by side in housing units and rotate shifts and days off. Top managers are expected to "manage by walking around," by getting out into the institution and staying in close touch with inmate and staff concerns, issues, and needs.

"The Systems Approach"

At the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Norfolk, management is based on a systems approach. The institution is administered through the use of a recently developed "climate control" monitoring system, a unit management system, a classification "contract" agreement system, and systematic interaction with representatives of the elected inmate council. In many respects it was the most unique institution studied. Two aspects of prison management warrant special comment. They are the more recent development of the climate control monitoring system and the long standing tradition of inmate involvement in management's decisions.

The climate control monitoring system was instituted to alert managers to potential problems before they become unmanageable. It was done in response to the need for more accurate and timely information about conditions within the facility as the population increased beyond the institution's designed capacity. As a result, the institution's "pulse" is taken weekly and compared with prior readings. The weekly reporting system includes input from the housing unit teams, intelligence, inmate council meetings, disciplinary and unusual incident reports, as well as inmate canteen sales and other reports.

All information is recorded on a standardized form and quantified to the highest extent possible. An institution Operations Committee meets weekly to evaluate the information, to make recommendations to the superintendent, and to refer items for action. The information is stored in a database on a microcomputer which performs part of the analysis. A list of "problem" inmates is developed based on any unusual activities that occurred during the prior week. These individuals receive closer attention to determine if they are going to become disruptive. Between 10 and 12 inmates fall into the "problem" category each week, and another 40 are carried in a "Disruptive Inmate" category. Disruptive inmates represent approximately 3 percent of the 1,200 inmates in the institution. This monitoring system was initiated in early 1984, and one year later was in full operation. The computer was added in January, 1986.

The administrators also take advantage of the institution's open community-like physical appearance. In so doing, they are guided by 50 years of unique institutional history in a setting that has developed important roles for inmates in management's decisions and institutional practices. While other administrators are frequently taken aback by the extent to which inmates participate in what they consider to be management's sole prerogative, the staff at Norfolk swear by their approach and would not change it if they could. An elected inmate council meets regularly as a whole and in committees. At least one staff observer is present at all meetings. Major decisions are not made by the administration without having the benefit of views from the council.

A variation on this approach to management is practiced at the Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville. Unit management is the basis for the organizational structure. Emphasis is placed on keeping inmates constructively occupied, maintaining a clean institution, and making maximum use of the modern, campus-like physical design of the facility to promote a constructive environment. Staff meet regularly with inmate representatives in each housing unit to discuss issues of concern and to acquire feedback.

"Constructive Opportunity Theory"

At the Minnesota State Prison at Stillwater, the managerial approach is to give the inmates as much freedom as is reasonably prudent, and to encourage the constructive use of time. Management's priorities include maintaining institutional security, communicating with staff, responding to inmates' problems, and providing programs to keep inmates occupied. Self-help groups are encouraged and senior staff move around the institution frequently to monitor and modify programs as necessary. Special programs and living units for chemically dependent inmates and those working in higher education programs run parallel with more traditional inmate programs.

"Creative Risk"

The Oregon State Correctional Institution's approach is similar to others in that despite very significant crowding, it is still preferable to take some risks rather than become overly restrictive. Creating opportunities for inmate participation in programs is a high priority. If management becomes too restrictive, the wrong message may be communicated — that the administration lacks the ability and confidence to manage the institution. Managers operate under the supposition that, "inmates deserve the staff's respect unless they do something to lose it."

This approach is based on their conclusion that 15 to 20 percent of the inmates are "thugs" (inmates who intimidate and dominate others); another 10 to 15 percent actively support the administration; and the remainder will go either with the "thugs" or the administration, depending on where they feel the leadership resides. The underlying assumption is that the inmates will operate at no higher a level than that at which the staff operates. "If you control the thugs, you can manage the rest very nicely." The goal is to establish an institutional climate that promotes positive inmate behavior.

The use of a good intelligence system assists the staff in staying alert and attuned to institutional matters. Two methods used to accomplish this end include: (1) "management by walking around"

and (2) avoidance of relying on "snitches" for information. In addition, strict attention is paid to a cardinal rule — do not put inmates in charge of other inmates or even give the appearance of doing so. When managers become aware that inmates are trying to intimidate other inmates, a substantial penalty must be inflicted. Supervisors are extremely selective in hiring and promoting staff, because of the importance they place on other staff and inmates who will be relying on their judgment and leadership. Instructions and directions for inmates come directly from their immediate staff supervisor, not from superior officers whose intervention may be perceived as undercutting staff.

Summary

The six types of crowded management approaches have a great deal in common. They all place great emphasis on candor, caring, commitment, and confidence. Each emphasizes particular elements over others, but all recognize that the success of managers of crowded prisons depends upon their ability to monitor the status of their institutions, allocate resources appropriately, and communicate their concerns, goals, and values.

MONITORING THE STATUS OF INSTITUTIONS

Systematic monitoring is required to oversee the status of all prison physical structures, operations, services, and programs. To set up such a system, one has to decide what recent changes in the institution are indicators of crowding consequences. Some of those identifiers include:

- Increases in work orders and general maintenance costs, along with more back logs and longer time lags for repairs.
- Increases in the number and seriousness of discipline, as well as instances of property destruction.
- Increases in the use of sick leave, staff attrition rate, use of overtime, requests for days off, changes in assignments, requests for tower assignments, early retirements.
- Increases in grievances, especially in areas such as food service, sanitation, and linen exchange.
- Increases in commissary sales, especially food items and other items that might indicate a rise in the manufacture of contraband alcohol, loss of particular institutional services, or inmate plans to demonstrate dissatisfaction.
- Reduction in the number of inmates who attend meals, increase in pilfering of kitchen utensils, and increase in food waste, signifying food quality deterioration and inmate dissatisfaction and disgruntlement.
- Increase in sick call attendance, medical "lay-ins," and dispensing of medication.
- Expressions of dissatisfaction with and increases in requests for jobs and programs, changes in job and program assignments, and changes in cell assignments.

- Increase in requests for protective custody.
- Increase in the introduction of contraband — both drugs and weapons.
- Increases in external complaints from family members, humanitarian agencies, and the media.
- Increase in the number of unassigned inmates and inmates waiting to be assigned to a specifically requested job or training program.

The areas mentioned above provide a starting point in scanning the institution for indications that crowding is having a negative effect. The first step is recognizing where to look. Equally important is knowing how to collect the desired information in a manner that is useful to making decisions. Three factors are critical to the success of this type of an approach: (1) systematic collection of indicators, (2) regularly collected data at predetermined and frequent intervals, and (3) the use of quantifiable and objective indicators to measure changes in the institution's environment.

Once collected, the information must be reported in an understandable and useful way for both institutional and agency managers. The use of microcomputers and appropriate database software can assist in the organization of the data and the generation of comparative reports. The greater the extent to which reports can be easily understood by the public and elected officials, the greater the likelihood that the institution's concerns will be translated into additional resources for coping with crowding and its consequences. Documentation of changes in the institution can also be helpful in attaining a court's understanding of the situation which an administrator is attempting to manage.

The information is even more valuable as a guide to the administrator in developing strategies to manage increasing numbers. For example, if one sees that while inmate numbers are increasing, food waste is multiplying, fewer meals are being served, yet commissary food sales are rising, one might conclude that the institutional food has deteriorated in quality and that more inmates are taking commissary food to their cells to share with a rising roach population. If this conclusion can be substantiated by survey, then one might choose to upgrade food service preparation and selection of foods, anticipating less waste, better meal attendance, less food in cells and fewer roaches. The benefits are healthier and less disgruntled inmates living in more sanitary conditions. This scenario is somewhat simplistic, but still demonstrative of the way empirical data may be employed to lay strategies for improvement of operations. If monitoring is systematic, thorough, and targeted toward problem-solving and planning, crowding consequences can be ameliorated in addition to other general benefits.

RESOURCE ALLOCATION

Good management of crowded prisons entails making the best use of all available resources. Even under the best of conditions, prison administrators are better served by using their resources to the fullest; doing so often necessitates reallocation. For purposes of discussion, reallocation of correctional resources have been organized into two categories: (1) staff resources; and (2) other resources (including programs, services, and operations).

Reallocating Staff

Staff may be reallocated in terms of the time they are scheduled and/or according to the area/ function of the institution to which they are assigned. Both approaches have enabled crowded prison managers to place staff when and where they are most needed. At the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, crowding in the inmate dormitories made completion of the 4:00 P.M. count within normal time limits more difficult, frequently delaying the departure of the day shift officers. In an attempt to expedite the process, the day shift's hours were advanced by 30 minutes so that they worked from 8:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M., which provided a 30 minute overlap with the evening shift, who worked from 4:00 P.M. to 12:00 A.M. This change doubled the staff coverage in each housing unit and resulted in the count being completed in a shorter time with fewer disruptions.

Staff can also be reassigned permanently or temporarily to improve their utilization. At the Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville, vocational training positions were converted to correctional officer positions to increase supervision in areas of the institution where more inmates were participating in programs and activities. A concurrent reduced demand for vocational training services provided management with the opportunity to make this adjustment. Staff are also routinely loaned interdepartmentally to meet immediate and pressing needs. One way to ensure a diversified pool of staff skills to meet such situations is to hire employees with a variety of skills.

Administrators also make adjustments by assigning staff to certain areas on particular days of the week when activity is high or demand is great. For example, at the Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville, an additional officer is assigned to the mail room on Monday to process the backlog of mail that has accumulated over the weekend. At Virginia's Nottoway Correctional Center, part-time employees are assigned to different departments depending on the need during a particular day or week. While this allocation of a limited resource has helped, the administration has yet to find a way of using existing staff to take inmate work crews outside the perimeter fence where there is a great deal of work for them to do. These needed additional staff positions have not been authorized. The demand for more direct supervision of inmates is also a concern at the Minnesota State Prison at Stillwater, where the administration has redeployed some of its officers from towers and reassigned them to posts within the institution to meet this requirement. The reallocation was possible because a perimeter intrusion system was added to the prison's wall thereby providing an equivalent level of security with fewer staff.

Another technique employed by crowded prison managers to make better use of their resources is the postponement of filling staff positions. In some instances, the funds accrued from such staff savings are shifted to purchase goods or services, rather than to fund positions in other institutional areas. For example, at the California Women's Facility, staff deliberately have postponed vacancies in order to save those funds for other than personal service items.

Another method of increasing manpower utilization to meet institutional needs is used at the California Women's Facility. Contracting with organized labor for skilled non-departmental employees has provided the institution with inmate work crew supervisors who have specialized skills useful in maintaining the facility. This inmate day labor work program has proved extremely

worthwhile. The inmates are productively occupied, the institution is well-maintained, and the cost is less than what would be realized if full-time department employees were hired. These examples are but a few of the ways that managers have reallocated staff resources to meet the specific needs of their environments.

Program, Service, and Operational Reallocations

Almost limitless possibilities exist for reallocating program, service, and operational resources. In many cases an increase in existing programs or services is necessary, while in other instances reductions in one area and increases in another may be required. Those decisions are based on management's priorities for the institution. Examples of such resource allocations are presented below.

- At the Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville, the need for additional inmate jobs was a higher priority than maintaining vocational training opportunities. More inmates would benefit from newly created industry jobs than from a few specialized vocational training slots. As a result, the vocational training program was phased out and in the same space a new prison industry was introduced which employed many more inmates.
- Limited time and space for inmate activities forced Virginia's Nottoway Correctional Center to implement a round-robin rotational system to give all inmates equal access to program areas. In this system, inmates are assured frequent and regular access to the library, law library, and other activity areas, eliminating the need to jockey for a spot in a crowded space.
- The Maryland Women's Facility's high priority on productive work for inmates necessitated converting the chapel into an industry work area. Many more inmates were provided the opportunity for industry paying jobs while religious services are provided in a designated portion of the gym.

At some crowded prisons, gyms are closed as recreational areas; in others, their hours are extended. For example, at the California Women's Facility, the gymnasium was converted into a dormitory. Bed space was a higher priority than indoor recreation space. The southern California climate, conducive to outdoor recreation, permitted such a decision. At the Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville, where the weather year round is not as favorable for outdoor recreation as it is in southern California, the need to keep inmates occupied as much as possible led to a decision to make the gym (and the yard, weather permitting) available to inmates before breakfast to provide more time for jogging and other forms of exercise. No additional staff was required to expand the use of the gym and yard.

Operational efficiencies may also result in cost savings for the crowded prison, which can be applied to other areas of need. At many institutions centralized food purchasing lowers food costs. Additional savings in staff and dollars have been achieved at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility at Lucasville by obtaining food items from another state agency.

Other forms of operational efficiency are achieved when programs and activities are permitted to run uninterrupted. Pulling inmates away from work and training assignments for other services is an ongoing problem in most prisons and is particularly disrupting in crowded prisons. At the California Institution for Women this problem has been addressed through a policy decision to schedule programs and services at times other than regular inmate work hours. This practice permits inmates to earn good time credits for their work day, and reduces inmate movement and potential for disruptions. As a result, institutional resources — programs, services, and activities — are scheduled so that one does not benefit at the expense of another.

STAFF AND INMATE COMMUNICATIONS

The increase in prisoners, often coupled with limited resources, places more demands on the staff to meet the needs of the higher population. Communication of how the increasing demands will be met becomes all the more critical. Lack of effective communication can lead to frustration. Impatience within the system can cause discontentment, disenchantment and even disturbances. Keeping staff and inmates informed of the administration's concerns and plans for dealing with crowding becomes extremely important. Communication is a valuable means of ensuring stability and providing opportunity for feedback before implementation of specific programs. Administrators of crowded prisons cite a variety of relevant communication methods.

Communicating with Staff

Communications with staff are often conducted directly by the institutional head. At the Federal Correctional Institution in Danbury, for example, the warden's expectations are communicated frequently to staff during both formal meetings and daily during on-site visits with staff in various work areas of the institution. That same approach is practiced at the Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville, where senior staff are visible throughout the institution and available to answer staff's questions. At the Kansas State Prison, communication takes on an added dimension. Emphasis is placed on communication by example, rather than by being visible or by talking about events. The aim is to demonstrate how something should be done, rather than just talking about it in a general manner.

Written communications with staff beyond the regularly generated institutional memoranda are also seen as a valuable means of informing the staff. At the Minnesota State Prison in Stillwater, the warden sends memos to each employee when an unusual event transpires. By keeping staff informed, rumors are minimized and staff concerns are addressed. At the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury that same form of communication is supplemented by a recorded telephone message of any new or unusual incident. The warden records a message which staff can access by dialing an institutional telephone number. It is thought to be helpful in building staff cohesiveness and morale as well. The strain of working in a crowded prison setting can take its toll. Managers believe that such forms of communication are important ways to relieve some of that pressure.

Communicating with Inmates

Managers of crowded prisons place equal importance on communicating with inmates. Most of these institutions are both crowded and large, making communication difficult even under the best circumstances. Yet many administrators have developed ways of successfully communicating to all inmates exactly what to expect. In addition, that communication has provided the administration feedback regarding inmate concerns. This feedback is valuable in anticipating reactions and planning strategies. To facilitate such communication at the Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville, town meetings are held in the inmate housing units on a regular basis. At the Kansas State Prison, inmate organization meetings serve as a medium by which the administration gets feedback. To foster better communication with inmates, an effort is made toward non-threatening conversation. At Virginia's Nottoway Correctional Facility, the warden meets twice monthly with an elected inmate advisory committee. The entire meeting is videotaped and played back to all inmates through the institution's closed circuit television channel. Among items shared with the inmates are the institution's budget and the availability of funds to address inmate concerns. The same inmate committee meets twice a month without the warden or other staff present.

The degree to which inmates are involved in expressing their concerns is greatest at the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Norfolk. At this crowded prison elected inmate council representatives meet regularly with the superintendent. At other council meetings a staff representative takes notes for the administration. These meetings provide opportunities for sharing concerns and obtaining feedback from the inmates. As a result, staff report less need for inmate informants. Staff relate, "Inmates tell us everything; it's amazing. It makes it very easy to know what they are thinking." Communication with inmates is fostered by the open campus-like environment as well as by the unique traditions this special environment has maintained and cultivated over the last 50 years. Norfolk is not alone in its ability to make the environment work to management's advantage. Similar methods were found at Maryland's Correctional Institution for Women, the Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville, and Avon Park in Florida, to mention but a few other examples.

Face-to-face communications between inmates and senior staff can be accomplished by other methods as well. At the Minnesota State Prison at Stillwater, the warden meets every two weeks with each new group of inmates for 45 minutes to answer their questions and to emphasize the need for communication between staff and inmates. If an unusual incident occurs at the prison, the warden sends each inmate a memo regarding the incident to avoid needless reactions to rumors. Communication is enhanced further through inmate advisory groups in each housing unit, although staff report that this mechanism has not been as effective as it was originally envisioned because the inmates are selected by the unit staff and not by the inmates. Elected representatives of the inmates also meet with the superintendent and senior staff at the California Women's Facility. The administration relies on representatives of inmate organizations for feedback. Two inmates from each housing unit meet with the superintendent and top staff weekly to discuss inmate concerns and staff plans.

Communication with inmates is also an important part of the Oregon State Correctional Institution's approach to crowded prison management. It is based on a different assumption and consequently takes a different form. The assumption is that each inmate should have equal access

to staff and to information from staff. The idea is that if one or more inmates has better access to institutional information, they can use the information as a coercive weapon over other inmates. To avoid the appearance of bestowing preferential treatment, communications with inmates come from the staff immediately involved with the inmate or inmates. Top staff communicates with inmates through the chain-of-command. Like the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Norfolk, the Oregon State Correctional Institution does not rely on "snitches," but unlike Norfolk and other crowded prisons, senior staff do not meet with inmate groups or organizations, or attend their functions. This is intentional because they believe that to do so can be misinterpreted as bestowing a privileged status on some inmates, implying to other inmates that a few have a special "pipe line" to the top.

SPECIFIC APPROACHES FOR SPECIFIC AREAS

In the course of coping with crowding, managers have been inventive and creative in finding solutions to many problems. Following are specific approaches that prison officials have tried and found worth continuing in their institutions. Some may be inappropriate for particular institutions. What works in one setting may not work in another, but all are presented for the reader to assess and determine which are applicable. The approaches are organized and presented by institutional area or function.

Inmate Visiting

Modernize and air-condition visiting rooms to make visiting as comfortable and pleasant as possible. Expand visiting days from five to seven days per week and extend visiting hours to permit up to 15 visits per month.

Add visitor parking spaces to facilitate visitor access to the institution.

Expand the visiting area with an outdoor patio for use in mild weather, and expand the visiting room itself to accommodate anticipated increases in visitors.

Institute a family (sometimes called "conjugal") visiting program that is contingent upon positive institutional behavior.

Operate the visiting room for two shifts per day to keep pace with the demand for this program. Provide additional staff on a second shift for this purpose.

Have visitors wait in their cars if the visiting room and internal waiting areas are at capacity when they arrive to visit. Page them over a loud speaker as space becomes available.

Food Service

Create a pleasant eating environment by adding decorative plants as well as eye-pleasing displays of food on serving lines and at salad bars.

Shorten long lines of inmates waiting to get their food by directing ("snaking") lines away from inmates already eating their meals.

Contract for food service management to ensure that food service skills and food quality keep pace with increased demand.

Programs

Use furloughs as an incentive for positive behavior in the institution.

Provide an institutionally designed and installed cable TV system accessed from each cell so that movies can be shown without having to assemble large groups of inmates. The gym and other large areas can then be used for active recreation.

Allow inmates to earn one day off their sentences for each day they are not in segregation to help manage the population and reduce crowding in the long run. Award good time for program participation as an incentive for inmates to stay in programs and out of trouble.

Use a voluntary classification agreement system to involve inmates in programs which will expedite their movement to lower security institutions which tend to be less crowded.

Emphasize programs that involve the participation of volunteers. Train volunteers before permitting them direct contact with inmates.

Establish an ongoing inmate grievance program to reduce the likelihood of litigation.

Keep the law library open for inmates eight hours per day, seven days a week.

Install additional telephones and increase time for inmates to use them in housing units to provide a much used and appreciated service at little cost to the institution.

Open the gym and yard prior to breakfast for joggers and others to provide increased usage at no additional cost.

Continue education programs until late in the evening in order to meet inmate needs within limited program space. Spread classes throughout the day and evening. Allow self-improvement groups to meet into the evening because of similar demands on space during the day.

Housing

Add cubicles to crowded dorms to provide some privacy.

Add shower stalls for privacy and to reduce the likelihood that the shower heads will be destroyed.

Install ceiling fans to provide additional ventilation and acoustical tile to decrease noise levels.

Prohibit smoking in the sleeping areas of the housing units to reduce the feeling of stuffiness and crowdedness.

Make double-cell assignments based on placing smokers with smokers (non-smokers with non-smokers).

Have staff make cell assignments without inmate input and with a thorough knowledge of inmate personalities and inter-relationships. Do not allow race of an inmate to be a selection factor; and once inmates are assigned to a cell, make it difficult for them to manipulate the system to make a change.

Base housing assignments on job assignments.

Reassign inmates to separate housing units to break up potentially disruptive groups and to ensure tranquility.

Permit inmates to padlock their cells when they are absent to reduce the likelihood of their property being stolen. Staff should retain the master key.

Make double-celling decisions based on staff's judgment that the least violence will result. The race of the inmates should not be a consideration.

Increase staff supervision in dormitories during times when inmates are at work to reduce the theft of inmate property. Even items marked with the inmate's ID number are not immune, and must be watched closely.

Limit personal property stored in two-man cells to maximize room for the inmates and to minimize crowded and cluttered cell environment.

Institute unit management teams to enable staff to address inmate needs and problems more quickly and directly.

Institutional Environment

Enhance perimeter security to allow staff to maximize use of open internal areas and promote a more positive institutional climate. Brighter perimeter lighting and intrusion systems are helpful. Install an additional perimeter fence to serve the same purpose.

Redesign and redecorate internal areas to make the environment less institution-like and more conducive to constructive communication between staff and inmates.

Install central heating and air conditioning in program and activity areas to improve the institutional climate both literally and figuratively.

Inmate Movement

Conduct controlled inmate movement on a regular basis.

Institute a pass system for medical appointments.

Minimize unnecessary inmate movement.

Use a pass system to manage and regulate movement, and identify inmates by using color coded ID tags (denoting custody level) to be worn at all times.

Institute a controlled movement system to keep track of inmates' locations and to regulate access to housing units.

Laundry

Take the responsibility of transporting dirty laundry and clean clothes under direct staff supervision rather than have inmates move to and from the laundry with their clothes. Employ a strict accounting procedure to ensure that clothes sent for cleaning are returned, eliminating loss.

Work

Relate work assignments to cell house assignments.

Where jobs are scarce and double-celling is the rule, work cell mates on a staggered day-on, day-off schedule to permit these inmates more in-cell time by themselves.

Utilize a half-day work schedule to provide more inmates with some work. Control inmate movement carefully during the noon meal time to avoid doubling back to the housing unit or job area.

Renovate cell blocks to achieve smaller more manageable units and to provide more job opportunities for inmates. Outside contract employees, when trained, make good work supervisors on such assignments.

Institute a voluntary work program when job opportunities are limited.

Attempt to emulate working conditions outside the prison. Work crews should not be padded, particularly in prison industries.

Utilize a work incentive program to guide the scheduling of institutional activities in order to minimize disruption and maximize earning "good time". Other programs and activities may be scheduled for evenings and weekends.

Hire skilled laborers on a contractual basis to allow inmate work crew supervisors to complete key maintenance projects.

Report inmates as unassigned rather than placing them on assignments on which there is little or no work. Make work a privilege and a reward for good behavior. Where work assignments are limited, restrict inmates from them for 120 days after they are convicted of a major disciplinary infraction.

Develop a full-scale inmate work program, including prison industries operating two shifts and weekends if possible.

Make sure that every inmate work assignment includes a job description detailing expectations and regular evaluations of performance.

Health Services

Use blister packs to dispense medication to improve control.

Reduce the number of daily medication lines to the smallest number possible without reducing the level of treatment.

Conduct sick-call at 30-minute intervals each morning by staggering housing units in order to regulate the flow of inmates and reduce congestion in the medical area.

Have the institution's physician see patients and potential patients during the evening when more medical space is available for examinations.

Conduct sick-call seven days a week in an area accessible to the largest number of inmates.

Contract for physicians as the demand for health services increases.

Security

Assign officers full-time to inmate shake down and search crews.

When officers are not within the range of other officers' observation, have them wear body alarms and/or carry two-way radios.

Approximately twice a year, conduct a surprise total lock-down and search the entire institution - every cell and all personal property for contraband. Check personal property against a master list of allowable items and dispose of unauthorized or excess property.

Assign a shake down crew to concentrate on cell searches since regularly assigned housing unit officers do not have the time to conduct thorough cell searches.

Institute a urine testing program to deter drug usage; test 5 % of all inmates on a random basis each month.

Increase the number of daily shake downs and searches to the maximum possible.

Confront rule-breaking behavior immediately and constantly to avoid disruptions.

Commissary

Do not permit food and clothing items to be sent or brought into the institution. If these items are not contraband, make them available for purchase in the commissary. The introduction of contraband will be less likely and fewer staff will be needed to police property.

Open the commissary six days a week and on most days allow an unlimited amount of purchases. This system moves large numbers through the commissary line.

If there is a shortage of commissary space, eliminate the sale of food items that are more likely to cause pest control problems in the housing units.

Computerize commissary operations with optical scanners linked to an inventory ordering system and inmate accounts to expedite processing orders.

Operate the commissary with inmates who are monitored by staff.

Personnel

Hire additional staff as positions become available to keep pace with the demands of more inmates. Request reasonable numbers of staff based on thorough justification.

Train staff to cope with managing in a crowded setting. Ensure that staff attend all scheduled training.

Monitoring the Institution

Monitor key institutional factors such as inmate grievances, disciplinary reports, and serious incidents to anticipate future events.

Develop a systematic and objective reporting mechanism, monitored weekly with the assistance of a computer program, to keep staff attuned and alert to potential problems.

Maintenance

Implement a preventive maintenance program to ensure that the facility is maintained in spite of increased wear and tear.

Track work orders on a computer to expedite repairs and to schedule painting of the entire institution.

Computerize the preventive maintenance program to track and remedy traditional wear and tear on the facility.

Inmate Organizations

Establish a well-monitored inmate council to provide good communication and regular contact with all inmates.

Occupy inmates' time with supervised formal inmate activities, clubs, and group discussion programs.

Have inmate worker councils meet monthly with job supervisors to share concerns and make recommendations.

Special Needs Inmates

Consider double-celling inmates in segregation and protective custody to deter other inmates from being placed in these units.

Place protective custody inmates in administrative segregation units and provide them with the same level of programs and services as inmates in segregation status. Inmates not really needing protection will be less likely to request protective status.

Create a forensic unit to reduce the need for more segregation cell space and to provide much needed mental health services. As a result, fewer disciplinary reports may be written.

Require inmates assigned to segregation to send most of their personal property home. The policy serves as a deterrent and avoids having to find space to store the items.

Classification

Institute a classification system that promotes the movement of inmates to lower security institutions which are less crowded and transfers inmates who are creating problems to institutions with a more restricted operation.

Transfer minimum custody inmates who work outside the perimeter to a low security facility to free space inside the higher security crowded institution for higher custody inmates and to prevent outside inmate workers from coming back into the crowded institution with contraband.

Purchase and use word processing equipment to keep pace with larger numbers of reports and general paper work. Computerize as many other areas as possible.

Inmate Personal Appearance

Require all inmates, including those unassigned, to make their beds every day; do not permit street clothing and emphasize good grooming and neatness.

Mail Room

Expedite processing of money sent by mail to inmates by using the envelope, appropriately stamped, as the receipt form.

CONCLUSION

Several approaches to the management of crowded prisons have been presented. They vary in the emphasis placed on particular management elements, but universally they put great stock in communicating the organizational and individual values of the top managers. Managers of crowded institutions manage by communicating and reinforcing these values through their behavior. They exhibit the qualities of many successful leaders. They are confident of their own abilities and communicate to staff that they can be equally confident. They reach many of their objectives through resourcefulness and persistence. In the next section of the manual, the recommendations of managers of the crowded prisons will be considered.

Chapter Five

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM MANAGERS OF CROWDED PRISONS

Managers of crowded prisons ranked on a scale of 1 to 7 a series of approaches and strategies for managing crowded prisons (1 denoting a lesser degree of endorsement and 7 denoting the highest degree of endorsement). Those strategies that received the most favorable rankings are discussed in this portion of the manual. The recommended strategies fall into five general categories. They concern space, staff, security, communication, and programs. Table 7 provides a summary of those recommendations and their average rankings. A complete listing of the rankings is presented in Appendix E.

Table 7

Most Highly Recommended Strategies For Managing Crowded Prisons

Recommendations	Rank Average
Build New Institutions	5.86
Add Additional Beds	5.66
More Security Staff	5.53
Increase Prison Security	5.48
Renovate Bedspace	5.44
Communicate with Staff	5.32
More Attention to Sanitation	5.27
Communicate with Inmates	5.21
More Program Staff	5.19
More Recreational Time	5.18
More Inmate Activities	5.17
Double Bunk Inmates	5.12
Additional Staff Training	5.12
More Services Staff	5.03
Additional Services	5.00

Space

Managing crowded prisons can be made less difficult primarily by the activities in two main categories of effort: (1) creation of new space or (2) addition to existing space. Whether indicated by new institutions (5.86), additional bed space (5.66), or renovations to existing space (5.44), creating and/or adding space are the most highly recommended approaches to managing crowded prison populations. Managers also think that double-bunking (5.12) is an appropriate way to cope with crowding until more bed space or institutions can be added. The means by which administrators determine who will live with whom varies, and no one way appears to be more successful than any other. However, the rationale selected should be communicated clearly and applied consistently.

Deciding when to begin double-celling is not agreed upon universally. For example, some administrators recommend that a new institution that will have to be double-celled in the near future should be double-bunked as soon as it is opened. Others think that it is preferable to run the prison as a single-celled facility for as long as possible before going to double-celling. The advantages cited for using the former approach are that it avoids the upheaval of change and places all inmates in the same situation from the beginning—none having a more privileged status than others. The latter approach has the advantage of maximizing the amount of time inmates will occupy a single cell. The relative advantages of one approach over the other is best determined by the length of time the institution is likely to be operated as a single-celled facility. The longer that anticipated period of time, the more advantageous the latter approach becomes.

Anticipating future demands on prisons currently planned and in design can help ease future management of that facility. As much as administrators dislike the idea of having to operate crowded prisons, particularly new prisons, many recognize the reality of additional demands on the institution and its staff. Incorporating into the design many structural advantages is advised. Wider corridors, larger visiting rooms, higher capacity utility systems, and service and program cores that will sustain greater use are examples of ways to ease the burden for managers of prisons that will eventually be operated as crowded prisons.

Staff

Adding staff is clearly seen as an appropriate way to cope with more inmates. While security staff (5.53) are preferred over program (5.19) and service (5.03) staff, the relative differences are not large. Not only are additional staff recommended, but more training for all staff (5.12) is seen as important.

Inmate Activities

Keeping inmates productively occupied is a recurring recommendation of crowded prison managers. It is reflected in the high ranking they give to increasing inmate activities (5.17) and specifically to increasing recreation time (5.18).

Security

Throughout the comments of prison managers and their responses to questions is an emphasis on maintaining a high level of basic prison security. In their recommendations, they place major emphasis on increasing security (5.48).

Communications

The high priority that managers place on good communications with both staff and inmates is reinforced by their strong endorsement of increasing communication with staff (5.32) and inmates (5.21). Even though managers are communicating the best they know how, they recognize the need for finding new ways to upgrade and increase communications.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the information gathered in the course of this national study of crowded prisons, some major conclusions may be drawn. They are listed below but not necessarily in order of their importance.

Crowding is here to stay. It may not get worse, but it is not likely to diminish in the foreseeable future.

Crowding makes a difficult job more difficult, but not insurmountable.

A significant amount of constructive and creative prison management is occurring and much of it is taking place in crowded prisons.

Managing a crowded prison is not substantially different from managing a prison that is not crowded.

Good management is good management in whatever setting it is practiced.

Good managers make for good management.

How crowded prisons are managed is as important to their success as the programs and services provided.

Crowded prisons have an excess of inmates, a human resource which can be tapped effectively.

Crowded prisons run by managers with a commitment to sharing success will succeed.

A FINAL WORD

In the process of addressing the concerns of crowded prison managers, more questions may have been raised than answered. To assist the reader further, summaries of findings at each of the 11 prisons that were studied are included in Appendix F. A bibliography of sources for those interested in reading more on the management of crowded prisons is also provided.

CROWDED INSTITUTIONS

Name of Person Responding_____ Tele #_____ Agency_____

(1) Name of Crowded Institution	(2) Security Level of Inst.	(3) Rated Capacity of Inst.	(4) Number of Inmates in Inst.	(5) % of Inmates Doubled or More in Inst.	(6) % of Inst. with Less than 60 Sq. Ft.	(7) # of Acres within Inst. Perimeter	Do Not Write In This Space

Column 1 "Crowded" Institution = Does the institution have more inmates than desired, by some definition formulated by the agency? Do not confuse with "Overcrowded," which is a term used by a court according to an established standard. If you have no "crowded" institutions, indicate NONE and return the form.

Column 2 Security Level = Maximum, Medium, Minimum.

Column 3 Rated Capacity of the Institution = What is the number of beds in the institution when it conforms to your jurisdiction's standards, for example, 60 sq. ft. in open living area and single cells excluding use of program space for bedspace? The design capacity is not necessarily the same figure, especially with old and renovated institutions. The operating capacity is usually considered the number of beds you have. Rated capacity is derived from a formulated standard.

Column 4 Number Inmates in the Institution = What is the current count of inmates who occupy bedspace in the institution?

Column 5 % of Inmates Double-Celled or More = How many inmates occupy double, triple, etc. cells, and what percentage are they of the current count?

Column 6 % Inmates Housed in Less than 60 sq. ft. of Living Space = In open bay areas, like dormitories, how many inmates do not have 60 sq. ft. of living space? Estimates are acceptable.

Column 7 # Acres within Secure Institution Perimeter = How many acres are there within whatever has been marked off as the institution's perimeter? Do not include acreage outside that perimeter, e.g. farmland, state-owned land, etc., but do include acreage outside where inmates live, e.g. minimum security housing area, etc.

RETURN TO: CRIMINAL JUSTICE INSTITUTE, SPRING HILL WEST, SOUTH SALEM, NEW YORK **Questions? (914)-533-2000**

Appendix B

SURVEY OF CROWDED INSTITUTIONS

Your institution is one among 100 selected to be studied as part of a project funded by the Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections to develop management strategies for crowded institutions. We appreciate your responses to this survey. The data from the questionnaire will be pooled and reported in the aggregate. Neither your institution nor your agency will be identified or identifiable in our report to NIC, which will be available to you.

Please answer the questions as accurately as possible using the most currently available information and return the completed questionnaire by February 15, to the Criminal Justice Institute, Spring Hill West, South Salem, New York, 10590. If exact figures are not available, please estimate and label the response with an "E." If you have any questions, please call us at 914-533-2000.

AGENCY_____ INSTITUTION_____

NAME & TITLE_____ TELEPHONE_____

1. Year institution was opened _____

2 Year institution was first used as a prison _____

3 Original purpose of institution (check)
Prison ( )
Hospital ( )
Other _____ ( )

4. Year institution most recently expanded its housing capacity _____
and by how many beds? _____

5. Year institution most recently expanded its program/service space _____

6. Security level of institution (check as many as appropriate)
Maximum ( )
High/Close ( )
Medium ( )
Minimum ( )
Community ( )

7. Special offender institution (check) YES ( ) NO ( )
If "YES", what type? (check)
Medical or Psychiatric ( )
Protective Custody ( )
Admin. Segregation ( )
Geriatric ( )
Other _____ ( )

OMB No. 1005-0033 : Approval Expires December 31, 1988

8. Total number of staff authorized (FTE) _____

9 Total number of employees on board (FTE) _____

10. Number of correctional officers employed _____

11. Housing Units (complete as appropriate)

Type	# Cells	# Inmates Housed	# Inmates Living in less than 60 sq. ft.
• Inside Cell Block (single occupancy)			
• Inside Cell Block (doubled occupancy)			
• Outside Cell Block (single occupancy)			
• Outside Cell Block (doubled occupancy)			
• Pod Cell Block (single occupancy)			
• Pod Cell Block (doubled or more)			
• Dormitory (open)	XXXXXXX		
• Dorm (partition)	XXXXXXX		
• Squad rooms	XXXXXXX		
• Other: _____			

12. Management of facility (check as appropriate)

Traditional Security	( )
Decentralized Unit Management	( )
Operations/Programs Split	( )
Part of a multi-facility complex with a complex administrator	( )

13. Average age of inmates _____

14. Average number of prior convictions _____

15. Average length of sentence _____

16. Ethnicity of inmates (number)

Caucasian	_____
Black	_____
Hispanic	_____
Other	_____

17. Number inmates serving sentences for murder or manslaughter _____

18. Number of deaths and assaults at the facility

YEAR	HOMICIDES		SUICIDES		NATURAL	
	Inmate	Staff	Inmate	Staff	Inmate	Staff
1980						
1981						
1982						
1983						
1984						
1985						

19. Employees, Inmates and Escapes

YEAR	TOTAL EMPLOYEES	# INMATES (ADP)	ESCAPES	
			Attempt	Actual
1980				
1981				
1982				
1983				
1984				
1985				

20. Current assignments of inmates (number by category)

ASSIGNMENT	NUMBERS FULL-TIME	PART-TIME
Industry		
Farm		
Education		
Vocational Training		
Maintenance		
Unassigned (lock-up)		
Unassigned (pre-class)		
Unassigned (no assignment avail.)		

21. Year the current crowded situation began. _____

22. For each area or institutional function listed below, please give the appropriate frequency or number and indicate if it has increased (+) or decreased (-), or remained the same (o), if known, since crowding began.

AREA	PROCEDURE/OPERATION	FREQUENCY/ NUMBER	CHANGED/ DECREASE
Commissary:	Hours/week open	_____	_____
	Times/week inmates can go	_____	_____
	Staff (FTE)	_____	_____
Medical:	Sick call hours/week	_____	_____
	Ave. number of patients in hosp./infirmary	_____	_____
	Medical staff (FTE)	_____	_____
Maintenance:	Work orders initiated per month	_____	_____
	Ave. number of days to complete a work order	_____	_____
	Staff (FTE)	_____	_____
Recreation:	Hours/week gym is open	_____	_____
	Hours/week yard is open	_____	_____
	Staff (FTE	_____	_____
Food Service:	Hours/day dining area open for feeding	_____	_____
	Staff (FTE)	_____	_____

AREA	PROCEDURE/OPERATION	FREQUENCY/ NUMBER	CHANGED/ DECREASE
Religious:	Hours/week for services		
	Number of rel. groups		
	Staff (FTE)		
Security:	Counts/day		
	Cells/week searched		
	Staff (FTE)		
Industries:	Hours in work day		
	Inmates assigned		
	Staff (FTE)		
Voc. Training:	# training slots		
	Certificates awarded/yr		
	Staff (FTE)		
Education:	Courses offered		
	Class Rooms available		
	Instruction hour/week		
	Staff (FTE)		
Visiting:	# hours visiting room is open/week		
	Visits/month permitted		
	Approved visitors per inmate		
Mail:	# days/week delivered to inmates		
	# hours/week mail room is in operation		
	Mail Room staff (FTE)		
Counseling:	Requests/month		
	Contacts/month		
	Staff (FTE)		
Leisure Time Activities:	Number of official inmate organizations		

23. Hour at which general population inmates are locked in their cells for the night. _____ _____

24. Hour at which general population inmates are let out of their cells in the morning. _____ _____

25. How serious do you consider your current crowding situation? (Circle the appropriate number on the scale where 1 is the least serious and 7 is the most serious.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

26. Crowding can cause different problems in different prisons. For your prison, to what degree has crowding contributed to increases in, or made more difficult to manage the following issues? (Circle the appropriate number on the scale where 1 represents the smallest degree and 7, the largest for each item listed.)

	Smallest						Largest
Disciplinary Reports	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Assaults on Inmates	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Assaults on Staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Contraband (Drugs)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Contraband (Money)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Contraband (Weapons)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Grievances Filed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Law Suits Filed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Prison Sanitation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Equipment Breakdowns	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Group Disturbances	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Idleness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Staff Recruitment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Staff Turnover	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sick Leave	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Overtime	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Staff Absenteeism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Escapes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Attempted Escapes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Protective Custody	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Staff Training Time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Other: _____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Other: _____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

27. Was crowding a more serious problem in the past than it is currently? Yes_____ No_____
If "Yes," during what years was it most serious From _____ To_____

How serious was it? If "No", how serious now? (Circle the appropriate number.)

Not serious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Serious

If "Yes," (that is, crowding is not as serious now), what factors do you think have contributed to making the crowding situation less serious?

_____

_____

_____

What, in hindsight, did you not do that you could have done to improve the situation?

_____

_____

_____

28. Legal status of institution on crowding (check (x) as appropriate).

Court order in past, but not now	( )	Consent decree	( )
Court order currently in effect	( )	No litigation	( )
Litigation ongoing	( )		

Management Strategies, Techniques and Methods

29. On what factors or criteria do you generally base the determination that your institution is crowded? (e.g. above rated capacity, etc.)

1. _____

_____

2. _____

_____

3. _____

_____

30. We are interested in learning what approaches you have fund successful in managing your crowded prison. Please check ( ) the strategies listed below if you have used them and rate their effectiveness on the scale (where "1" is the least effective and "7" is the most effective.)

	Least Effective						Very Effective
_____ Change in policy to reflect population increase impact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Stepped up communication w/staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Stepped up communication w/inmates	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Increase attention to sanitation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Study staff turnover and follow recommendations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Conversion of program space to bed space	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

_____ Renovations to add beds	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Construction of new prison	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Additions to add beds	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Hiring additional security staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Hiring additional program staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Hiring additional service staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Reallocation of existing staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Request additional money commensurate with ADP increase	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Create busy work for inmates	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Add programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Reduce programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Expand services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Decrease services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Step up use of volunteers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Emergency release mechanism	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Step up good time/work credits for early release	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Step up classification movement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Create less stringent classification criteria	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Develop work release program	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Develop new mission for prison	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Conduct post study for redeployment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Double bunk	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Remove partitions in dorms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Introduce unit management	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Step up security measures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Keep track of increases in problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Chart changes in sick call/illnesses, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Step up maintenance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Provide more recreation time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Provide less recreation time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Add industries	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Reduce industries	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Reduce movement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Increase movement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Reduce inventory allowed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Increase inventory allowed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Reduce inmate activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Add inmate activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Reduce in-cell time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Add in-cell time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Increase staff training	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____ Reduce staff training	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix C

Crowded Prisons Responding to Survey

JURISDICTION	INSTITUTION
Alabama	Draper Correctional Institution
Alabama	Holman Prison
Alaska	Fairbanks Correctional Center
Arizona	Arizona State Prison
Arizona	Arizona State Prison Complex - Perryville
California	California Folsom Prison
California	California Correctional Institution
California	California Institution for Men
California	California Institiution for Women
Delaware	Delaware Correctional Institution
District of Columbia	Central Facility
Florida	Florida State Prison
Florida	Lawtey Correctional Institution
Florida	Union Correctional Institution
Florida	Brevard Correctional Institution
Florida	Avon Park Correctional Institution
Georgia	Coastal Correctional Institution
Idaho	Idaho State Correctional Institution
Indiana	Indiana Reformatory
Indiana	Indiana State Farm
Indiana	Westville Correctional Center
Kansas	Kansas Corrrectional Institution - Lansing
Kansas	Kansas State Industrial Reformatory
Kansas	Kansas State Penitentiary
Kentucky	Northpoint Training Center
Kentucky	Luther Luckett Correctional Complex
Louisiana	Louisiana State Penitentiary
Maine	Maine State Prison
Maryland	Maryland Correctional Institution - Jessup
Maryland	Maryland Correctional Center - Hagerstown
Maryland	Roxbury Correctional Institution
Maryland	Maryland Correctional Institute for Women
Massachusetts	MCI - Walpole
Massachusetts	MCI - Norfolk
Michigan	Michigan Reformatory
Michigan	Michigan Training Unit
Michigan	Muskegon Correctional Facility
Minnesota	Minnesota Correctional Facility - Stillwater
Mississippi	Mississippi State Penitentiary
Missouri	Algoa Correctional Center
Missouri	Missouri State Penitentiary
Missouri	Missouri Training Center for Men
Missouri	Central Missouri Correctional Center

JURISDICTION	INSTITUTION
Montana	Montana State Prison
Nebraska	Nebraska State Penitentiary
New Hampshire	New Hampshire State Prison
North Carolina	North Carolina Correctional Center for Women
North Carolina	Triangle Correctional Center
North Carolina	Piedmont Correctional Center
Ohio	Chillicothe Correctional Institution
Ohio	London Correctional Institution
Ohio	Marion Correctional Institution
Ohio	Ohio Reformatory for Women
Ohio	Ohio State Reformatory
Ohio	Orient Correctional Institution
Ohio	Southern Ohio Correctional Facility
Oklahoma	Howard C. McLeod Correctional Center
Oregon	Oregon State Penitentiary
Pennsylvania	SCI - Camp Hill
Pennsylvania	SCI - Graterford
Pennsylvania	RCF - Greensburg
Rhode Island	Medium Security Facility
Rhode Island	Minimum Security Facility
South Carolina	Kirkland Correctional Institution
South Carolina	Women's Correctional Center
South Dakota	South Dakota Penitentiary
Texas	Beto I Unit
Texas	Coffield Unit
Texas	Darrington Unit
Texas	Eastham
Texas	Ellis I Unit
Texas	Wynne Unit
Utah	Utah State Prison
Virginia	Buckingham Correctional Center
Virginia	Nottoway Correctional Center
Virginia	Virginia State Penitentiary
Virginia	Brunswick Correctional Center
Washington	Washington State Reformatory
West Virginia	West Virginia Penitentiary
West Virginia	Huttonsville Correctional Center
Wisconsin	Dodge Correctional Institution
Wisconsin	Green Bay Correctional Institution
Wisconsin	Waupun Correctional Institution
Wyoming	Wyoming State Penitentiary
Federal Bureau of Prisons	FCI - Ashland, Kentucky
Federal Bureau of Prisons	FCI - Danbury, Connecticut
Federal Bureau of Prisons	FCI - El Reno, Oklahoma
Federal Bureau of Prisons	FCI - Milan, Michigan
Federal Bureau of Prisons	FCI - Tallahassee, Florida
Federal Bureau of Prisons	FCI - Terminal Island, California

Appendix D

Table 5A
The Range in Rankings of Seriousness of Problems in Crowded Prisons

	Rankings							
Problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Avg.
Discipline Reports	1	6	6	14	23	23	14	5.03
Overtime	6	5	6	10	20	21	18	4.95
Contraband Drugs	3	6	4	18	25	15	16	4.89
Idleness	4	10	6	11	14	25	17	4.88
Protective Custody	6	10	4	12	20	18	18	4.77
Grievances Filed	2	8	10	16	19	17	14	4.73
Equipment Breakdown	4	8	12	16	15	19	13	4.59
Assaults on Inmates	3	10	7	16	23	15	11	4.58
Prison Sanitation	3	12	14	14	15	18	10	4.36
Suits Filed	4	13	10	20	16	12	11	4.29
Contraband Weapons	9	9	10	18	19	6	15	4.24
Staff Training Time	8	9	10	19	18	12	9	4.20
Contraband Money	8	10	8	26	19	6	9	4.06
Assaults on Staff	11	14	13	10	21	10	7	3.86
Sick Leave	11	14	10	22	16	9	4	3.70
Staff Turnover	14	17	17	13	13	7	5	3.40
Group Disturbances	20	15	13	12	12	8	5	3.29
Staff Recruitment	24	13	14	14	10	5	6	3.13
Attempts to Escape	30	21	9	13	6	4	3	2.62
Escapes	36	14	11	12	8	3	2	2.52

Appendix E

Table 7A
Most Highly Recommended Strategies for Managing Crowded Prisons

	Rankings							
Recommendations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Avg.
Build New Institutions	2	1		2	4	12	17	5.86
Add Additional Beds			1	9	8	9	15	5.66
More Security Staff	1	1		8	19	24	13	5.53
Increase Prison Security		2		11	19	19	15	5.48
Renovate Bed Space	1	3	2	7	12	16	17	5.44
Communicate with Staff		1	5	7	23	20	11	5.32
More Sanitation		1	3	16	18	20	12	5.27
Communicate with Inm.	2	2	2	9	19	23	9	5.21
More Program Staff	1	1	1	16	19	20	9	5.19
More Recreation Time	2	1	4	6	16	17	9	5.18
More Inmate Activities	1	1	2	10	18	17	7	5.17
Double Bunk Inmates	3	6	5	7	11	19	14	5.12
Additional Staff Training	3		2	11	22	21	7	5.12
More ServicesStaff	2	1	3	10	18	15	7	5.03
Additional Services	1	2	2	10	18	18	3	5.00

Appendix F

Summaries of Crowded Institutions Studied in 1986

California Institution for Women - Corona, California
Avon Park Correctional Institution - Avon Park, Florida
Kansas State Prison - Lansing, Kansas
Maryland Correctional Institution for Women - Jessup, Maryland
Massachusetts Correctional Institution - Norfolk, Massachusetts
Minnesota Correctional Facility - Stillwater, Minnesota
Southern Ohio Correctional Facility - Lucasville, Ohio
Oregon State Correctional Institution - Salem, Oregon
Nottoway Correctional Center - Burkeville, Virginia
Federal Correctional Institution - Danbury, Connecticut
Federal Correctional Institution - Otisville, New York

CALIFORNIA INSTITUTION FOR WOMEN
CORONA, CALIFORNIA

Nearly 2,100 women are assigned to a facility that was designed to hold approximately 900 women. Nearly all of the one-woman cell/rooms are double-bunked, and many program areas have been converted into housing units. Most of the day room space in the housing units now hold double-bunked beds, and the gymnasium/auditorium has been converted into a housing unit as well. Inmates are assigned wherever empty beds are available.

The institution is operated under a work incentive program based on recently passed legislation. This program provides for a one day reduction in sentence for every day that an inmate is involved in programming - whether work, education, training or a combination of them. Everyone who wants to work has a job. Because of the high priority placed on program involvement, there is no visiting during the regular work day, nor is there access to the inmate canteen, to the yard, or to other programs, including caseworkers. This practice has necessitated re-scheduling many activities to evenings and weekends.

Indoor recreation has been curtailed because 120 women live in the gym. Were it not for the mild southern California weather, this lack of indoor recreation might have created severe consequences.

The administration's communication with the inmate population is facilitated through the inmate organization which represents the inmate population. Two inmates represent each cottage, and five of the inmate representatives meet with the administration weekly to review the quality of life at the institution. An inmate secretary compiles the minutes, which are then reviewed and approved by the staff.

Communication with people outside the institution is handled in a more traditional way. Visiting and correspondence lists are maintained by the staff. Visitors and correspondents are approved by the staff prior to contact with the inmates. Each potential visitor's criminal history and arrest record is checked. Access to telephones is provided by the staff in the housing units. Each inmate must sign up with an officer, after which the call is monitored by the officer in the unit. This monitoring process has greatly taxed the housing unit staff.

Crowding has necessitated changes in movement procedures within the cottages and between the cottages. It is now based on controlled half-hour movement within the units and between the units. Room doors and unit doors are locked at all other times.

Staff vacancies are not immediately filled and accrued savings are diverted to other areas to make up for shortages. The canteen operation has been greatly taxed. Three state employees along with several inmates run the canteen. The waiting lines are extremely long, even though the canteen is kept open for longer hours than in the past. Inmates may purchase items totalling up to $140 per month and are scheduled for a specific purchase day each month, but they are also allowed to purchase on Saturdays. In addition, a mini-canteen has been opened on the yard which is staffed by inmates and at which inmates use "scrip" to purchase items.

Work orders are received by Maintenance at a rate of 100 to 500 per week. The highest priority items get attention and the rest are deferred. The ventilation system is taxed to its limit and has difficulty pulling fresh air through the system. The use of plastic trash bags has been reduced dramatically and the staff hopes to eliminate them all together in order to minimize disruption to the sewer system.

One management tool that has been effective in keeping up with the maintenance work has been the inmate day labor program. This program provides for non-departmental employees who are union affiliated to manage inmate work crews on specific minor repairs. Such work has included the curb and gutter program and the re-tiling of showers in the housing units. These work crews are able to get the job done more quickly and less expensively than with an outside contractor.

Security within the institution has been enhanced through the addition of lighting at the canteen area where several assaults have occurred in the past. Perimeter security is provided by four towers and fence. Because the crowded conditions have produced varying levels of custody and necessitate higher security for the few inmates in maximum custody, a second perimeter fence will be added shortly. Were it not for increases in staff, the administration believes that they might have encountered even greater difficulty in managing the facility. The introduction and use of drugs within the institution constitutes a major problem. Pat searches of inmates are conducted only if staff have probable cause. Positive incentive for good behavior is provided through a family visiting program.

As the institution has become more crowded, it has become more custody oriented and less program oriented. Operating the institution with two inmates per cell has necessitated many cell changes even though convenience moves have been eliminated. Six cubic feet of property per inmate are permitted. Staff admit that it has been difficult to monitor and enforce this rule.

To accommodate the increasing number of inmates who have visits, visits are now provided five days a week using two shifts. The same visitor can visit only once per week. There is no visiting during the inmates' working hours.

Program administrators report to the associate wardens and are responsible for the management of the program units. Two of the program units have approximately 750 inmates and the remaining program unit has 500. Housing unit officers report to a sergeant who reports to a lieutenant. The lieutenant is accountable to the program administrator. The caseworkers also report to the program administrator. The program administrators are also responsible for inmate discipline and classification of inmates. Currently under study is the possibility of having counselors work evenings and some weekends in order to increase their contact with inmates.

The institution is unique in many respects beyond the severe crowding. There appears to be no gang activity, although many of the women had been gang members or closely affiliated with street gangs prior to admission. There appear to be no serious long-term enemy situations, and the women seem to work out differences they have with other prisoners fairly quickly. In spite of these positive findings, the number of fights and assaults with weapons has increased.

AVON PARK CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION
AVON PARK, FLORIDA

Avon Park is located in an isolated area of South Central Florida. The institution was originally constructed in 1940 as a series of military barracks. After the war it was used briefly as a Federal prison facility. It was turned over to the state in 1957, under conditions which included using the facility for educational and training purposes, therefore, the state of Florida has a mandate to provide those services in the institution.

Originally there were approximately 700 inmates assigned to the medium/minimum security area of the prison. In 1978, however, a close custody section was added, providing outside cells for another 550 inmates. The capacity of the facility is now established by court order at 1,245. Approximately 40 percent of the inmates are close custody, 35 percent medium, and 26 percent minimum. Two thirds of the inmates are Caucasian, 32 percent black, and one percent of other ethnic backgrounds. Twenty-nine percent of the inmate population are sex offenders.

In the medium/minimum security area, the inmates live in small open barracks, each housing approximately 25. In the close security area, inmates are assigned two to a cell that was designed to hold one person.

The physical layout of the facility still resembles a small military base. The barracks are scattered around a compound clustered with trees and shrubs.

The administration and its 330 employees pride themselves on their positive and frequent interaction with the inmates. Observing this interaction and assessing the correctional environment, one concludes that it is very relaxed. The institution is characterized by an extremely low turnover rate for its staff, many of whom have been there for more than 15 years. Staff rely heavily on their interpersonal skills to maintain order and control, and relatively little reliance is placed on authoritarian types of control. The perimeter fence, however, is patrolled by armed vehicles, although there are no towers.

One factor noted as helpful in managing the institution was the accreditation process offered through the Commission on Accreditation of Corrections. It assisted them in the development of their policies and procedures and in gaining additional funds from the legislature because it called attention to several critical problems within the facility.

The administration also believes that their relative isolation from the rest of the Department has helped them maintain the original relaxed atmosphere of the institution, while other facilities in the department have become more structured and regimented. Inmates in the medium and minimum security sections are never locked into their barracks, although they are restricted to them after 10 P.M. Even though the barracks are old and lacking in modern accoutrements, they appear to be preferred by the inmates to the more modern, institutional housing units in other prisons. The relaxed atmosphere carries over into the close security unit, where assaults and other disciplinary problems are reported to be very infrequent.

The institution's first warden was Louie Wainwright, the Department's Secretary at the time of this study. As Secretary, he evidently retained a very strong interest in the facility and in maintaining its relaxed atmosphere and more informal management style.

One major problem still remains — inmate idleness. Although every inmate is assigned to a job, there are many jobs that take less than a full day to complete. An exception is the prison industry which is operated by PRIDE, a contractor, and employs between 80 and 90 inmates. Industrial positions represent the only jobs paying inmates within the institution except for those in inmate commissaries.

A pass system has been added to assist in controlling movement, and all inmates wear color coded ID tags to designate their custody levels.

Visiting occurs only on Saturday and Sunday and is based on an approved visiting list consisting of family, girlfriend or wife. Correspondence is unlimited, except for restrictions on writing to an inmate in another institution. No furloughs are allowed. Inmates may receive three packages a year, including a Christmas package.

Unique to Avon Park is the manner in which the staff manages the commissaries. At Avon Park, one inmate is in charge of each of the seven canteens, the four coffee shops and two coke rooms. Sales each month from these stores range between fifty and sixty thousand dollars. The inmates are responsible for the inventory and funds received, both of which are reconciled by the staff each month. The inmate signs an agreement to pay for any shortage over $25, and if the shortage exceeds $100, he loses the job as well. The salary is a bonus of $25 to be earned per month if there is no shortage in the canteen, and $15 a month if there is no shortage in the coffee shop. All sales are cash. Inmates may have up to $20 a week to spend and may have up to $25 in cash on their persons. The inmates who manage the canteens each maintain $250 for making change for inmate purchasers. Staff indicates that the system runs very well, and loss of money or inventory is negligible.

The administration is very selective in hiring staff and deliberately looks for people who can work well with others without resorting to authoritarian measures. The staff appear to take pride in their work and believe that working at Avon Park is a definite advantage in their careers. Annual turnover of staff averages two percent.

A high premium is placed on staff training. All new employees receive 40 hours of orientation at the institution. All new correctional officers are then sent to the department-wide training facilities for an additional 320 hours of training. Every year thereafter each employee receives 40 hours of in-service training.

Avon Park is considered to be crowded because (1) there is not enough work for all inmates and (2) in the close security area there are two men assigned to one-man cells. The addition of large exhaust fans at the ends of the dorms and the cell blocks has permitted housing more inmates there than they normally would have. The physical resources of the facility have been taxed and keeping up with maintenance work has been a major, time-consuming effort. Staff believe that it is short

sighted to repair and replace equipment with other than the best possible items available and therefore have put quality ahead of other concerns. The fact that the facility really functions as two institutions has eased its operation. There are two kitchens, chapels and other activities' areas, lessening the burden placed on any one particular area.

Personal property is kept to a minimum. Inmate activities are encouraged, and there are special therapy programs for sex offenders. There are two GAVA clubs, two JC groups, two AA groups, a Vietnam discussion group and many religious groups. These organizations meet regularly and provide a significant portion of the programming in the institution.

KANSAS STATE PRISON
LANSING, KANSAS

The original Kansas State Prison was constructed in 1861 and first occupied in 1864. In 1986, its design capacity was 1,490. Prisoners are housed in three distinct areas of the institution, including a maximum security unit which is the oldest of the areas, a new medium security unit, and a somewhat older minimum security unit. As the new areas have come on line, the capacity of the institution has increased. Although in 1978-79 there were only 800 inmates in the entire complex, there are now nearly 2,200 inmates. Crowding is most apparent in the older maximum security area of the complex. Six men live in four-man cells and two men are assigned to cells originally designed for one. The institution is operated on a unit-team concept in which unit team managers run each of the housing units and are responsible for the care and discipline of the inmates living in them.

The cell blocks have undergone extensive renovations over the past two years. New locking systems have been installed or are being installed and the cell blocks themselves have been floored over and divided vertically as well. These design changes have improved the management of those units, although they still remain crowded. All of the renovation done in the cell blocks has been accomplished with inmate labor, supervised by contract employees. Using inmate labor has helped the institution employ more inmates. Three hundred inmates are unassigned because no jobs are available, and another 690 inmates are without work because they are locked up in either protective custody or administrative segregation or some other form of detention. This rather high number of unassigned inmates is due in part to the policy of the institution not to pad work details just for the sake of saying an inmate is assigned a job. The 300 inmates who are without jobs because none are available do not remain unemployed for more than approximately five weeks.

While there is a lack of work within the maximum security unit of the institution, the minimum security unit which now has 400 beds, needs more inmates to work on the farm and other outside jobs. As a result, a major effort is continually underway to reclassify inmates into security levels that will permit them to be assigned to that unit.

Violence levels at the penitentiary are extremely low. The last inmate murder was in October of 1983, and assaults on inmates average less than 20 per year for the last five years. Similarly, assaults on staff have averaged approximately 7 per year over that same period of time. Escapes have been reduced dramatically. For several years prior to 1982, they averaged 13 per year. Over the last three years they have averaged 4 per year.

Crowding has produced many strains on programs and staff, including difficulties in feeding protective custody inmates in the main dining room and juggling schedules to ensure that everyone, including protective custody inmates, recreate each day. The 279 inmates in protective custody are divided into five categories of protective custody. They all live two to a cell - an arrangement that the institution prefers over single-celling protective custody inmates. This number has remained relatively constant since the population reached 1,000.

The philosophy that is used to run the institution is predominated by a very positive outlook on life and a sincere belief in people - both staff and inmates. Staff show a great deal of pride in their work and there appears to be a genuine sense of camaraderie between staff members. In addition, relationships between staff and inmates appear to be very positive. Their practice is to show genuine concern for inmate problems and to address them immediately.

The institution restricts from work for a period of 120 days those inmates who have been convicted of serious disciplinaries. Exceptions may be made if the inmate was participating in an academic or vocational training program and the infraction did not occur in those areas. That practice, along with not assigning another 300 inmates, has allowed the institution to provide productive work for those who are assigned to jobs. In their opinion, it also helps motivate inmates to behave positively so that they will not lose their jobs.

The minimum security unit holds 228 inmates, dormitory style, and will be expanded to 400 to provide room for more inmates. The medium security unit has three units, all single-celled, each with approximately 95 beds. A fourth housing unit is designed as a dormitory for medium security inmates but currently holds 96 minimum security inmates due to a shortage of bedspace in the minimum security unit.

Staff agrees that, prior to 1981, inmates and their clubs and organizations had too much influence in the prison. Those groups are now under tighter control of the staff. There are ten different inmate organizations, not including religious groups, and one officer is assigned to each club.

Some of the practices and procedures that have been helpful in the management of the institution include:

1. Emphasizing training for correctional officers.
2. Stopping all unnecessary inmate movement, and
3. Using shake down crews to search exclusively during their tour.

These practices are combined with an attitude that staff are not present to threaten inmates, but to communicate with them, and that staff are to be visible in the institution and available to other staff and inmates. Current practices enhance access of inmates and staff to other staff, and have produced more cooperation among them. In addition, all staff carry two-way radios or wear body alarms.

One interesting procedure pertains to accountability of inmate and institutional clothing. All institutional clothing that leaves the housing unit for the laundry is counted before it leaves the cell block and when it arrives at the laundry. The process is repeated when clean clothing leaves the laundry and returns to the cell block. As a result, very little clothing is lost, and both costs and complaints are reduced. This practice also eliminates inmates' going to a clothing exchange area since the clothes and linens are returned to them.

Regarding personal property, no packages from the outside are permitted except at Christmas (and this practice may be eliminated). Personal items are supplied in the commissary. In addition, inmates are not permitted to wear civilian clothing, and an emphasis is placed on good grooming and neatness.

Regarding commissary, inmates are permitted to spend up to $30 per week, and vendors are surveyed continually to keep prices as low as possible. A maximum mark-up of 10 percent is permitted.

Training emphasizes reinforcement of positive behavior in staff rather than pointing out only errors and faults. Problems are corrected in a positive manner. Staff believe that this attitude carries over to inmate management and that if time is given to individual inmate problems, the institutional problems will be reduced.

The philosophy that is used to manage the institution has been described by one staff person as being a system of "natural consequences." In such a system, people are held accountable for their actions. A system of rewards and punishments are established and the administrators manage the prison to avoid abuses in the application of those rewards and punishments. Inmates are assured that due process and an appeals system are operating fairly.

Regarding inmate organizations, there is no inmate council. There are ten organizations, or clubs. There is a benefit fund council, the membership of which changes each year and is selected by the unit teams based upon written guidelines. Inmates can belong to one or more of these clubs even though they are not working and, in fact, some 900 inmates belong. Clubs meet weekly, and may also have two meetings a week which are limited to fifteen members for instruction. The administration firmly believes that the these clubs are an excellent means of getting feedback from the inmates. Correctional counselors serve as club sponsors but do not sit in on the meetings. Staff review copies of the minutes of the meetings, and inmates may say what they want without the threat of retaliation.

Inmates have access to 40 telephones on the yard as well as to telephones in the cell houses. Phones in the cell houses are not directly accessible but may be used once or twice a week. There are no approved visitors or correspondence lists.

To expedite the processing of money received in the mail, the envelope in which it was received is stamped and becomes the inmates' receipt.

Inmates are assigned to housing units based on their work status. This practice has reduced the amount of property that is stolen among inmates. A great many cell changes are made within the units to maintain compatible relationships between the inmates. Moves are made to break up inmate power bases that may develop.

All new correctional officers are given five weeks of pre-service training at the institution. Scheduling of staff for in-service training programs receives a high priority. The training program stresses team building and support for staff. This support is translated into concern for their work satisfaction, and rewards for a job well done.

In summary, in spite of the crowding in the housing units and in spite of the fact that nearly 1,000 inmates out the 2,200 are without work, staff remain positive and optimistic about their work and their ability to run the institution.

MARYLAND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION FOR WOMEN
JESSUP, MARYLAND

The facility was originally opened in 1940 as the Women's Prison for Maryland. The four brick cottages that surround the courtyard initially housed a total of 185 women in single occupancy rooms on two floors of several cottages. Each building has a basement used for dayroom activities. In 1986, there were 405 women at the facility. Additional beds were accomplished through double-celling. A new cell block will be opened which will house approximately 200 women in single cells.

The facility is surrounded by a double fence with razor wire and four towers - one of which is currently staffed, but all of which will be staffed soon. With the opening of the new housing unit, all women will be single-celled. The institution operates in open campus-type fashion and relies on the perimeter fence for its security. There have been no escapes in the last two years and only one attempt has been made.

To improve the operation of the institution, the chapel was converted into an industrial work area and the religious services are now conducted in a portion of the gymnasium. This move has been successful since all women are assigned to industries, maintenance jobs, or to jobs outside the prison. Awarding good time is used as a management tool for non-industry workers and industry workers. Prisoners can earn an additional five days per month off their sentences if they are attending either vocational school or training classes. They may also earn .85 cents per day. Inmates who are assigned to the kitchen on a one-half day basis get paid for a full day's work and go to school one-half day, thereby earning both the five extra days per month off their sentence and anywhere from .85 cents to $1.25 per day. Industries' highest pay is $60 a month plus five days per month of good time.

Crowding has reduced the space for other activities. For example, shelf space in the Commissary has been reduced, resulting in a cutback in the number of items available for consumption . Most of these items are foodstuffs which the staff thought responsible for rodent and pest control problems. By eliminating, or at least minimizing them, sanitation has improved and the use of hot plates in the units has been reduced.

A third strategy employed by the institution is to double-cell inmates assigned to disciplinary and administrative segregation. This strategy frees up more single cells for women who have maintained good behavior.

While the institution has been crowded for quite some time, the consequences have not been as severe at this facility as one might have expected. The open, relatively free internal movement has reduced some of the pressures caused by crowding. The introduction of drugs and other contraband to the institution is not reported as a problem. Staff cite homosexual behavior as being the most troublesome issue with which they have to cope.

MASSACHUSETTS CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION
NORFOLK, MASSACHUSETTS

Norfolk, a medium security institution with a walled perimeter and armed towers, was opened in 1931 and now contains 1,150 inmates. The physical design reflects the intent of its original designers and administrators. It was meant to create a community similar to that of a small New England town in which inmates would live and work. More than 50 years later, this concept remains the major focus of the institution. While other institutions within the Department of Corrections have changed and developed in different ways, Norfolk has remained as its original framers intended.

The institution was originally designed to house approximately 800 inmates. However, the population has remained at approximately 1,150 for the last several years. Program space in the housing units has been converted into inmate living areas and two additional modular units have been added at the end of the campus to accommodate another 100 inmates. Staff indicates this design allows a more relaxed and open movement within the institution proper. The inmates reside in cottage-like living units with prepared food being transported to the units from the kitchen and then served in the unit dining area.

Crowding has had a significant impact on operations. The most important change involves the development and implementation of the Climate Control Program. In March of 1984, each institution in the Department was mandated to establish a Climate Control Program. It consists of a series of reports that are used to monitor the climate of the institution and from which operational procedures are changed. The system became fully operational in March of 1985. The reports are entered into a microcomputer. It now serves as a weekly monitoring mechanism for the entire institution. A commonly heard phrase is, "Have you monitored the climate?" or, "What's the climate like today?" Without its application, staff believe they would be at a loss to stay on top of events and to take preventative action to ward off violence or disruption within the institution.

The Climate Control Program is based on information compiled from six weekly reports. They include reports from the unit teams, an intelligence report, a council meeting monitoring report, a review of disciplinary reports, a review of incident reports, and a canteen report. Each of these reports is submitted on a standard form and most of the information is quantified. The information from these reports is submitted to the operations committee which meets weekly, usually for an hour and a half, during which time the reports are evaluated, recommendations are made to the superintendent, and referrals are made for action on items that need immediate attention. The committee has available to it data for the previous six months from each of these six areas and is able to evaluate current data along this trend line. Comparative analysis is a key factor in their evaluation.

From the information which is stored in the microcomputer, inmates are identified as being "problematic" by their unit teams during the course of the week. Usually ten to twelve inmates are identified throughout the institution. Other names are developed from information gathered by the Inner Perimeter Security (IPS) unit.

If an inmate is identified as "problematic" three or more times, an operations committee places the individual on a disruptive inmate category list. Approximately 40 out of 1,200 inmates in the institution are on that list. The listed inmates are also monitored by the IPS unit. That unit submits a weekly sheet on each disruptive inmate based upon information gathered from their visits, inmate behavior in their units, money transactions at the canteen, and any unusual activities.

A second major program which has developed recently is the unit management system. There are seven teams, with each team accountable for approximately 160 inmates who live in three housing units. The teams are responsible for all disciplinary actions, classification, and transfers of inmates within the units. The teams are directed by a unit supervisor and assisted by a unit sergeant, nine correctional officers, two correctional counselors, and a liaison from the perimeter security team.

The success of this system in managing the institution is attributable to the classification of inmates properly to the lowest security level possible, and to holding out realistic rewards for positive behavior. The ability to address inmate problems immediately through the Climate Control Monitoring Program and the transfer of inmates to other institutions has been a considerable help as well.

Staff note that their recruitment and selection capability has allowed them to hire and retain good staff. The relaxed atmosphere inside Norfolk is also pointed to as a significant contributor to their ability to manage as well as they have. The open campus-like atmosphere places more demand on staff to communicate and negotiate with inmates rather than to rely on force or authority to maintain control. In spite of these positive factors, idleness remains a major problem. While all inmates are assigned to a job, very few actually work a full day. While 975 inmates are assigned to paid jobs, only 300 actually work six hours a day or more. Of those 300 inmates, 180 are assigned to prison industries.

The situation at Norfolk could be a great deal more severe, except that Department policy insures that all new commitments are received at one institution and then transferred to Norfolk or other facilities. As a result, crowding is kept within manageable limits at Norfolk, but the Reception Center at Concord, which has no cap on its population, is severely overcrowded. This procedure may have practical application to other systems where crowding is limited to one or perhaps two institutions thereby permitting the other facilities to operate closer to normal.

Since the Department is not as crowded in the lower security levels, there is opportunity and room to move inmates through the system into those levels. This situation provides many of the inmates with an incentive to keep clear conduct records in order to be moved as quickly as possible and eventually released. To take advantage of these circumstances, the institution reviews all inmates with three years or less to serve on their sentences every 90 days. Other inmates are reviewed for possible transfers at least every six months. As part of this process, Norfolk utilizes what they term a "classification agreement system." Others have referred to it as "contract classification." The system involves a signed agreement between the inmate and the Department which states that if the inmate participates in and completes program assignments then transfers to a less secure institution will occur on a specific date. Participation is voluntary but most inmates opt for it.

One of the many unique aspects of Norfolk is its inmate council, which is a major part of the institution's operation. The council is headed by two mayors, elected at large by the inmate population. One is a member of a minority and the other is always a member of a non-minority group. Each is elected at six-month intervals. The remaining members of the council are elected from each housing unit. The council has a constitution and bylaws and a variety of committees are designated. They include food service, medical service, classification, disciplinary, a lifer's committee, a Spanish rights committee, and an Afro-American coalition association. The constitution and bylaws mandate meetings, picnics, and monthly meetings of the executive board. The staff at the institution believe that the council and its committees form a very valuable grouping and serve the administration well because they enable the institution to become aware of inmate concerns. There is less reliance on informants since issues surface through the council. Staff monitor the council and its board through regular attendance at each meeting and also take minutes. Written reports are prepared after each meeting and submitted to the operations committee for their weekly review.

A strong tradition of volunteer participation exists in the Norfolk program. "Outmates" as they are called, frequently attend inmate organization meetings and other group activities. It is not unusual for 40 to 50 outmates to come into the institution each week. Just as the inmates have their formal organization, so do the officers. The union's role at Norfolk is strong and is directly involved in all aspects of the administration of the institution.

Maintenance of the institution has taken on a major focus. The institution is reorganizing its maintenance activities, remodelling, and correcting code deficiencies in the buildings, Through the use of a newly purchased microcomputer, they are entering all maintenance and repair work completed over the last several years. Based upon this information, they will develop a preventive maintenance schedule and will have on-line maps and detail drawings of all areas of the institution.

Also unique to Norfolk are its inmate-run businesses. Some of these businesses gross between $20,000 and $30,000 a year. In spite of the fact that the institution challenged the inmates' right to run businesses with highly flammable materials, the court has ruled that they must have access to them and that the staff can only limit the amounts, which they do. The inmate council runs the laundry and inmates pay other inmates to have their clothes washed.

Some changes in security procedures and design have been implemented since crowding began. The perimeter wall and fences are now topped with concertina wire. Fences within the institution have been erected to more easily control the movement of inmates. Lighting has been improved within the units and additional lights have been placed on the corners of the housing units. Except for two of the units, individual inmate rooms are not locked by the staff and inmates move freely within and without the housing areas up until 10 P.M. All officers carry radios and/or body alarms. Inmate movement other than during the work time is via pass and identification system.

The success that staff have had in managing the institution is attributed to maximizing communication between staff and inmates vis-a-vis the inmate council, the unit management system, and the Climate Control Monitoring program. There are few physical barriers within the institution, and therefore staff and inmates come into close and frequent contact with one another.

MINNESOTA CORRECTIONAL FACILITY
STILLWATER, MINNESOTA

Stillwater was constructed in 1914 and has been maintained in excellent condition. The facility, whose operational capacity is 1,075 inmates, houses 1,079 prisoners in 1,125 cells. Even though it has empty cells, the administration considers the prison to be crowded primarily because of a lack of program space and programs. A staff numbering 452 operate the institution.

Perimeter security is maintained by a series of towers and a new electronic security system mounted on the wall. This system allows the administration to reduce the number of shifts necessary to staff the towers. Inside the institution, inmates are permitted to padlock their cells; staff have master keys. No one is double-celled, and the cell fronts have been fitted with metal sheeting to provide additional privacy. Staff report that since this modification of cells in 1975, they have had no problems with the configuration. Each of the cell blocks is under the direction of a lieutenant who reports to a unit director.

Further security is provided by searching inmates when they return to their cell blocks. Staff spot-check inmates returning from the industry, requiring removal of their shoes. There are no walk-through metal detectors but hand-held friskers are available. Once or twice each year the institution is locked down, and an entire search of each cell is conducted.

Visiting is permitted for sixteen hours each month in two-hour segments, Tuesday through Friday and one hour on Saturday and Sunday. There is no visiting on Mondays or holidays. All seats in the visiting room face the same direction.

Management and control is enhanced by the fact that just a few miles away the agency operates a new maximum security prison - Oak Park Heights - which staff believes has a very quieting effect on inmates at Stillwater.

The institution's priorities are outlined by the warden:

1. Maintain security.
2. Communicate with staff and inmates.
3. Be responsive to inmate problems in a meaningful way.
4. Keep inmates occupied with work and training programs.

The warden meets with all new inmates every two weeks for 45 minutes in order to answer their questions and emphasize the importance of communicating with staff. Inmates also receive memos from the warden if any unusual situation occurs in the institution. In that memo he explains what has happened and why he is taking certain actions. The same sort of individual memos are sent to all staff.

There is also an inmate advisory group in each cell block which is appointed by the lieutenant and unit director. Inmates serve on a six-month basis. The administration has concluded that these

groups have not been effective. However, communication with staff is enhanced through a monthly newsletter, and with inmates through videotapes which are sent out via the closed circuit television system into each inmate's cell.

Inmates are assigned to housing units based on their job assignments. When a job assignment changes, so does the inmate's living arrangement. Inmates apply for jobs and, if they choose not to work, they are locked in their cells during the work day. The number of industrial jobs available to inmates has been reduced by 140 in the past year when Control Data pulled its operation out of the prison several months ago. This withdrawal was not because of dissatisfaction with the inmates but rather the result of a cut-back in work due to the loss of a contract.

The institutional disciplinary system is based on agreements formulated in a consent decree entered into by the state several years ago. It provides for institutional staff to serve as investigators and prosecutors in disciplinary cases. A Hearing Officer is assigned by the Central Office, and outside private attorneys defend all inmates who wish to have their cases heard by the Hearing Officer. The Hearing Officer's decision can be appealed to the warden, who may review the written reports and audiotape of the hearing. Most disciplinaries are handled on waivers where the inmate usually plea bargains with the prosecutor and investigator and thereby avoids going to the formal hearing process. There is no formal grievance system; there is an ombudsman. Staff indicate that very few issues are brought to their attention by way of the ombudsman. Legal mail is not opened by the staff in the presence of the inmate to whom it is addressed unless it is suspected that contraband is in the envelope.

Inmates are kept occupied through a series of cultural and social organizations. The associate warden assigns a chief sponsor to each group and a staff member must be present at the meetings of each group. Inmates are also permitted to have an annual banquet and one special event each year. The overall management approach is to give inmates as much freedom as possible, to observe them, and to encourage them to be constructive with their time.

A liberalized set of criteria for assigning inmates to minimum security facilities has been necessary to make room for the higher security inmates at Stillwater. Some maximum security inmates have been moved to Oak Park Heights, relieving some of the pressure at Stillwater.

The casework staff, which in the past was assigned to work out of the housing units, has now been centralized. The centralization was in direct response to a situation where the inmates had stopped relying on the correctional officers and turned to the caseworkers to address all of their problems and needs. At the present time, the caseworkers' offices are located in a central area and they are assigned to spend one-half of their day in the cell blocks. The institution does not have a case management system, nor a team management system. Inmates are assigned to their caseworkers based upon their institutional number.

The institution has emphasized the development of computerized information systems to support the staff. Inmate account records are computerized, and the implementation of an optical scanning system to process commissary sales is seriously being considered. Inmate payroll records and inmate

information are also automated. Visiting records will become computerized shortly and then networked to the personal property records of each inmate.

The administration has relied on a private contractor to provide food service since 1974 and are quite satisfied with the results. Health services are provided by departmental employees with the exception of physicians who are provided by the Ramsey County Hospital, through a contract with the county. Vocational training is also provided under contract to the institution.

The physical plant has been maintained in excellent condition through a system of planned preventative maintenance. Each building is divided into specific areas and three out of four weeks each month is devoted to systematically maintaining those areas. This work is not done in response to work orders, but according to a pre-determined schedule. During the fourth week of the month, the division attends to the repair of minor work orders.

Major emphasis is placed on the work program. There are 158 inmates working in prison industries, although as many as 275 have been assigned recently. The goal is to have 300 prisoners working there. They are paid up to $4.00 an hour and are kept busy through a system in which there is no padding of jobs. (The profit motive is a very high priority.) Staff attempt to emulate a work setting similar to those outside a prison. They have created inmate worker councils which meet monthly with the staff to provide incentive and easy access to management.

Managers place a high priority on training staff. Future staff needs are anticipated based on the turnover rates for the last three years. Staff are hired to meet those projected vacancies so that when vacancies do occur, staff are available to fill them.

The health service staff conduct sick call seven days a week in a room adjacent to the central rotunda of the institution. Location of sick call in this area assures that inmates need not go to the hospital area to report health problems. Staff reports satisfaction with this procedure because it facilitates access to the health service staff.

SOUTHERN OHIO CORRECTIONAL FACILITY
LUCASVILLE, OHIO

The Southern Ohio Correctional Facility was opened in 1972 to replace the former Ohio State Penitentiary in Columbus. It is the maximum security facility for the Ohio Department of Corrections and contains 620 cells designed for individual occupancy. Almost immediately after opening, it was at more than capacity and currently holds approximately 2,400 inmates. Following the Federal District Court's order in *Chapman v. Rhodes* in 1980, the population was reduced to 1,645. When that decision was reversed by the Supreme Court, the population increased to 2,400. As a result, nearly all of the general population cell blocks are double-celled. The majority of these cells are 6' 6" by 10' 6" while some of the others are 6' 6" by 8' 6".

Even though the facility is operating far in excess of its design capacity, it functions well because of its physical design. The corridors are wider than one would normally expect. The warehouse is larger than originally needed; visiting areas are very large, and the general support and program areas have the capacity to serve even more prisoners than they do currently. Thus, while the housing is cramped, the remainder of the institution functions well.

There are 599 staff assigned and staff turnover is very low. Prior to 1984, there was only one minority staff person. Minority employees number 36 now at the institution.

The facility has three special population units, including a Death Row cell block, a protective custody unit, and a four cell block complex for administrative segregation which is used not only for Lucasville inmates but for inmates throughout the state.

The institution is run as a traditional custody treatment organization with all functions highly centralized at the top of the organization.

The institution has adopted a series of measures to improve its effectiveness in managing the facility:

1. While the warehouse is fairly large and is located outside of the perimeter fence, the inventory system has been revamped to provide for minimum and maximum supply levels. This system allows for more efficient use of space and minimizes the need for transporting supplies into the institution. Office supplies are delivered every two weeks, while food is brought in daily.

2. Food service operations have not been adversely affected even though one-third of the population is fed in their cells.

3. The cost of food purchases is kept down by purchasing nearly all of the food items through a centralized unit at the Mental Health Department. That agency delivers all the food to the institution so that institutional managers do not have to purchase from individual food vendors. They find this method costs less and has proven satisfactory in all respects.

4. At one time, the laundry cleaned clothes twice a week, but it is now available only once a week. Clothing and sheet exchange occurs once a week.

5. To keep costs down and make their vehicle fleet more flexible and useful, the institution purchases only 15-passenger vans, except for the Superintendent's vehicle. Internal security items including plexiglass shield and mesh are fabricated rather than purchased from a manufacturer.

6. The visiting room was designed to accommodate more than the originally intended number of visitors and as a result, visits have not been terminated because of crowding. Visiting is six days a week from 10 A.M. to 5:30 P.M.

7. The establishment of an 80-bed forensic cell block within the facility in 1985 has helped meet the needs of prisoners with mental health problems and thereby reduce problems in the rest of the institution.

8. When an inmate is assigned or placed in local control or administrative control units, he must send home all personal property which is not permitted in that unit. Only a few items may be retained and staff believe that this practice serves as an effective deterrent to disruptive behavior.

9. Inasmuch as there are more inmates than full-time inmate jobs available, staff has adopted a practice of working 25 percent of the inmate population on a day-on/day-off basis. This rotation provides more private time for inmates in their cells since the day-on/day-off is applied within the cells themselves.

10. Blister packs are used to dispense medication and have proved to be an improvement in speed, efficiency, and control of medications.

11. The institution grievance system is important in diffusing tension and hostility. The number of grievances has diminished in the last two or three years from the high levels prior to *Chapman v. Rhodes*. There is a substantial central office review not only of the grievance system, but of other decisions made at the institution.

12. Assignment of inmates to a cell is done solely by staff. Inmates are not permitted to pick the person with whom they are going to live. Staff think this method is far superior to any others and allows them to take into consideration factors that are important to the good order of the institution. Race is not one of those factors. Every attempt is made to avoid placing an inmate in a cell with another inmate who is likely to take advantage of him.

13. With the exception of the cell blocks, the institution is centrally heated and air-conditioned, providing for an almost constant temperature year round. This system has helped keep tempers as well as the temperature level down.

14. Movies are no longer shown in a central location. A television system was designed which sends to each of the units a signal which can be picked up with small antennas in the cells. Demands on the gyms have been reduced, allowing the two Olympic-size gymnasiums to be used for more active forms of recreation.

OREGON STATE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION
SALEM, OREGON

The facility, which opened in the summer of 1959, was designed for a capacity of 476 inmates in six units, one of which is a dormitory. Another unit is a 48-cell segregation unit. The prisoner population has been as high as 1,034, but is now 960. The institution has been running at or above double-occupancy for a number of years except when it was under court order to reduce its population. At the present time the segregation unit is single-celled. Except for 30 general population cells, all others are doubled. The TV rooms adjacent to the housing units were converted into small dorms and are filled with double bunks. Prior to converting the day rooms, inmates were housed on cots in the center sections of the cell blocks. Half of the bunks in the dormitory are doubled.

The inmate population is similar to the state penitentiary's except that it is slightly younger. The ethnic minority population is relatively small - a total of 13 percent. Seven percent are black, two percent are Indian, and the remainder are Hispanic. A Minority Affairs officer monitors minority issues and reports directly to the Superintendent.

Fifty inmates are serving life sentences and approximately 200 are serving sentences for murder or manslaughter. There has been one inmate murder a number of years ago since the institution opened in 1959. The last suicide at the institution occurred in 1983. There is no Protective Custody unit. If staff suspect or find an inmate is intimidating other inmates, they respond quickly and with severe sanctions.

There are approximately twenty fewer staff now than there were several years ago when the population was at near normal limits. The ratio of inmates to security staff is currently 8.3 to 1. There is a total of 233 staff - a decrease of 10 since its highest number several years ago, and 20 fewer correctional officers than the early 1980's.

Approximately 400 inmates have no job assignments. About 80 percent of those inmates would work if jobs were available. There are no industries, and inmates are assigned to either full-time jobs, half-time jobs and half-time school, or vocational training programs.

The institution is managed under the assumption that if the "thugs" among the inmate population are controlled, the rest can be managed very well. Staff believe that approximately 15 to 20 percent of the inmates fall into the "thug" category, and another 10 to 15 percent will actively support the administration. The remaining large group will follow the leadership — either the "thugs," or the administration. Thus, if administration controls the "thugs," it can control the institution.

A second management assumption is that inmates will act at a level no higher than the administration sets. Staff are instructed not to rely on inmate snitches, and to refuse to make deals with inmates. Similarly, inmates are not to be put in charge of other inmates nor even appear to be in charge of other inmates. Inmates deserve staff respect unless they do something to lose it. Communications come from line staff and not directly from the top administrators to the inmates. In that regard, the senior staff does not meet with inmate groups nor attend inmate group functions. Staff will meet with individual inmates but not with the clubs or groups. The recreation department

supervises all clubs. There is no inmate council and communications with inmates is done through line staff. Senior staff rely heavily on "management by walking around" to assess institutional programs and services.

Crowding has made it more difficult to monitor inmate movement. Frequently inmates do not appear for scheduled appointments.

Programs have not been reduced, and staff encourage volunteer participation and club activity. Outside recreation teams come in regularly to play institution teams, and entertainment groups give concerts. Crowding is somewhat eased through a temporary leave program, and through the Department's Release Center, to which all inmates are transferred when they are within approximately seven months of release.

In spite of the overcrowding, administration believes it is more productive not to become too strict, to be willing to take some risks and to create opportunities within which inmates can participate. Staff feel if they do otherwise, they will communicate to inmates a lack of confidence in running the facility. Searches and shake downs rarely produce knives. Staff attribute this to the inmates' belief that they don't need weapons for protection and they want the staff to run the prison.

Mail is delivered five times a week, and a half-time position has been added to get all of the mail and packages delivered on time.

Word processing and secretarial staff have been organized into a central pool. This arrangement has enabled the administration to keep pace with the demand for reports and documents without creating a backlog. Computerization of other areas is a high priority.

In the housing units, the inmates live two to a cell which is slightly larger than 51 square feet. The units are nearly spotless, brightly painted, and relatively quiet. The dormitory contains 118 beds, and is used primarily for wheelchair patients, as well as general population inmates of various custody levels. Minimum custody inmates who work outside the fence are no longer housed in the institution but reside at the Release Center.

Caseworkers have offices in the housing units but not necessarily the units of their assigned inmates since assignment is based on the individual's identification number.

The gym and/or yard is open each day at 8 A.M. and, other than at mealtimes, remains open until 10 or 11 P.M. Inmates wear regulation uniforms. Telephones are available to inmates in their units at night on a sign-up basis, and on the yard when it is open.

Inmates are not permitted to keep any medications in their cells, and must come to the hospital for them. There are four pill lines a day and a separate sick call line. Inmates do not carry ID cards but are issued medication cards if they must come to the hospital for such.

A hearings officer operates a two-tier disciplinary program. Informal disciplinary hearings are held if the inmate acknowledges the violation and if the violation is not serious. Formal disciplinary hearings are held on all others. Since the administrative segregation unit is crowded, staff is pressed to expedite the entire process. The two-tier system has helped to keep the system afloat.

The education program includes twelve classes in which more than 500 inmates participate. They operate at 95 percent of capacity with programs in the morning, afternoon and a college program in the evening. The evening program operates three nights a week with 120 to 160 inmates on each of those three evenings. The vocational training program has 16 programs and 210 inmate slots. There are from 60 to 130 inmates on a waiting list.

The food service facility is maintained in immaculate condition. It costs $2.60 per man per day to feed. Inmates are paid from 50 cents to $2.00 per day. Only those inmates who want to work in food service are considered for assignment. As a result, they operate short of inmate help in spite of the idleness in the institution.

Security at the facility has been increased through the construction of a new gate house at the front entrance and the installation of electronic perimeter security devices in the fences. Small wire mesh has been set up at the top of the inside fence and razor ribbon has been placed between the fences. As a result of the installation of the microwave system on the perimeter, the institution no longer staffs two towers. Tower 3 which is over the recreation area is only manned when the yard is open. Tower 1, the front entrance tower, is manned around the clock. Another addition is an armed vehicle patrol which is in operation 7 days a week, 24 hours a day. The security staff consists of 124 officers, corporals, sergeants, and lieutenants.

There are two major counts each day - one at 4:30 P.M. and one at 11:10 P.M. These have not increased in frequency with the rising number of inmates. Movement is controlled occurring every 50 minutes during the morning and every half-hour during the afternoon and evening. No passes are employed.

Assignment to a two-man cell is based on the availability of space and the race of the inmates. In the past, staff were able to shake down five or more cells a day in each housing unit. It is no longer possible because the housing unit officer is kept busy monitoring twice as many inmates. A two-person team is assigned solely to shake down cells at random or cells selected by intelligence information.

Drug testing is done on a random basis ; when there is suspicion of drug use,when an inmate is assigned to a community-based program, and before any reduction in custody.

Staff are assigned on a modified bid system based partially on seniority. They have the option to exercise that seniority at certain times during a two-year period.

There are few grievances, and no crowding litigation pending.

Visiting is permitted five days a week from Wednesday through Sunday, and each inmate may have ten people on his visiting list. The visiting day is divided into morning and afternoon programs, and a visitor may visit during four of those ten visit sessions per week. The visiting room is not crowded on weekdays, but becomes very crowded on weekends when the flow of visitors has to be regulated from the parking lot into the visiting area.

Inmates are not permitted any personal clothing, and must be neatly groomed with their shirt tails inside their pants. They are permitted to write to anyone, including other inmates. If an inmate wishes to write to another Oregon inmate, he is given special envelopes so that he does not have to put a stamp on it. Canteen purchases are limited to $25 per week and inmates are permitted to go to the canteen once a week.

NOTTOWAY CORRECTIONAL CENTER
BURKEVILLE, VIRGINIA

Nottoway, opened in 1984 with a design capacity of 500 prisoners, is a high security facility currently housing 702 inmates, with approximately 200 double-celled. Fifty-five percent of the inmates are classified close custody, 43 percent medium custody, and 2 percent minimum custody. The perimeter is defined by a double fence with razor wire and by four armed towers. There is a 32-bed isolation and segregation unit which houses protective custody inmates. Another 32-bed area is designated as an honor unit. Even though the institution could have accommodated inmates on a single-cell basis when it was first opened in August of 1984, the Department decided to double-cell because they knew the numbers would be increasing rapidly, and doubling would be inevitable. Current plans call for the addition of two more cell house units which will have another 256 beds. The institution is organized along a traditional scheme with assistant wardens over programs and operations. Each housing unit is run by a sergeant who reports to the security chief.

Management's priorities are to maintain control of the institution through security procedures, programs, and services. Major emphasis is placed on managing by written policy. The aim is to create a positive and relaxed environment within the confines of the institution. Inmate programming takes as high a priority as key control, tool control, movement control, and weapons control. It is a high security facility, but is operated on an open campus-style of movement.

The warden describes the management style of the institution as "situational contingency management." He explains this as a style whereby under normal conditions, theory "Y" movement style is the rule in which an open door policy is in effect and a high degree of emphasis is placed on communication with staff and inmates. Staff are encouraged to discuss openly and freely their concerns with other staff so that action may be taken on those issues. During emergency situations, the management reverts to a militaristic style in which orders are strictly and directly obeyed. The administration monitors key institutional factors, including reports of grievances, disciplinaries, and serious incidents as a means of tracking changes within the institution.

A rewards and punishments system is in effect, guided by the principle that "inmates go to the line that you draw." Both inmate behavior and words are taken very seriously. High on the list of inmate behavior "don'ts" are homosexuality, gambling, and drug use.

A high premium is placed in communicating to staff and inmates while supervisors are moving through the institution. This is based on the belief that doing so demonstrates genuine concern for improving the quality of life and procedures in the institution. The emphasis on communication is driven home by procedures governing an inmate advisory committee. The warden meets with that elected committee twice a week. The meetings are videotaped and then replayed to the entire inmate population through the institution's cable television system. Every other week the inmates meet alone. Staff share public information with the inmates, including explanation of the institutional budget.

Inmates who violate rules pay stiff consequences. Major enforcement methods include lockups in detention as well as loss of good time, a prized commodity since an inmate at the highest level can earn one day off his sentence for every day served. On the positive side, good conduct is rewarded through possible placement in the honor housing unit, favorable parole progress reports, and reduction in custody which makes inmates eligible for a furlough and the chance to earn additional good time.

Inmate idleness remains a major problem. There are 490 identified inmate jobs including school, but very few inmates work more than four hours a day. There are only 250 full time jobs including approximately 50 in the prison industry furniture factory. Four hundred inmates, including 32 inmates in the segregation unit, are unassigned and not in school. One problem in providing work for inmates is the lack of staff to supervise those inmates who could work outside of the prison on public works projects under escort.

Within the cell blocks, the institution permits inmates to padlock their cell doors so that an inadvertently open cell door does not invite theft of property. Staff retains master keys to all the locks.

The commissary is open six days per week. An unlimited amount of money may be spent except during eight days each month when inmates are limited to $50 on any one day. This practice is used to facilitate moving inmates through the lines. Inmates are not involved in any aspect of the commissary operation which has sales averaging $25,000 a month.

Correctional officers are assigned to posts and remain there for an indefinite period of time. They are moved on an individual basis to other posts based upon the captain's prerogative. Temporary employees are used to ease workload peaks in various administrative departments.

In the medical area, crowding has forced a reduction in the number of pill lines from four to two per day. Approximately 200 inmates receive medication at each of these lines. Exceptions are made in special cases for diabetics and others. In addition, pre-poured medications are used and are prepared by the night nurse for use the following day. Sick call is handled on a scheduled basis, rotating through the housing units on 30-minute intervals. This procedure has helped handle the increased number of inmates reporting for sick call. The physical facilities in the medical unit are severely taxed during the day, but the physician comes to the institution at night when there is more space available.

In the academic area, similar changes have been made to accommodate the additional number of inmates. Education programs now run until 11 P.M. as do other group activities including drug treatment programs, AA groups, and other self-improvement groups. Courses run from 7:00 P.M. to 9:45 P.M. In addition, the regular academic day is now divided into four 90-minute periods to accommodate more inmates. The vocational training program is divided into morning and afternoon segments to provide training for more inmates than a single day program would.

Visiting is permitted on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays from 9:00 A.M. to 3:30 P.M. When the visiting room becomes crowded, those that have been visiting the longest are asked to leave first.

Telephones are provided in the day rooms of each housing unit and correspondence is controlled through a list that permits writing to anyone other than an inmate in another institution.

To manage double-celling, the staff matches inmates based on the degree of violent behavior in each inmate's background. Race is not considered in the assignment process. Since there are no empty cells at the institution, staff have very little flexibility in moving inmates from one cell to another. All cell moves are done on one day each week.

Crowding has forced severe limitations on the amount of personal property. All personal property is inventoried, and twice a year surprise lockdowns and shake downs of all inmates and their property occur. During those shake downs, staff check each inmate's property against a master list and anything in excess of what is approved or authorized is removed.

Mail is delivered six days a week and an unlimited number of packages are permitted, but none containing food items. Packages primarily contain books and clothing. Inmates may receive personal clothes from the outside, but the clothing must closely resemble the state issued institutional clothing. No "colors" or emblems are permitted.

By design, protective custody inmates are assigned to the segregation unit and receive limited opportunities for program participation. Few inmates request protective custody. Twenty inmates out of 700 are currently classified as protective custody.

A round robin rotational system is used to involve as many inmates as possible in activities. Access to the library, law library, craft room, and other activities are scheduled to provide the maximum possible number of inmates in those areas during the program day.

A cable TV antenna runs into each inmate's cell. It is used not only to communicate to the inmates policy changes and inmate council meetings, but also to play videotapes three or four times a week.

Even though the institution is less than two years old, staff have already moved the canteen operation from its original area to a larger one to accommodate their needs. A public address system is being installed, air conditioning for the school is now being added, and video cameras are being placed in several blind spots at the entrance to housing units. Staff are also considering the possibility of adding a fence detection system to the perimeter which now has sodium vapor lighting on six 100-foot poles.

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION
DANBURY, CONNECTICUT

Of the 1,152 inmates residing at Danbury, 201 are assigned to the minimum security camp. There are 787 white inmates and 349 black inmates; 238 have community custody, 589 inside custody and 323 are classified as outside custody. Out of 218 employees, approximately 75 are correctional officers. Danbury is categorized as a Level 2 institution within the Bureau of Prisons level system.

Danbury was first opened in 1940 and has always been a Level 2 institution. The current crowded situation began in 1978. A severe dormitory fire during July of 1977 in which several inmates lost their lives forced a reduction in its population. Following that incident, inmates were removed from Danbury and its population was lowered to approximately 650 inmates. By 1978, the population began to climb and has risen steadily ever since. It is now at its all-time high of 1,152 inmates. Since 1980, there have been 19 escapes from inside the perimeter and since 1982, when the camp opened, there have been nine walkaways from that portion of the facility. Those who did get away were eventually captured. Since 1980, there have been no murders and only one suicide, which occurred in 1984 at the camp where an inmate hung himself from a tree limb.

The warden's management philosophy is "We're going to manage the institution, staff, and inmates and not let it or them manage us." Expectations are communicated, and staff are accountable. Staff are recognized and rewarded both financially and publicly for achieving the expectations while those who do not are similarly sanctioned and admonished. A very active incentive awards program recognizes employees twice a year for outstanding performance. Cash awards ranging from $300 to $900 are given. In just one year, employees received $54,000 in cash awards.

Other means of acknowledging staff's contribution include verbal praise from supervisors, notes from the warden regarding particularly well-done jobs, cards sent to each employee on birthdays, and active support of the employees club. As a means of acknowledging the importance of staff in managing the institution, the warden has placed a high priority on renovating staff offices and redecorating them with other than typical government furniture, wallpaper, and carpet. This has been accomplished within budgets by purchasing equipment and supplies at reasonable costs.

Whenever possible, Danbury staff are promoted to fill institutional vacancies rather than going to other institutions to fill positions. At the other end of the spectrum, staff are held accountable and when they fail to perform; suspensions, separations, and letters of reprimand are forthcoming.

A similar set of relationships have been established with inmates. They are recognized and rewarded for jobs well-done and are held accountable for what is expected of them. Some of these rewards are monetary but more often than not they come through furloughs or day furloughs. Another aspect of making the living conditions better for the inmates was modernizing the visiting room including the installation of air-conditioning, and converting the auditorium into an inside recreation area for leisure time activities. In April of 1986, visiting hours were expanded to 42 hours per week over the seven-day week , an increase from five days a week and approximately 35 hours

per week. By scheduling visits over that seven-day period an inmate can receive up to fifteen visits a month or he may choose to have them on weekends and receive up to five visits a month. As well as improving the visiting room itself, the staff has provided more parking spaces for visitors.

Other areas of the institution that have been modified include the food service area where plants have been placed to improve the environment, and a new salad bar is planned for installation shortly. The courtyard in the center of the institution has been redesigned. There are now plants, shrubs, trees, and a sundial in the yard. The inmate work program includes job descriptions that list expectations. The industry program employs 500 inmates daily. Inmates work two shifts and Saturday.

The Unit Management system stresses responsiveness to inmates, as well as explaining policies and programs in detail. There are eleven caseworker positions, nine of which are filled. Inmates are reviewed every 90 days. Counselors and unit managers work not only days when the inmates are away from the unit, but also in the evenings and on weekends when the inmates are off work. Each staff member in the unit works two nights each week.

In the past twelve months there were only ten employee grievances, five of which were the result of disciplinary action, and five relating to working conditions.

The institution is somewhat short-staffed,carrying about fifteen vacancies at any given time. Managers and department heads tend to do some of the more technical work as opposed to managerial work because line staff is not plentiful enough to complete those jobs. The inmate payroll is computerized.

Most of the inmates reside in dormitories that have been modified with cubicles in which two inmates live double-bunked. Staff think that the installation of cubicles within the dorms has been extremely helpful in dealing with crowding and probably helped them more in the recent crowding litigation.

The law library is open approximately 70 hours per week. It is open seven days a week and staffed by four inmate law clerks. Yale Law School provides some attorney assistance.

A dual entree menu during the noon meal has been added so that when pork is served, there is always another option. There are also optional deserts and elaborate holiday meals, including special decorations, pastries, and breads. Surplus foods are used to keep within budget.

The maintenance work schedule is computerized. Reports are generated and the progress noted. All institution areas are painted regularly according to a schedule. Approximately 200 minor work orders are carried forward each month and some 180 to 200 inmates work on the maintenance and grounds crews. Older "gang" showers have been partitioned to increase privacy. Many broken shower heads have been replaced. Ceiling fans have been added in the dormitories to keep them cooler during the summer and, when reversed in the winter, to force hot air down. Acoustical tile has been added in offices and oscillating wall fans have been added to the dining hall and segregation unit. The barber shop area has been renovated and expanded. Three ice machines have been added

for inmate use as well as some vending machines. More will be added as the commissary area is renovated. Renovations to this area include the installation of optical scanners to expedite the purchasing process and the inclusion of an improved display area.

Razor wire has been added to the fences to deter and prevent escapes. An armed mobile patrol is manned seven days a week, 24 hours a day. Lieutenants are required to be available and visible in work areas and living areas. The captain visits every area of the institution at least three times each week and regularly observes noon inmate meal.

Staff are encouraged to conduct searches and shake downs and are praised by supervisors each time they find contraband. The morning watch officer must search all common areas in the housing units every night, the day watch officer must shake down at least five cubicles each day, and the evening watch officers shake down targeted living areas.

Five percent of the inmates are given random urinalysis each month. In the past, 10 to 20 positive results came from 75 to 100 tests each month. Now, 1 or 2 result from the testing of 75 to 100 individuals. When an inmate's urine comes back "dirty," he is given the maximum penalty, which includes the loss of 60 days good time, 30 days in segregation, and a disciplinary transfer.

A major problem at the institution has been the theft of inmate property. To reduce theft, staff supervision in the units during the days has been increased. The most frequently stolen items are radios and watches even though they are identified with the inmate's number and, in the case of radios, inscribed with the inmate's name.

Five counts are conducted daily. To expedite the process, correctional officers now work from 8 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. allowing a 30-minute overlap with the evening shift which works from 4:00 P.M. to 12:00 A.M. The overlap allows staff to count at 4:00 P.M. with twice the number of staff they would have otherwise. The Bureau's computerized Inmate Information System maintains an up-to-date, accurate list of the locations of all inmates within the institution, making the actual count easier to verify.

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION
OTISVILLE, NEW YORK

Otisville was opened in 1980 with a rated capacity of 413. It contains 390 individual cells but houses 737 inmates, most of whom are assigned two to a cell. It is now a Level 3 institution, and previously was a higher security - Level 4 - for a number of years . Approximately 80 percent of the inmates are designated inside custody, another 14 percent are outside custody, and the remainder are community custody. Approximately 60 percent of the inmates are Caucasian and 40 percent Black or of other ethnic origin. Approximately one year before this study, Otisville's mission was changed so that no new court commitments are now received. In addition, no transfers are made to the facility unless they are approved by the regional director and the receiving regional director in Philadelphia. Eighty-nine inmates are assigned to the industry area while another 88 work in food service. Intentionally, 162 of the prisoners are unassigned. These prisoners are yet to be sentenced and are housed at Otisville as an overflow from the federal jail in New York City. They have been convicted but are awaiting sentence and spend approximately 30 days at Otisville prior to being redesignated following sentencing.

More emphasis has been placed on creating new prison industry jobs than on increasing vocational training opportunities As a result, the vocational training area has been converted into industry space, and the staff positions formerly allotted to vocational training have been converted to correctional officer positions.

Two hundred and twenty-five staff are authorized to operate the institution, but only 203 positions are filled. Ninety-seven of these positions are in the correctional officer service of which 85 are actually filled. The institution regularly shifts staff from one department to another to meet immediate needs. Personnel data is now computerized and staff make every effort to hire employees with a variety of skills so that they may be used in more than one role. Staff turnover remains very high in the correctional officer rank and in other areas. One half of the correctional officers are still on probationary status - that is they have not completed their first year. One reason for the high turnover is the very high cost of living in the area.

Staff have deliberately taken a number steps to improve the management of the institution. Some of these measures include:

1. Staff are available to inmates and other staff as much as possible. This practice is accomplished by making supervisory staff visible to everyone, whether in the housing units, in the dining room, or in other areas.

2. Additional telephones have been installed in the housing units to allow inmates more contact with friends and family outside the institution. They are available for use from 6 A.M. to 11:30 P.M., seven days a week.

3. A unit management system functions with one caseworker and one correctional counselor for every 130 inmates. One or both are on duty from 8:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M. including Saturdays and Sundays. Correctional officers are assigned at all times.

4. Recreation areas open early in the morning to allow inmates to exercise before breakfast. This modification was accomplished without any additional staff and allows the gym and yard to be open at 6:30 A.M.

5. The amount of personal property that may kept in a cell is restricted to allow sufficient room for two people to live in the same cell.

6. Town meetings are held in each unit on a regular basis to foster communication between staff and inmates.

7. A new patio area has been annexed to the existing visiting room and plans are underway to expand the enclosed visiting area by an additional 500 sq. ft. Visiting now occurs five days a week from 8 A.M. to 3 P.M. for the general population and on the remaining two days during the week for the restricted population groups. Visiting is limited to a maximum of 30 hours per month per inmate.

8. The food service unit has been called upon to feed nearly twice the number of inmates for which it was designed. Staff have expedited the time allotted for each inmate to eat in the dining room and at the same time have "snaked" lines entering the dining room as people wait to serve themselves. This practice has worked very satisfactorily and has minimized disruption to those inmates who are eating.

9. In the past, inmates were assigned to housing units based upon the Quay classification system which separated aggressive inmates from passive inmates. However, that system is no longer used and inmates are now assigned based on available space. Non-smokers are assigned to live with non-smokers.

10. Controlled inmate movement is used during the day to manage the larger population. Ten minutes out of every hour are designated for movement. A pass system is used when inmates have to move through the institution for medical appointments. Otisville employs a computerized work order processing system to expedite work orders. Expansion of the commissary area and the sewage treatment plant are planned.

Staff cite the new and very functional design of the institution as a key factor in facilitating management. The physical design incorporates a great deal of open space with grass and trees, minimizing a feeling of crowdedness. Major emphasis is placed on maintaining and cleaning the prison. The non-institutional appearance of the prison has a positive effect on both staff and inmates. Consequentially, there is little vandalism and repairs are not often required.

A urine surveillance program is employed as a management tool. Five percent of the inmates are randomly tested each month. Inmates who are involved in community activities and those suspected of using drugs are tested. In April 1986, 147 inmates were tested and 3 were positive. In the preceding 12 months, 30 inmates tested positive.

The recreation program plays an important role in dealing with the crowded situation. The gym and yard are open from 6:15 A.M. to 7:15 A.M. The mail room operates five days a week. To assist with the weekend backlog of mail, an extra officer is assigned on Mondays.

Finding work for inmates is a high priority. Industry jobs have increased from 40 to 100 including 20 part-time job slots. At the same time, a $600,000 deficit has been turned into a $200,000 profit.

The commissary operates with two sales lines and is open four days a week, ten hours a day. Specific days and times during a day are allocated for the sale of specific items to help expedite the process. To increase processing efficiency further, optical scanners will be introduced.

Management's philosophy is to make supervisory staff as visible as possible, to emphasize sanitation, and to use the physical design of the facility to their advantage. Emphasis is on basic correctional practices, including the delivery of food, mail, and visits to inmates. The use of creative programming comes second to an insistence on keeping inmates employed and making recreation available.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, P.R. and Pettigrew, C.G. "Indices of Stress Associated with Prison Overcrowding." January, 1985.

Anson, R.H. "Overcrowding and Inmate Facilities." *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice.* Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1984.

Burns, Jr., Henry. *Corrections Organization and Administration.* West Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minn., 1975.

Burt, M.R. "Measuring Prison Results - Ways to Monitor and Evaluate Corrections Performance." U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, June, 1981.

Call, J.E. "Recent Case Law on Overcrowded Conditions of Confinement." *Federal Probation* 4 (3), September, 1983.

Camp, George M. and Camp, Camille G. *The Corrections Yearbook*, Criminal Justice Institute, South Salem, New York, 1981-1986.

Ekland-Olson, S. "Crowding, Social Control and Prison Violence: Evidence from the Post-Ruiz Years in Texas." Unpublished document, 1985.

Ekland-Olson, S. Barrick, S.D. and Cohen, L.E. "Prison Overcrowding and Disciplinary Problems: An Analysis of the Texas Prison System." *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science.* Vol. 19, No. 2, pg. 163-176, 1983.

Ellis, D. "Crowding and Prison Violence - Integration of Research and Theory." *Criminal Justice and Behavior.* Vol. 11, No. 3, pg. 177-308, September, 1984.

Farrington, D.P. and C.P. Nuttal. "Prison Size, Overcrowding, Prison Violence and Recidivism." *Journal of Criminal Justice.* Vol. 8, No. 4, pg. 221-231, 1980. Honorable Arlen Specter United States Senate. Washington, D.C., February, 1984.

"Federal, District of Columbia, and States Future Prison and Correctional INstitution Populations and Capacities." U.S. General Accounting Office. Report to the Honorable Arlen Specter, United States Senate. Washington, D.C., February, 1984.

Finn, P. "Judicial Responses to Prison Crowding." *Judicature.* Vol 67, No. 7, February, 1984.

Gaes, G.G. "The Effects of Overcrowding in Prisons." *Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research.* Ed.Tonry, M and Morris, N. Vol. VI, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1984.

Gaes, G.G. and McGuire, W.J. "Prison Violence - The Contribution of Crowding Versus Other Determinants of Prison Assault Rates." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency.* Vol. 22, No. 1, pg. 41-65, 1985.

Gottfredson, S.D. and Taylor, R.B. "The Correctional Crisis: Prison Populations and Public Policy." U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, June, 1983.

Harris, M.K. "Reducing Prison Crowding: An Overview of Options." National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Washington, D.C., July, 1981.

"Jail Overcrowding: Identifying Causes and Planning for Solutions." U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Assistance, Research, and Statistics, February, 1983.

Jan, L.J. "Overcrowding of Inmate Behavior." *Criminal Justice and Behavior.* Vol. 7, pp. 293-301, 1980.

Kaufman, G. "The National Prison Overcrowding Project: Policy Analysis and Politics, A New Approach." Center for Effective Public Policy, Inc., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Krajik, K. and Gettinger, S. "Overcrowded Time - Why Prisons Are So Crowded and What Can Be Done." The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, New York, 1982.

McCain, G., Cox, V. and Paulus, P.B. "The Effect of Prison Crowding on Inmate Behavior." Final report to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Grant 78-NI-AX-0019, 1980.

Megargee, E.I. "Population Density and Disruptive Behavior in a Prison Setting." *Prison Violence.* edited by Cohen, Albert; Cole, George; and Bailey, Robert, 1976.

Mullen, J. *American Prisons and Jails - Volume 1: Summary Findings and Policy Implications of a National Survey.* U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, October, 1980.

Nacci, P.L, Teitelbaum, H.E. and Prather, J. "Population Density and Inmate Misconduct Rates in the Federal Prison System." *Federal Probation* Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 26-31. June, 1977.

Nacci, P.L., H.E. Teitelbaum and J. Prather. "Violence in Federal Prisons: The Effect of Population Density on Misconduct." Research Office, U.S. Bureau of Prisons.

"A National Corrections Strategy on The Prison Crowding Problem.", Committee on Criminal Justice and Public Protection, Washington, D.C., February, 1985.

Oswald, R.G. *Attica - My Story.* Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1972.

Porporino, F.J. "An Analysis of the Effects of Overcrowding" *Canadian Penitentiaries.* No.6, 1984.

Prison Population and Policy Choices, Volume 1: Preliminary Report to Congress. National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, September, 1977.

Public Policy for Corrections: A Handbook for Decision-Makers. American Correctional Association, College Park, Maryland, 1986.

Quay, H.C. *Managing Adult Inmates: Classification for Housing and Program Assignments.* American Correctional Association, College Park, Maryland, 1984.

Report to the Nation on Crime and Justice: The Data. U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, NCJ-87068, October 1983.

Rosenblum, S. and Yin, R.K. "The Prison Overcrowding Project." Cosmos Corporation, Washington, D.C., July, 1984.

Sapp, A.D. and Townsend, S. "Administrative Responses to Prison Overcrowding: A Survey of Prison Administrators." Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Chicago, March, 1984.

Schiffenbauer, A.I., Brown, J.E., Perry, P.L., Shulack, L.K.and Zanzola, A.M. "The Relationship Between Density and Crowding - Some Architectural Modifiers." *Environment and Behavior*. Vol. 9, No. 1, March, 1977.

"A Strategy To Alleviate Overcrowding In Pennsylvania's Prisons and Jails." Report of the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency by the Prison and Jail Overcrowding Task Force, February, 1985.

Thornberry, T.P., Call, J.R., Swanson, C.R., Shedd, M.M., and Mitchell, S. "Overcrowding in American Prisons: Policy Implications of Double-Bunking Single Cells." A Final Report submitted to National Institute of Corrections, July, 1982.

Wayson, B.L., Funke, G.S., and Falkin, G.P. "Managing Correctional Resources - Economic Analysis Techniques." Prepared for National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, February, 1984.

"What Can Be Done About Overcrowding in Long-Term Federal Correctional Facilities." Study by the staff of the U.S. General Accounting Office, February 1978.

Wicker, T. *A Time to Die*. Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Company, New York, 1975.

USER FEEDBACK FORM

Please complete and mail this self-addressed, postage-paid form to assist the National Institute of Corrections in assessing the value and utility of its publications.

1. What is your general reaction to this document?

   _____Excellent _____Good _____Average _____Poor _____Useless

2. To what extent do you see the document as being useful in terms of:

	Very Useful	Of Some Use	Not Useful
Providing new or important information			
Developing or implementing new programs			
Modifying existing programs			
Administering ongoing programs			
Providing appropriate liaisons			

3. Do you feel that more should be done in this subject area? If so, please specify what types of assistance are needed.

4. In what ways could the document be improved?

5. How did this document come to your attention?

6. How are you planning to use the information contained in the document?

7. Please check one item that best describes your affiliation with corrections or criminal justice. If a governmental program, please also indicate level.

   _____ Dept. of corrections or correctional institution
   _____ Jail
   _____ Probation
   _____ Parole
   _____ Community corrections
   _____ Court
   _____ Police
   _____ Legislative body
   _____ Professional organization
   _____ College/university
   _____ Citizen group
   _____ Other government agency
   _____ Other (please specify) _____

   _____ Federal _____ State _____ County _____ Local _____ Regional

8. OPTIONAL:

   Name: _____ Agency _____

   Address: _____

   _____

   Telephone Number: _____

Please fold and staple or tape.

National Institute of Corrections
320 First St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20534

Official Business
Penalty for Private Use, $300

Postage and Fees Paid
U.S. Department
of Justice
JUS-434

National Institute of Corrections

320 First Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20534

Attn: Publications Feedback

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CORRECTIONS
ADVISORY BOARD

Richard Abell
Assistant Attorney General
Office of Justice Programs
Washington, D.C.

Benjamin F. Baer
Chairman
U.S. Parole Commission
Bethesda, Maryland

Norman A. Carlson
Senior Fellow
University of Minnesota
Stillwater, Minnesota

John E. Clark
Attorney-at-Law
San Antonio, Texas

Terrence Donahue
Acting Administrator
Office of Juvenile Justice and
Delinquency Prevention
Washington, D.C.

Newman Flanagan
Suffolk County District Attorney
Boston, Massachusetts

John C. Godbold
Director
Federal Judicial Center
Washington, D.C.

Reuben M. Greenberg
Chief of Police
Charleston Police Department
Charleston, South Carolina

Norval Morris
Professor
University of Chicago Law School
Chicago, Illinois

Sydney Olson
Assistant Secretary for Development
Department of Health & Human Services
Washington, D.C.

J. Michael Quinlan
Director
Federal Bureau of Prisons
Washington, D.C.

Ralph Rossum
Dean of the Faculty
Claremont McKenna College
Claremont, California

James Rowland
Director
Department of Corrections
Sacramento, California

Samuel Saxton
Director
Prince George's County Correctional Center
Upper Marlboro, Maryland

Larry W. Stirling
Senator
California State Legislature
San Diego, California

This publication was printed at the UNICOR Print Plant, U.S. Penitentiary, Lompoc, CA