
Jay Farbstein & Associates, Inc. with Richard Wener

National Institute of Corrections - Prison Division
United States Department of Justice
Washington, DC

Grant # GG-1

**A Comparison of "Direct" and "Indirect" Supervision
Correctional Facilities**

FINAL REPORT

June 1, 1989

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Jay Farbstein & Associates, Inc. with Richard Wener

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I.1. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Two Concepts of Inmate Supervision

For the past several years, a debate has raged within the corrections field concerning two different methods of supervising inmates. With "indirect" supervision, the more traditional of the two, correctional officers monitor inmate living areas from posts enclosed with glass or bars. The more recently developed "direct" supervision allows, and even requires, continuous direct personal interaction between correctional officers and inmates by putting them together, face-to-face in the living unit. Each approach is claimed to have rather specific impacts upon performance of the correctional setting and, therefore, each has strong implications for design. To date, however, there has been insufficient empirical evidence to support the claims by proponents of direct supervision that it is a superior mode of operation, resulting in lowered stress, violence, vandalism, and other benefits (see references, almost all of which report opinion or results from single case studies). This report describes a study that attempts to quantify the differences between direct and indirect supervision and to specify the design implications of each mode so that jurisdictions faced with changing or expanding their correctional programs will have a more sound basis for choosing between them.

Definitions

Modern indirect supervision facilities have been shaped by corrections tradition, changing views of prisoners rights, and technology. The most highly regarded layout consists of a central, enclosed control booth with one or more officers overlooking a dayroom surrounded by single cells (often referred to as a modular or podular plan, with an individual unit referred to as a "pod"). A variation is to surround the dayroom with multiple occupancy cells or dorms. Pods usually contain 48 to 60 beds which are further subdivided into 12- to 15-bed units, though, in some cases, a single control booth may observe closer to 100 cells. Durable, vandal-resistant building systems, fixtures and finishes are commonly used. It is typical to find elaborate electronic detection, locking, and communication systems, all operated from the control station.

The primary functions of the correctional officer in indirect supervision facilities is to operate the control systems, observe inmate behavior, provide limited intervention in response to minor infractions, and call for backup staff response in the event of a major incident. In many such facilities, officers communicate with inmates using a public address or intercom system. Staff safety is provided by a physical barrier placed between them and the inmates. Inmate security is provided by the use of individual cells and the ability of staff to muster a response team in the event of an incident.

The operational and physical environments of direct supervision facilities take a different approach to management. They are designed to express the expectation of acceptable behavior by the inmates. The physical design might be similar in overall configuration to indirect supervision facilities (with single cells arrayed around a dayroom), but often would also include added amenities such as carpeting, upholstered furnishings, several television spaces, game tables and exercise equipment. Most important, correctional officers are stationed inside the living unit with the inmates, not separated from them by a barrier. Personal interaction with the inmates is one of the primary duties of the officers in the direct supervision model. Security is heavily dependent upon the ability of highly trained staff to detect and defuse potential problems. Officers walk through and control the entire living unit, eliminating *de facto* inmate controlled territories.

Direct supervision pods of 48 to 60 beds are not further subdivided, so that the officer can circulate among all the inmates without having to unlock doors. This also allows special use areas to be created within a much larger continuous dayroom space. The larger living area contributes to normalization of the environment and increases the tendency of inmates to gravitate into smaller, compatible groups. Physical amenities have one of two purposes in these facilities. First, they allow the inmates to fulfill basic needs independently. These are needs that the officers would have to fill if the amenity were not there, taking the officer away from the

primary task of inmate supervision. For example, inmates are given access to controls for lights in their cells. The other possible function of an amenity is its use in setting up expectations of rational and cooperative inmate behavior.

The combination of physical amenities and continual interaction between inmates and staff facilitates the use of behavior management techniques. If an inmate exhibits inappropriate behavior, the correctional officer's job is to recognize it and respond immediately. Consequences can range from restricting privileges to removing the inmate to a less desirable, more secure section of the facility. Inmates who are cooperative and well behaved enjoy the privileges of a nicer environment. The ability to regain lost privileges gives inmates the motivation to improve their behavior. The power to manage the institution is taken away from dominant inmates and given to the correctional officers.

Some institutions are hybrids of the two idealized types of settings described above. For example, a facility which has control booths can, in addition, post officers directly in housing units. Finishes and furnishings in either type of facility can range from those that are soft and commercial to those that are hard and institutional. The interactions between staff and inmates can be anywhere from formal and limited to informal and ongoing. But the single feature distinguishing direct supervision is the constant interactive presence of the officer in the living unit.

History and Application

Direct supervision was developed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons in the early 1970s. The Bureau first tried direct supervision in newly built prisons, then tested the concept in three short-term detention facilities, the Metropolitan Correctional Centers (MCCs) in Chicago, New York, and San Diego. Satisfied with the result, the Bureau began implementing direct supervision throughout its system, with modifications based upon initial experience. Local governments began adopting the concept by the late 1970s and early 1980s with such facilities as the Contra Costa County jail in California and the renovation of the Manhattan House of Detention (the replacement for the Tombs) in New York City. Recently a number of states have begun to employ direct supervision in their prisons, with a few states committing to eventual system-wide conversion.

Direct supervision has gained many advocates as the claims for its benefits have become known. The National Institute of Corrections and major professional organizations such as the American Correctional Association and the American Institute of Architects' Committee on Architecture for Justice all endorse the use of direct supervision for general population inmates, at least suggesting that it should be seriously considered by any jurisdiction planning a new facility. It should be noted, however, that support is not universal. There are still many in the field who question the results reported by enthusiasts and prefer the apparent staff security afforded by physical barriers. At this time, there are still relatively few examples of operational direct supervision facilities. Of the approximately four thousand American jails and prisons, only a handful outside the federal prison system are direct supervision, though many more are being planned.

Purpose of This Study

This points to the issue the present study is intended to address. To date, most of the information on the effects of direct supervision is based upon anecdotes from those using and happy with the method or from case studies of individual institutions (Frazier; Human Services Management Institute; Sigurdson; Wener; Wener and Clark; Wener and Olson). These studies report reductions in violence, homosexual rape, and vandalism, together with improved staff morale, greater job satisfaction, and reduction of staff stress. There is little evidence substantiated by recognized methods of inquiry to support or refute the claims being made for direct supervision. There has been no systematic, large scale comparison of direct and indirect supervision institutions.

The choice between direct and indirect supervision is critical in the planning for new facilities. The physical design of a facility can either frustrate or enhance the interaction between staff and inmates. Government

executives, fiscal officers, and jail managers will greatly benefit from empirical evidence on which to base the decision between direct and indirect supervision. It is the intent of the present study to provide some of the needed evidence.

The emphasis of the study is to examine the differences between direct and indirect supervision institutions in terms of their performance on factors of primary importance to those making key decisions about facilities planning.

A unique aspect of this study is its intent to compare reasonably well matched examples of direct and indirect supervision facilities. While some of the studies noted above have made comparisons between direct and indirect supervision, their comparisons have largely been between new, state-of-the-art direct supervision facilities and their old, overcrowded predecessors. This study attempts to identify indirect facilities which closely match the direct facilities in age, staffing, programs and other features.

Evaluation Issues

It was the intention of this project to explore the following types of issues for the two types of facilities. (Note that for some issues sufficiently reliable data were not able to be collected.)

Cost. The cost of construction, operating costs for staffing, maintenance, and repairs.

Staff Impacts. Objective and subjective measures of staff injuries and use of sick time. Objective information on staffing ratios.

Safety and Security. Objective and subjective measures of physical assaults, suicide attempts, and escapes.

Environment-Behavior Issues. The relationships between the built environment and behavior, such as the impact of soft furnishings, finishes, and inmate control of surroundings on such outcomes as incidents and vandalism. These features may or may not contribute to the overall management approach.

Design Issues. An overview of the range of design options associated with each supervision type including single versus multiple occupancy, types of finishes and furnishings, etc.

Impact on Overcrowding. The extent of overcrowding and subjective impressions of the physical and operational ability to cope with it.

Research Hypotheses

Our operating hypothesis, based on previous research, was that the direct supervision institutions would demonstrate a number of benefits compared to indirect supervision institutions. We expected them to report a greater level of safety for inmates and staff without reducing security. They would show increased levels of staff-inmate contact and more "quality" contact (longer duration; more personal). We would also expect less use of staff sick leave, less inmate utilization of health care services, and less vandalism. Direct supervision settings are expected to be able to cope better with overcrowding.

Within this model, it will be important to control for other variables such as staffing ratios, "hardness or softness" of the environment, the availability of resources, and the type of inmate (long versus short time, type of offense, etc.)

OVERVIEW OF METHODS

This project adopted a two phased approach: Phase I involved the mailing of a detailed survey to a broad sample of direct and indirect supervision prisons and jails. Phase II consisted of in-depth on-site case studies at seven facilities.

Phase I: Survey

A 19 page questionnaire was distributed to a sample of direct and indirect supervision jails and prisons. The questionnaire was divided into two sections. The institution's top administrator was instructed to complete the one section, which measured **attitudes** on topics including supervision, safety, security, surveillance, satisfaction with the facility, problems, philosophy, policies, health, condition of the facility, the appropriateness of certain types of finishes and furnishings, and staff duties.

The second part of the questionnaire was completed by assistant administrators with knowledge of operations and access to their institution's records. This section collected **descriptive information** on:

- physical layout and design
- capacity and security breakdown
- cell occupancy and supervision type
- security systems, furnishings, and finishes used in the facility
- policies concerning inmate movement and control over the environment
- age of the facility and any additions
- construction and operating costs
- staff training.

Survey items were organized into scales based on similarity of content (for example, questions on staff and inmate safety were summed into a scale of institution safety). Scales always read from 1 being better (e.g., safer) to 5 being worse. The neutral point is 3.0. The scales are described in Chapter II.1.

Reported descriptions of management styles and physical layouts were analyzed and led to the rating of each facility along a five point scale of direct-to-indirect supervision. For the purposes of the analysis reported in Part II, those facilities (at opposite ends of the scale) which could be characterized as "pure" direct supervision were compared with those which were "pure" indirect supervision.

Phase II: Case Study Methods

In the second phase of the study, we sought to collect more detailed data at a smaller number of institutions concerning the physical environment as well as the behaviors and attitudes of users. Several modes were used for data gathering, including survey instruments, interview formats, and searches of administrative or archival data. Each instrument or method listed below is described in detail in Chapter III.1 and is reproduced in the Attachments.

Administrator Interview. To gain an overview of the institution, learn of the background to the choice of supervision mode and hear the administrator's impressions of the degree of operational success of their supervision mode.

Physical Environment Survey. This form recorded the actual physical conditions within the housing unit in two ways: measurement of plans to determine space allocations and on-site observation of the housing units. We recorded data about space allocations functions, configuration, materials, ambient conditions, occupant control and privacy, information and display, staffing and supervision, security systems, and condition and cleanliness.

Behavioral Tracking. Tracking developed a detailed picture of the nature and level of staff-inmate

interaction in the housing unit. An observer watches and records each episode of communication or interaction between the staff and the inmates or between staff members. The tracking data were recorded in one of two ways: with a specially written computer program or manually using a data entry form.

Staff and Inmate Questionnaires. The questionnaires gain data on how these groups perceive and respond to the supervision mode and physical conditions in the housing units. The topics covered in the surveys include perceptions of contact between inmates and staff, safety, vandalism, satisfaction, space provision, crowding and privacy, ambient conditions, control over environment, time spent on various activities, rating of their own health, and respondent demographics. The response format was either multiple choice or a five point, bipolar rating scale. We distributed approximately 150 inmate and 75 staff questionnaires to all "typical" housing units at each site.

Staff and Inmate Interviews. In order to develop a greater depth of understanding of responses to the questions asked in the staff and inmate questionnaires, we interviewed one group of staff and one group of inmates in each institution.

Archival Data. It was our intention to collect "archival" data kept by the institution as a source for sick call rates, incidents, and staff sick leave. Unfortunately, we determined that the quality of the data available from the institutions was not sufficiently comparable to allow us to use it in this study. Therefore, we reluctantly dropped it from our analysis.

Selection of Subject Institutions. Subject institutions for our case studies were selected to create pairings of direct and indirect supervision facilities with otherwise similar attributes. They were also selected to provide interesting examples of variation in design and management style. Our sample was to include six cases: one direct and one indirect supervision jail, and two direct and two indirect supervision prisons. In the event, one additional direct supervision jail was added, for a total of seven. It was difficult to find purely indirect supervision state prisons, and this has caused us a degree of compromise in the "purity" of our findings. The sample is distributed across the U. S. to minimize regional biases. Only medium security male institutions (and general population units within jails) are included. All facilities are relatively new (built within the past ten years) and of recent design models (with modular housing units and inmate rooms rather than linear or with barred cells).

The following sites were selected for case studies:

- Roanoke City Jail, Virginia
- Pima County Jail, Tucson, Arizona
- Main Detention Facility, Contra Costa County, CA (added to the original sample)
- Ross Correctional Institution, Ohio
- Leiber Correctional Institution, South Carolina
- Riverfront State Prison, New Jersey
- Northern State Prison, New Jersey

OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Our study has revealed some of the multiple facets of direct supervision. These are summarized below, and treated in more detail in the Findings chapters and the Conclusion section.

What is Direct Supervision? (Or, "Indirect Supervision, By Any Other Name")

Many prisons describe themselves as direct supervision, even though they have enclosed control booths at the housing units with at least some of their staff stationed in them. This makes it difficult to classify prisons and to identify ones that are truly limited to indirect supervision. The indirect supervision prisons in our study

actually best represented the "hybrid" direct/indirect supervision model, with some aspects of each mode. Jails, by contrast, appear to more closely follow the direct/indirect dichotomy, though some direct supervision jails are provided with enclosed control booths, either because the system committed to direct supervision after plans were finalized, or as a fall back or failsafe measure.

How Is Each Supervision Mode Perceived By Management?

There is a trend toward direct supervision facilities being rated somewhat better than indirect ones. Managers of direct supervision facilities were significantly more likely than managers of indirect facilities to feel that direct supervision was an appropriate design and management form.

In What Ways Do Direct and Indirect Facilities Differ Physically?

The presence of an enclosed control booth at the housing unit characterizes indirect supervision facilities (though this is not a decisive differentiation). We also found that direct supervision facilities are more likely to be "softer" and more "normalized" and their cells are likely to have more amenities. Sanitation levels, cleanliness and overall condition were not found to differ.

How Critical Is the Built Environment?

An improved **quality of environment** contributes to inmate management and other beneficial outcomes, setting up positive behavioral expectations and norms. Direct supervision administrators rate a quality environment as appropriate and inmates were more favorable toward conditions in the direct supervision facilities. But, it is not clear how "soft" an environment needs to be: at what point the desired expectations are communicated to inmates and staff.

A great deal of effort in correctional facility design has gone into achieving **unobstructed visual observation**. Good visibility was uniformly praised and poor visibility decried where they were perceived to exist. Of course, if staff are not limited to a fixed vantage point from a control booth, the geometry of the unit becomes less important. With staff moving about, the openness of a direct supervision dayroom (if there are not significant blind spots or hidden areas) appears to suffice. Visibility from a fixed control station is all important in indirect supervision facilities.

The provision — or not — of an **enclosed control booth** (which is assumed to be provided at indirect supervision facilities) seems to be quite critical in direct supervision facilities. While many indirect supervision systems appear to believe that the booth is needed for security or as refuge, it is clear from observations and interviews that it is possible to do without it very successfully.

Is One Mode Safer Than The Other For Inmates or Staff?

There is considerable evidence that direct supervision facilities are seen as safer than indirect supervision ones. From our mailout survey, we found that direct supervision administrators rated their facilities as better on variables of safety and reported fewer incidents of violence (at borderline significance levels) than did indirect administrators. Our other data appears to have been distorted by extreme overcrowding at two of the direct facilities. However, when crowding (in the form of double bunking) at the prisons is taken into account, inmates appear to feel considerably safer in direct supervision facilities. The direct supervision facilities were seen by inmates as providing an acceptably quick response (under a minute), while the indirect supervision facilities were felt to have unacceptably long response times (in the 3 to 5 minute range).

How Do Staff and Inmates Interact in the Two Modes?

Observations of staff-inmate interaction showed that officers in direct supervision facilities do indeed spend their time within the living units, largely in interaction with inmates. In contrast with indirect facilities, direct supervision officers regularly spoke of "stopping problems before they start." Staff, rather than inmates, appear to be in control of direct supervision facilities. Indirect supervision staff spend more time with other staff and correspondingly less time interacting with inmates.

Does Supervision Mode Have an Impact on Coping With Overcrowding?

Crowding (occupancy above design or rated capacity) has a negative or distorting effect on the results at direct supervision facilities. The direct supervision housing units we studied were much larger than the indirect supervision and far more over capacity. However, the direct supervision sites seem to hold up fairly well under what in some cases is extreme overcrowding. For some factors, the overcrowded direct supervision facilities are operating as well as, and in some cases better than, the indirect supervision facilities. But in some ways, the crowding seems to strike at the foundation of the principles of direct supervision. For example, one sees officers spending more time with other officers and at their desks than the direct supervision model would support. Officers also indicate that they are increasing unfamiliar and out of touch with inmates. Adding extra officers on the living unit as population increases does not fully compensate for dealing with additional inmates. Planned and actual living unit size is a key factor in comparing supervision outcomes, staffing effectiveness, and efficiency.

Are There Differences in Cost Between the Two Modes?

There is evidence from other studies that direct supervision facilities may cost less to build and operate than do indirect ones. Our studies are not conclusive, but suggest that this may be the case.

How Do Managers Choose a Supervision Model?

Given the currency of the debate within the corrections field concerning direct supervision (and endorsements from some professional associations), it may be difficult for a correctional system to avoid facing a conscious choice of supervision modes when planning a new facility. With considerable (even if inconclusive) evidence pointing to benefits of direct supervision (and little or no evidence that alternative models are superior), why do some systems select direct supervision while others consider and reject it? Reasons may include the notion that direct supervision facilities are not consonant with some corrections professional's deepest feelings about what a correctional setting should be like. These facilities may be seen as being too nice for inmates, who after all are supposed to be punished. Again, the supervision mode may not represent what some see as being expected of an officer (interaction, communications, inmate management). If the impression of the supervision model runs counter to deeply held feelings or beliefs, it may be rejected no matter how much objective evidence is marshaled on its behalf. Direct supervision requires very considerable change for a system which is operating by indirect supervision and this change may be perceived as unnecessary risk taking by decision makers.

Direct Supervision Requires a Commitment to Make it Work

There must be a commitment from top management that direct supervision works and contributes to the organization's mission. Management must believe that it is viable and effective and must make a commitment of resources, manpower, training, public relations, and so forth. An effective classification system to screen inmates and alternative settings for those inmates who cannot succeed in a direct supervision unit are also essential.

There has also been a concern expressed that, with many systems planning new direct supervision facilities,

one or more will put the officer in the housing unit without the training and the classification of inmates required to make the direct supervision system work. This could lead to a major disaster, such as an officer being killed, which has a unfair negative reflection on direct supervision in general.

We observed some situations in which officers were in direct contact with inmates without the benefit of an explicit management commitment to direct supervision or the kind of training and support which accompanies that philosophy. Under those circumstances, officers were more likely to feel exposed and endangered, and were generally uncomfortable with that level of inmate contact. By contrast, in explicit direct supervision systems, inmate contact was seen as reasonable, natural, and safe.

CONCLUSIONS

To summarize, direct supervision facilities appear to cost less or the same as indirect supervision ones to build and operate, require less or the same level of staffing, and achieve desirable outcomes in terms of meeting their missions, reducing stress, improving safety and security, and so forth. If there is a drawback to direct supervision facilities it is that they may take more effort and commitment to plan, train for, and manage.

On the other hand, and even with the apparent advantages of direct supervision, it must be stated that some of the indirect supervision facilities in our surveys performed quite well in many ways. Well managed, well designed indirect supervision correctional facilities must not be looked down upon, particularly since so many of them are hybrids with partial direct supervision characteristics. Such facilities would appear to fall within an acceptable range in terms of critical outcomes. Thus, while our research shows clearly that direct supervision *does* work and can work very well (especially when crowding is limited), it does *not* demonstrate that indirect supervision *does not* work.

Two factors could account for the lack of stronger differences in our study. First, the selected direct supervision facilities were uniformly overcrowded and experiencing double bunking at moderate to severe levels. The indirect supervision facilities, by contrast, were largely at capacity, using single bed rooms. The direct supervision facilities were operating at a clear disadvantage. It is very possible that the questionnaire ratings would have been more positive for direct supervision at lower population levels.

Second, an overview of each of the indirect supervision facility case studies suggests that they may be operating well in spite of rather than because of their design and management philosophy. The indirect supervision design and operation seems to clearly make the officer's job more difficult, and at times seems to require increased staffing.

Limitations of This Study

Several aspects of, and limitations on, the research methods and approach used here have become clear. We focussed on two main approaches: a broad mailout survey plus relatively few in-depth case studies. It has become obvious that, in spite of our careful attention to selection of case study sites, the results are not (and cannot be) a simple comparison of direct versus indirect supervision. Differences in supervision style clearly existed and appeared to have an impact, but facilities also differed in significant ways such as unit size, degree population was over capacity and staff-inmate ratios.

There are other limitations on the generalizability of our findings. We only looked at relatively new, medium security, adult male institutions. Because of the problems of "hybridization" we were only able to have a limited sample of indirect supervision prisons. We have been careful, however, not to compare prisons with jails.

We have also concluded that problems in collecting archival data (sick call, incidents) are serious and inherent. Thus, we rejected the archival data and have not reported on it here. We recommend consideration of a "prospective" study which would collect these data as events occur, rather than relying on historical records.

By contrast, one facet of our study, the behavioral tracking, was particularly effective in revealing differences in supervision effects and outcomes. We recommend that more of this type of data gathering be included in future studies.

II.1 MAILOUT SURVEY: METHODS

The first phase of our research encompassed a recently completed questionnaire survey sent to a structured sample population of jails and prisons. (See Attachments section for a copy of the questionnaire.)

A draft of the survey questionnaire was distributed to an advisory panel and sponsoring agency for comments. The questionnaire was revised and pre-tested at two jails and two prisons in different parts of the country. The quality of the responses on the pretest were evaluated and, along with specific comments from respondents, used to make further revisions before the final 19 page questionnaire was distributed to the survey sample.

The questionnaire was divided into two sections. The institution's top administrator was instructed to complete the one section, which measured attitudes on topics including supervision, safety, security, surveillance, satisfaction with the facility, problems, philosophy, policies, health, condition of the facility, the appropriateness of certain types of finishes and furnishings, and staff duties. Respondents were asked to indicate their subjective reactions on a five point scale. The following illustrate a typical questions from this section:

In general, **direct supervision** allows better control over a facility.

(1) strongly agree (2) agree (3) neutral (4) disagree (5) strongly disagree

For our type of facility (and inmate) **direct supervision** would needlessly endanger custody staff.

(5) strongly agree (4) agree (3) neutral (2) disagree (1) strongly disagree

The second part of the questionnaire was completed by assistant administrators with knowledge of operations and access to their institution's records. This section collected **descriptive information** on:

- physical layout and design
- capacity and security breakdown
- cell occupancy and supervision type
- security systems, furnishings, and finishes used in the facility
- policies concerning inmate movement and control over the environment
- age of the facility and any additions
- construction and operating costs
- staff training.

Copies of floor plans and the institution's mission statement were also requested.

In structuring the sample of institutions, the aim was to achieve a high degree of variation on the dimensions of age, size, jurisdiction, security level, and region. We developed a representative sampling plan with a target of 60 to 75 cases. Several sources were used to identify and classify candidate facilities. The 1985 edition of the American Correctional Association *Directory* was used as a source of potential prisons. A mailing list of jails which had planned new facilities in recent years compiled by the National Institute of Corrections was used as a source of county jails. Two recent censuses conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics provided more potential jails and prisons.

Fifty state and federal prisons and 23 jails, including three federal MCCs, were targeted to receive questionnaires. Roughly half of the prisons and jails were direct supervision and the other half indirect supervision. Minimum security institutions were not included because there is little controversy over their use of direct supervision and associated design features. Age was eliminated as a selection criterion due to a lack of initial information on this aspect of the institutions.

Letters requesting participation were sent to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, 24 state departments of corrections, and 20 jails. After following up on recipients who failed to respond to the initial inquiry, a total of

67 questionnaires were sent out (47 to prisons and 20 to jails). A total of 52 completed questionnaires were received (38 from prisons and 14 from jails), a 78% rate of return.

Analytical Procedures

Survey items were provisionally organized into scales based on apparent similarity of content (for example, questions on staff and inmate safety were summed into a scale of institution safety). Then the scale was refined by dropping out those items which were not highly correlated with others in the scale. Scales always read from 1 being better (e.g., safer) to 5 being worse. The neutral point is 3.0. The scales which were used in the analysis are listed in Table 1.

Table II.1-1: Scales Used in Analysis

Scale Name	Number of Items	Content
Safety	5	Inmate and staff safety.
Safe Design	4	Ability to control safety-related behaviors due to design.
Surveillance	4	Ability to survey living areas.
Supervision	5	Appropriateness of direct supervision.
Furniture	9	Appropriateness of furniture types.
Clean	5	Cleanliness and repair.
Satisfaction	7	Satisfaction with the facility.
Problems	6	Problems in the institution.
Discipline	9	Inmate behaviors which lead to disciplinary action.
Staff Health	5	Staff health.
Inmate Health	4	Inmate health.
Accessibility	16	Inmate accessibility to spaces.
Environmental Control	3	Inmate ability to control environmental conditions.
Privacy	3	Inmate privacy.
Programs	-	Number of available inmate programs.
Cell Amenities	-	Number of amenities available in cells.
Dayroom Amenities	-	Number of amenities available in dayrooms.
Vandalism	14	Sum of vandalism items.

Reported descriptions of management styles and physical layouts were analyzed and led to the rating of each facility along a five point scale of direct-to-indirect supervision styles. For the purposes of the comparative analysis reported below, those facilities (at opposite ends of the scale) which could be characterized as "pure" direct supervision were compared with those which were "pure" indirect supervision.

II.2 MAILOUT SURVEY: FINDINGS

DESCRIPTION OF FACILITIES IN THIS STUDY

The average age of the surveyed facilities is 20 years, although variability is quite high and not spread evenly among facility types. Facilities which are categorized as either purely direct or purely indirect are quite new, averaging 7 years of age (typically built in 1980). On the other hand, the older facilities (average age approximately 36 years) are neither clearly direct nor clearly indirect supervision.

In terms of population, the average rated capacity for the surveyed facilities was 529 beds (again variability is high; SD = 724). Current rated capacity is almost 40% higher than original planned capacity (mean = 717, SD = 702). Average actual current population over the past year is approximately 94% of capacity, or 686 inmates. The overwhelming majority of inmates are males (92%). Most are either being held in pretrial detention (for the jails) or in medium or minimum security (for the prisons).

Overall, the facilities we surveyed considered their primary goals to be holding inmates and keeping them away from the public. Providing programs, protecting inmates from harm, and punishing inmates were somewhat lessor, but still important, facility goals.

Facilities of all kinds in this survey reported having problems with overcrowding and with conditions of confinement lawsuits. Problems with noise levels, durability of materials, and the ability of the building to support program effectiveness were mentioned less frequently. Fire safety, visibility into the institution from the outside, and personal injury suits were not perceived to be problems.

Overall, most administrators perceived their institutions as being safe (mean = 2.1 out of 5) and as having designs which aided them somewhat in providing safety and security (mean = 2.45). Settings were seen as very clean (mean = 1.08), and giving some help in providing surveillance in living areas (mean = 2.61). Inmate health was seen as rather good (mean = 2.35, while staff health was rated more neutral (mean = 2.82). Overall, the administrators indicated a preference for direct supervision styles of management (mean = 2.12). The means for these items are shown graphically in Figure 1. The most important reasons administrators gave for building a new facility were first, that they were under court order to provide new facilities; and second, that there was a pressing need to expand capacity.

Other issues, which were important to a lesser degree, were staff-inmate ratios, mode of inmate movement through the facility, and the ability to keep inmate groups separate. Facility height, connections to other government buildings, centralization of services, and implementation of direct or indirect supervision models were seen as of relatively little importance.

Several items in the questionnaire were designed to elicit information on direct vs. indirect supervision styles at the facility, both in terms of design, operational style and management systems (see Administrators Questionnaire, items 19-25, 95-99, 141-145, 150-158 in the Attachments section.) Unfortunately, responses were, at times, contradictory or inconsistent (particularly with reference to items 141-145 and 150-158). For example, administrators for some institutions would indicate a direct supervision design with no control booth, but indirect supervision management style.

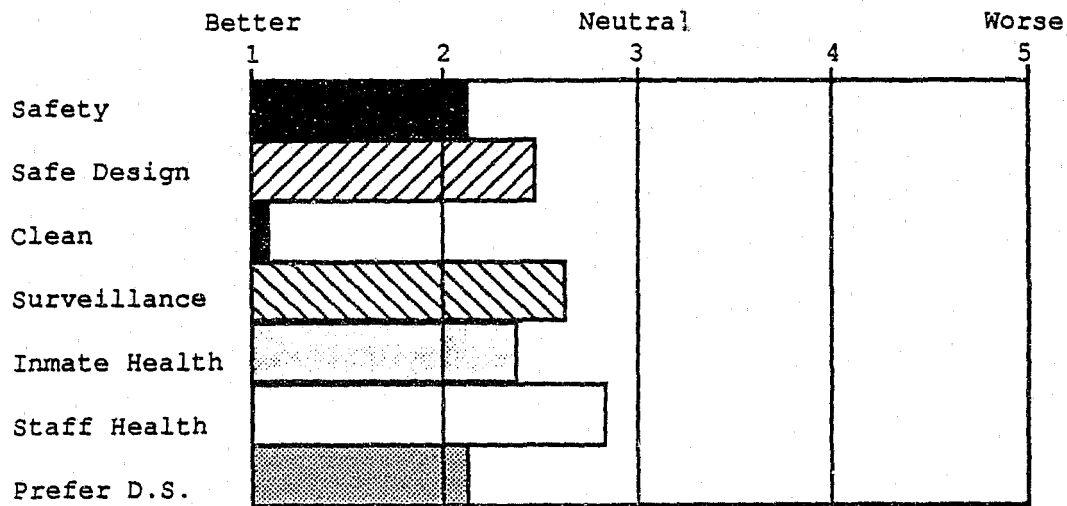
An additional variable was created, therefore, to identify the nature of supervision style at each institution, based on a review of all the above items for each facility. Each facility was rated on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 represents "pure direct supervision," 2 is "somewhat direct supervision," 3 is "neutral or unclear," 4 is "somewhat indirect supervision," and 5 is "pure indirect supervision." Further comparisons were based on this variable.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DIRECT AND INDIRECT INSTITUTIONS

While on many items there were no differences between direct and indirect supervision settings, in general there was a trend toward direct supervision facilities being rated somewhat better by their administrators. There were no differences between direct and indirect facilities in age, average capacity of the facility (522 versus 540) or construction cost per bed (\$39,500 versus \$41,700).

As one might expect, managers of direct supervision facilities were significantly more likely than managers of indirect facilities to feel that direct supervision was an appropriate design and management form for many or all inmate types. Direct supervision facilities were somewhat (although not statistically significantly) more likely than indirect supervision facilities to use porcelain versus stainless steel toilets, wood versus metal or barred doors, swinging versus sliding doors, and manual versus remote or motor driven locking mechanisms.

Figure II.2-1: Means For Selected Scales and Items



Tests of statistical significance (t-tests) were run comparing mean ratings from those facilities which were categorized as "pure" direct supervision against those with "pure" indirect supervision. All of the scales with statistically significant differences are presented in Table 2, along with their levels of significance.

Table II.2-1: Scales That Show Significant Differences Between Direct and Indirect Supervision Facilities

Scale	Scale Means For:		Statistical Measures:	
	Direct Supervision Facilities	Indirect Supervision Facilities	t	p<
How safe is this facility ¹	1.68	2.21	-3.15	.01
Ease of surveillance ¹	3.60	2.94	2.03	.05
Appropriateness of direct supervision ¹	3.88	3.01	3.00	.01
Appropriateness of "soft" furniture ¹	2.69	3.47	-2.20	.04
Appropriateness of:				
Movable Furniture ¹	1.90	3.47	-3.13	.01
Upholstered Furniture ¹	2.90	3.94	-1.90	.08
Doors With Bars ¹	2.50	3.75	-2.22	.04
Hollow Metal Doors ¹	4.10	3.06	2.39	.03
Number of cell amenities	14.90	12.63	2.86	.01
Number of violence incidents ²	12.99	32.04	-1.70	.10

¹ Rating scale is 1 to 5, where "1" means more positive or more appropriate and "5" means more negative or less appropriate.

² Incidents occurring over a 12 month period.

Administrators from direct supervision facilities rated their facilities as better on variables of safety and ability to survey the setting than did those from indirect supervision. They were, not surprisingly, more likely to feel that direct supervision was appropriate. They were also more likely to rate "soft," more flexible, and more "normalized" furniture as appropriate for their facility (this scale included items referring to movable furniture, wooden doors, and upholstered furniture, among others. Curiously, they also rated barred doors as more acceptable). Cells in direct supervision facilities were also likely to have more amenities than those in indirect facilities.

Direct supervision facilities reported fewer incidents of violence than did indirect facilities (at borderline significance levels), while indirect facilities reported greater concerns and problems with conditions of confinement lawsuits than did the direct supervision facilities.

Direct supervision facilities were more likely to rate high in facility planning goals of providing a "least harmful setting" and protecting inmates, as well as providing a supportive environment, although they also rated "punishment" as a more important goal.

Limitations of the Data

There are several factors which may potentially distort the interpretation or significance of the data. First, the data comes from a single source — the institution's administration. All **subjective** data represent the opinion of only one individual at the top of the administrative chain. This administrator may be less in touch with living unit conditions than line staff would be. Moreover, the administrator may be inclined, intentionally or otherwise, to present his/her institution in the best light, reducing negative reporting.

Even for "**objective**" data, there is, unfortunately, no reason to expect uniformity in the way in which data are gathered and reported in different institutions. On one level, some institutions may simply have better record keeping procedures than others and be more accurate in reporting variables such as staff sick days or vandalism. At a more basic level, the management approach which defines, for example, the nature of a

reportable incident can vary widely.

Another problem for interpretation is the preponderance of federal facilities (especially prisons) in the direct supervision sample. There is a possibility that our responses represent federal-versus-local differences, rather than direct-versus-indirect differences. A closer inspection of the data does not completely resolve this difference. For example on the variable of reported incidents, the few non-federal direct supervision institutions do not have a lower level of incidents than the indirect ones (though this is attributable to a very high level of incidents in one facility; the other direct supervision jails have rates much lower than the comparable indirect supervision jails). Clearly there is a need to add more non-federal direct supervision facilities to our sample.

DISCUSSION

Overall, administrators rated their facilities positively. They seemed to see their settings as serviceable and operating reasonably well. Staff and inmate problems were not seen as extraordinary. Most of these new facilities were built under pressure of court mandates and/or pressure of overcrowding. They were built with an eye on providing secure settings which provide ample ability to separate inmate populations and reduce interior movement.

Some potential differences among settings may be muted in this survey by a possible tendency of administrators to present their facilities (and themselves) in the best possible light. Nevertheless, there were several important areas in which direct supervision facilities performed significantly better than indirect facilities (such as in rated safety and actual number of reported incidents of violence).

PART III: CASE STUDIES

III.1 CASE STUDY METHODS

INTRODUCTION

The survey conducted in the first phase measured administrator's attitudes and collected descriptive information from a large sample of institutions. In the second phase of the study, we sought to collect more detailed data at a smaller number of institutions concerning the physical environment as well as the behaviors and attitudes of users. In every case, we wished to uncover the linkages between the mode of supervision (direct or indirect) and the physical environment. Thus, data were collected on issues such as safety, security, user control, quality and frequency of interactions, health, maintenance, and so forth.

Several modes were used for data gathering, including survey instruments, interview formats, and searches of administrative or archival data.

Each instrument or method is listed below and described in some detail in subsequent sections. Each instrument is also reproduced in the Attachments.

- Administrator Interview
- Physical Environment Survey
- Staff and Inmate Questionnaires
- Staff and Inmate Interviews
- Behavioral Tracking
- Archival Data (incident reports, inmate sick calls, staff sick hours)

For all data gathering activities, this study has been limited to the housing areas only and to male medium secure institutions or units.

Administrator Interview

The purpose of the administrator interview is to gain an overview of the institution, learn of the background to the choice of supervision mode and hear the administrator's impressions of the degree of operational success of their supervision mode. Given the relatively unstructured nature of the interview, no special protocol was prepared for it. No formal analysis was attempted of the information gained in these interviews.

Physical Environment Survey

Given the focus of this project on the design correlates of inmate supervision, it was essential to record the actual physical conditions within the housing unit. This was done in two ways: measurement of plans to determine space allocations and on-site observation of the housing units themselves. Since supervision mode is dominant in the housing units, that was the only part of each institution to be surveyed.

The physical environment survey (PES) form was developed largely as a combination of the salient items from a previous study (the NIC-sponsored "Evaluation of Correctional Environments") and the physical description items from the mailout survey done in the first phase of the present study. The form was pretested for ease of use and effective coverage of required items.

The PES contains questions covering the following topics. Most data were gathered for both dayrooms and sleeping rooms/cells

- space allocations, numbers of cells/rooms

- functions accommodated at the housing unit
- unit configuration
- facilities and materials
- ambient conditions
- degrees of inmate and staff control and privacy
- opportunities for information and display
- description of staffing, supervision and degree of enclosure of the staff spaces
- security systems hardware
- ratings of condition and cleanliness

In administering the PES, one or more forms would be completed, depending on the degree of variation in design (or condition) among housing units. If all units were essentially identical, only one form would be completed for an institution. If housing units varied, a form would be prepared for a representative of each type of unit.

Responses from each institution were summarized and displayed in a two-by-two matrix (institution type by supervision type). Results are described in a subsequent chapter.

Staff and Inmate Questionnaires

The purpose of the staff and inmate questionnaires was to gain data on how these groups perceive and respond to the supervision mode and physical conditions in the housing units.

The topics covered in the surveys correspond to the subjects identified in our hypotheses. They include:

- contact between inmates and staff (frequency, ease, and quality of contacts)
- safety (level of danger versus safety, frequency of violence and assault, staff response time)
- vandalism
- level of satisfaction with facilities
- level of perceived space provision
- degrees of perceived crowding and privacy
- ratings of ambient conditions (lighting, sound, cleanliness)
- perceived level of control over environment
- description of time spent on various activities
- rating of their own health (12 items were taken from a widely used and validated scale, the Hopkins Symptom Checklist SCL-90. We used the somatization scale, which has been used by other environment and behavior researchers under related circumstances. Reference: Leonard R. Derogatis, et. al., "The Hopkins Symptom Checklist (HSCL): A Self-Report Symptom Inventory," *Behavioral Science*, Volume 19k, 1974, pp. 1-15).
- individual demographics (sex, age, education, etc.)

The response format was either multiple choice or a five point, bipolar rating scale with both poles labeled and the middle identified as neutral. A few questions required yes-no responses. Here is a sample of a five point response format item:

	Almost Never		Neutral		Very Often
How often do inmates talk with officers?	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]

Depending on the size of the institution, we distributed approximately 150 inmate and 75 staff questionnaires (fewer if the pool of appropriate staff was smaller than 75). These would be distributed to all "typical" housing units (avoiding special programs, populations or physical conditions). Only staff assigned to

housing units were asked to complete the form. A variety of means was used to distribute inmate and staff questionnaires, but in each case every effort was made to ensure either a 100% or a random distribution. Our target was a 50% return rate, but in many cases was much higher. Inmate surveys were distributed and collected at the housing units. Staff surveys were distributed and collected either at the housing unit or during shift change at a central location. It was made clear at distribution that no subject was required to complete the form. Since the form was only available in an English language version, non-English speakers were excluded from the survey (there were considerable numbers of these among inmates in at least one of the subject institutions). This also applies to the interviews described in the next paragraph.

Survey responses were coded and computer analyzed, largely as means or frequencies. More sophisticated analyses are described in the Findings chapters.

Staff and Inmate Interviews

In order to develop a greater depth of understanding of responses to the questions asked in the staff and inmate questionnaires, we conducted interviews with each type of respondent. These were carried out in small groups (with one exception where security concerns lead an institution to require individual inmate interviews). The reasons for interviewing in groups was so that individuals could respond to and amplify on other's answers and so that we could tap a reasonably large and diverse number of respondents in a short time.

Each interview was begun by giving a short general introduction to the project (without identifying our interest in direct or indirect supervision). We then asked a series of questions from the interview schedule. The questions covered the same topics in the inmate and staff surveys, giving respondents the opportunity to amplify on their responses. Each lead-in question was accompanied by more detailed follow-ups, for use in case they were needed to keep the discussion flowing. The interviewer made an effort to encourage each member of the group to participate and to keep individuals from dominating the discussion.

One group of staff and one group of inmates was interviewed in each institution. Groups consisted of from about five to about ten subjects. Interviews were generally conducted in or near the housing unit.

Interviews were transcribed as paraphrased responses to each question; results are summarized in the Findings chapter, while the transcriptions can be reviewed in the Attachments.

Behavioral Tracking

The purpose of behavioral tracking was to develop a more detailed picture of the nature and level of staff-inmate interaction entailed by each mode of supervision. Tracking is accomplished by an observer stationed inside the housing unit, with a clear view of the staff member(s) present. The observer watches and records each episode of communication or interaction between the staff and the inmates or between staff members.

Tracking at each institution was carried out in one to two hour sessions held at different times of the day and evening. Generally, one or two housing units were selected for tracking and a total of four to eight hours of tracking were completed.

The tracking data were recorded in one of two ways. At most institutions, a specially written computer program was used ("BTRACK" which runs on a Tandy 102 portable laptop computer). The program treats each interaction episode as a unit and prompts the observer to enter the start time, a code for the location, a code for the nature of the interaction, a code for the quality of the interaction (on a five point scale from friendly to hostile), and the end time. Where the program was not used, the same data were recorded

manually.

Given the fact that several observers collected this data (and that it was impossible for them to meet in one location), an effort was made to achieve inter-rater reliability through preliminary discussion of which behaviors would be categorized into which categories.

The tracking data were analyzed by developing descriptive statistics on frequency and duration of various types of interactions per person or per unit of time.

Archival Data

It was our intention to collect so-called "archival" data kept by the institution as a source concerning sick call rates, incidents, and staff sick leave. Each of these is a general indicator of outcomes which might be related to mode of supervision and/or physical conditions. While no particular forms were developed, we sought to obtain uniform data for a uniform period of time. This turned out to be particularly difficult for these types of data, since each institution (or system) has its own ways of categorizing the behaviors that contribute to these outcomes. They also have divergent policies for dealing with them. For example, what might be considered a serious incident at one institution could be completely ignored in another. Levels of health care services offered and the ways in which they are proffered can also affect the degree to which inmates request attention. In any case, we have attempted to obtain the following types of data:

- number of incident reports
- number of inmate sick calls
- staff sick hours

Unfortunately, we determined that the quality of the data available from the institutions was not sufficiently comparable to allow us to use it in this study. Therefore, we have reluctantly dropped it from our analysis.

SELECTION OF SUBJECT INSTITUTIONS

Selection Criteria

Subject institutions for our case studies were selected to create pairings of direct and indirect supervision facilities with otherwise similar attributes. Our sample was to include six cases: one direct and one indirect supervision jail, and two direct and two indirect supervision prisons (note that, in the event, one additional direct supervision jail was added). Case study sites were to be drawn from among the institutions surveyed during the first phase of the project so that data would be available for analysis (or could be gathered later).

The following criteria were used to evaluate candidates for use in the case studies:

- **Sampling:** We originally intended to draw case study sites from our sample for the mailout survey. A variety of factors made it necessary to look outside our original sample for some sites. The difficulty of securing departmental approval was a major factor. Additionally, it was difficult to find purely indirect supervision state prisons.
- **Supervision type:** As mentioned in Part II, it was often difficult to classify institutions as purely representing one supervision type or the other. Most of the facilities we surveyed have some combination of attributes commonly associated with both supervision types. We attempted to identify sites with a predominance of characteristics related to one supervision type or the other.
- **State and local operation:** We avoided using federal institutions for our case studies because there were concerns that comparing state and federal institutions posed a threat to the validity of the

study. Type of inmate or overall management of the system, rather than supervision differences, could present a rival explanation for any significant results.

- **Geographic distribution:** We attempted to divide our case study sample equally between the eastern and western continental United States, both to minimize regional biases as well as for the convenience of our research team. However, we found it difficult to find appropriate direct supervision state prisons in the western United States and were forced to select our examples of direct supervision prisons from the east.
- **Jails and prisons:** Both jails and prisons were included in our sample to reinforce external validity. The populations of each are under very different circumstances. Jail inmates are often regarded as more volatile while prison populations are more stable and have less turnover. We included both settings to demonstrate the applicability of results to jails as well as prisons. However, we did not directly compare the jails and prisons.
- **Security level:** As with the mailout survey, only medium security institutions (and general population units within jails) were considered due to the lack of controversy over using direct supervision in a minimum security setting.
- **Size:** The rated capacity of each pairing was matched as closely as possible to control for facility size.
- **Age and design:** All facilities were to be relatively new (built within the past ten years) and of recent design models (with modular housing units and inmate rooms rather than linear or with barred cells).
- **Configuration/operation:** Given the limited number of sites, we selected facilities based, in part, on their design and operational style. In this respect, we were looking at settings which represented important prototypes or interesting variations in design and operation. For example, Roanoke City Jail represented an interesting extreme in being a well programmed and staffed facility which also was an clear example of indirect/intermittent supervision. Riverfront State Prison and Northern State Prison represented hybrid direct/indirect supervision designs and, as such, offered the potential to study the effects on operations of relatively small variations in design.
- **Cooperation:** Willingness to participate in this project (not all of the initially selected facilities were willing to be case studies) .

Selected Sites

The following sites were selected for case studies. Abbreviations in parenthesis are used in subsequent chapters to identify findings for each institution.

- **Roanoke City Jail (RCJ).** An indirect supervision, locally operated, presentenced jail in Virginia.
- **Pima County Jail (PIMA).** A 468 bed presentenced jail run by direct supervision in Tucson, Arizona.
- **Ross Correctional Institution (CHIL).** A 1,360 bed state prison in Chillicothe, Ohio. The facility not only uses direct supervision, but unit management as well.
- **Leiber Correctional Institution (LCI).** A direct supervision state prison in South Carolina.
- **Northern State Prison (NSP).** An indirect supervision state prison in Newark, New Jersey.

- **Riverfront State Prison (RSP).** A hybrid direct supervision state prison in Camden, New Jersey. Its housing units are physically identical to NSP with the exception of the staff station, which is an open counter at RSP (compared to an enclosed booth at NSP).
- **Main Detention Facility, Contra Costa County, CA (CCC).** The first county jail to adopt direct supervision, this is a 386 bed facility operating at about double its intended capacity. While not part of our original sample, it became possible to include it through cooperation with another research team.

The subsequent chapters in Part III report on findings from the survey methods described above.

III.2 OVERVIEW OF CASE STUDY SITES

This chapter presents an overview of each of the case study sites. Two are county jails while four are prisons. One jail and two prisons are operated on each of the two supervision models.

The institutions are:

Jails:

- Main Detention Facility, Contra Costa, CA (direct supervision)
- Pima County, AZ (direct supervision)
- Roanoke, VA (indirect supervision)

Prisons:

- Ross Correctional Institution, OH (direct supervision)
- Lieber Correctional Institution, SC (direct supervision)
- Riverfront State Prison, Newark, NJ (direct/hybrid supervision)
- Northern State Prison, Camden, NJ (indirect supervision)

Each institution is described below.

MAIN DETENTION FACILITY, CONTRA COSTA, CA

Overview of Visit

The visit was conducted by Craig Zimring and Pat Kaya (from the architect's office) on August 10-11, and December 12-13, 1988. Each session involved interviews with staff, administrators and inmates and observation of activity on the modules. Records were made available to the evaluation team by the facility administration and the Contra Costa County Sheriff's Department. Questionnaires were distributed to inmates and staff on December 1, 1988 by Bill Frazier, Director of Inmate Industries. 28 staff surveys were distributed (to all housing unit staff) and 28 collected (100% response rate). These questionnaires represented all deputies with direct supervision responsibilities on four male general population units and one female population unit; 20-25 inmates per unit. 128 inmate surveys were distributed (to inmates on all housing units) and 103 were collected (80% response rate).

Type of Institution and Management Style

Contra Costa Main Detention Facility is a county jail. It is operated on the direct supervision concept. Intended for pretrial and short term convicted inmates with stays ranging from one day to three years.

Population

The total design capacity of the Contra Costa Main Detention Facility is 386 inmates. On August 10, 1988 the facility had a population of 830 inmates (representing 215% capacity).

Physical Description of Institution and Housing Units

Contra Costa Main Detention Facility opened in January, 1981 and is a compact, four-story concrete building on a 7.5 acre site in downtown Martinez, CA. It is adjacent to the county courthouse complex and to a prosperous residential neighborhood. The facility contains pretrial and short-term sentenced inmates in nine self-contained modules designed with the objective to restrict prisoner movement. Each unit contains 45

cells around a central two story dayroom with an adjacent outdoor recreation area, contact and non-contact visiting. The original intention of the design was to provide alternative locii of activity on the main floor and the mezzanine floor. However, the small mezzanine lounges are mostly filled with bedrolls and bunk beds due to overcrowding. In the current arrangement there are two TV sets on the main floor and a third on the mezzanine. There are 8 inmate telephones on the main floor with modest acoustic isolation from the TV. With up to 130 inmates, it appears quite difficult to talk on the phone in a normal tone of voice. The overall feeling of the housing unit is like a tough rehabilitation program — more institutional than correctional in appearance. The walls are sheet rock painted in muted earth tones and the eight year old carpeting is clean and in relatively good condition. The chrome and vinyl institutional furniture and plush sofas are also in good condition and allow quick rearrangement of the dayroom. After the facility was completed, a stand-up deputy station was added near the main entry to each module. The deputy station allows deputies easy access to intercoms and telephones but, because of the irregular shape of the housing unit, does not allow direct visual observation of all cell doors, showers, or dayrooms spaces. Inmates have access to an indoor universal weight machine in the dayroom and to a concrete outdoor exercise yard. The weight machine is a significant source of noise but gets very heavy use.

Staffing, Operation and Supervision of Housing Units

The original staffing plan called for one deputy on each unit. When the inmate census exceeded 65, a second deputy was added for each unit for the day and evening shifts. The deputies generally are quite young and are of equal rank; that is, most deputies are on their first rotation out of the academy and are gaining seniority so that they can serve on patrol. Deputies estimated that they knew 80% inmates in their module by face and perhaps 50% by name. Because of the high volume of traffic in and out of the units (visitors, attorneys, volunteers, library workers, teachers, etc.) a large amount of deputy time was devoted to monitoring traffic. The deputies appear to spend much of their time dealing with administrative matters at the deputy station and most interactions with inmates appear to be fairly brief and businesslike.

Special Programs

Every housing unit has a fairly high level of programming including education, pastoral meetings, librarian visits, counseling and other activities. The director of inmate services estimated that on any given day 50% of inmates are involved in some activity on their housing unit. The original design did not consider this high level of activity and with overcrowding scheduling of activities and visits has become difficult.

PIMA COUNTY MAIN JAIL, TUCSON, ARIZONA

Overview of Visit

The visit was conducted by Greg Barker on October 6 and 7, 1988 (assisted by John Heatherington, a doctoral candidate in environmental psychology from the University of Arizona at Tucson). Weather was clear and unseasonably warm, with daytime temperatures in the 90's. All research tasks were completed within the two day visit. Seventy-five staff surveys were distributed to housing unit staff on all three shifts and 31 collected. One hundred fifty inmate surveys were distributed (to inmates on all housing units) and 80 collected.

Type of Institution and Management Style

Pima County Main Jail is a medium security jail housing up to 540 inmates. It is operated on the direct supervision concept.

Population

The total capacity at the Main Jail is 468 inmates. The actual population can climb as high as 540 (recent average daily population has been about 350). Racial distribution is predominantly white with a proportion of Hispanics (25-30%) and few blacks.

Physical Description of Institution

The Main Jail is a four story building with housing units on the top three floors. The ground floor has an intake pod; central control; offices; a fenced recreation yard; and all services such as visiting, kitchen, and library. The housing units in the Main Jail are organized into pods of 36 inmates each. There are four pods each around a control station on the second through fourth floors. It has been operational since June of 1984. The overall level of quality is good but quite hard, as the facility was originally conceived to be run using indirect supervision.

Physical Description of Housing Units

Each floor contains four pods. Each pod has single occupancy rooms on two levels around a central dayroom. Each pod has security glass windows at two corners looking onto exterior emergency exit vestibules. The pods were highly uniform, with cleanliness and wear on the carpet being the most noticeable differences between units.

The **correctional officer's station** is a desk located next to the unit entrance. There are no physical barriers keeping inmates from approaching the station. From the station, the officer can see most of the housing unit, with the exception of the mezzanine level directly to the sides of the desk. There is additionally a floor control station that has some visual contact with the dayroom through windows behind the unit officer's desk.

Other spaces include: Accessible from the dayroom are showers (two per level), a drinking fountain, a coffee urn, two charge telephones, a direct line to the public defender's office, and one bulletin board. Televisions are located in the two far corners from the entrance. Within the dayroom are six tables and about 38 seats.

Materials tend to be hard, reflecting the fact that the facility was intended to be indirect supervision originally. The dayroom is carpeted in the center, with sealed concrete along the circulation path in front of

the inmate rooms. Walls are painted concrete block. The light is mostly artificial. The dayroom only has windows adjacent to the emergency egress vestibules at two corners.

Inmate cells are about 70 square feet each. Each has a fixed steel bunk, a stainless steel toilet/sink unit, steel desk with attached stool. Each has a narrow vertical window, one inmate controlled light and one controlled from the floor station. Inmate rooms have metal doors with a security glass view panel that are left unlocked expect during specified lock-downs.

Staffing, Operation and Supervision of Housing Units

Day shift unit staffing is:

- 1 correctional officer per pod (1: 36).
- 1 control officer per floor (1: 144).

The total staffing ratio is about 1 staff per 28.8 inmates.

Total institution staffing is 294 security staff for about 540 inmates = 1:1.8.

In terms of inmate supervision, Pima County Jail is predominantly direct supervision. Pod officers are primarily responsible for the housing units. Officers in the floor control booths are responsible for operating the doors to the housing units and providing back-up surveillance for the housing unit officers.

The frequency of interaction between officers and inmates varies with the temperament of the officer, but all officers are approachable to the inmates. Some officers engage in casual conversation more than others, but all maintain a policy not to discuss their personal lives with the inmates. All officers are required to check the entire unit on 15 minute intervals, but some move among the inmates more frequently.

Special Programs

Amity, Inc., a non-profit organization, provides a drug treatment program in the general population pods. Most other special programs are provided at the Medium Security Addition.

ROANOKE CITY JAIL, ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

Overview of visit

The visit was conducted by Richard Wener (assisted by Robert Evans) on August 15, 1988. Weather was nominal for summer in Virginia, 80 degrees and fair (the air conditioning worked well inside the building). 50 surveys were distributed and 28 completed; 100 inmate surveys were distributed and 73 were completed. Because inmate surveys could only be completed by small groups (six or seven) at one time, the survey process was continued over several days.

Type of institution and Management Style

Roanoke City Jail (RCJ) is a city jail used for pretrial and short term sentenced detention. It is operated on the indirect supervision housing concept, with intermittent staff observation of inmate living areas.

The total rated capacity is 236 inmates. Actual current population was 241 inmates. Average daily population for the first six months of 1988 was 245 inmates. Racial distribution is approximately 65% black and 35% white inmates.

Physical Description of Institution

RCJ is a highrise facility. Housing units are building floors, each containing consists of 8 pods of 7 to 10 inmates per pod. It has been operational since June, 1979. The overall quality of construction and fixtures is good.

Physical Description of Housing Units

Two pods sit side by side in each corner of the square building. The officers have a viewing station in the hall at the pod entrances. Through glass doors and panels at that station that they can see into each of those two pods, and speak to inmates. The viewing station contains a control panel from which lights, doors and intercoms can be operated.

CO station is in the center of the floor. From the station the officers have visual access to the halls beyond two pod corners, and can see into the gymnasium. The station is not connected to or adjacent to any pod. Inmates cannot approach the station but can speak to it via an intercom in the pod dayroom.

Officers tour to the four corner areas regularly. Inmates can approach the glass door at unit entrance to speak to the officers. They can talk through the door, or directly when the officer 'cracks' open the door. The officer can see almost all areas of the pod from the pod viewing station.

The pod consists of two floors of rooms surrounding an open day space. Rooms are 66.5 sf and contain a bed, desk, chair, shelf, window, sink and water fountain. In the dayrooms are several tables and chairs, bolted securely to the floor, one tv and one telephone. Connected to the day area is an open bathroom with one toilet and two showers. A glass viewing panel provides visual access from the bathroom to the staff viewing station.

While there are no bulletin boards in the unit, staff post notices on glass panels with tape. Inmates can place pictures in rooms, but are not supposed to tape them on the wall (although many do). The dayroom and each bedroom have outside windows, although the level of natural lighting is low. Materials are largely concrete and steel. Room doors are swinging metal doors or, in several recently added pods, sliding metal bar doors.

Staffing, Operations and Supervision of Housing Units

Day shift unit staffing is: 3 (average) correctional officers for 56 to 80 inmates (1:18 to 1:26). At least one officer staffs the station while others tour the pods. Since RCJ does not use a unit management system, case workers can counselors are assigned institution wide.

Overall unit staffing is:

Total institutional staffing is 81 for 241 inmates or 1:2.9.
Total number of correctional officers is 52, or 1:46.

Summary

Staff and management at RCJ appear to be quite professional and are proud of running an efficient institution, but they are severely handicapped by the nature of the physical plant. Aside from issues of direct supervision, the layout makes it difficult for officers to be in touch with problems on the living units. They are in proximity of units intermittently and for limited periods of time.

Staffing has recently increased from two to three officers per day shift to compensate for these problems, which is an expensive solution to design handicaps. At least four day shift officers would be required to have continuous supervision of all pods - more if the station is staffed. Even if this level of staffing was achieved, officers would still be separated from inmates, and relying upon visual surveillance for security. That the jail operates as well as it does may be due to the combination of very small (if uneconomical) pods and professional management.

ROSS CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION, CHILLICOTHE, OHIO

Overview of Visit

The visit was conducted by Jay Farbstein on November 8 and 9, 1988 (assisted by Julia Hamilton on November 8). Weather was clear and cool. All research tasks were completed within the two day visit. 75 staff surveys were distributed (to all housing unit staff) and 47 collected. 150 inmate surveys were distributed (to inmates on all housing units) and 124 collected.

Type of Institution and Management Style

Ross Correctional Institution (CHIL) is a medium security prison housing male inmates. It is operated on the direct supervision, unit management concept.

Population

The total capacity at CHIL is 1,360 inmates (plus an additional 200 lower security beds outside the perimeter). The actual population is close to the capacity (recent average daily population has been about 1325). However, the capacity is 360 beds over its initially designed level of 1,000 single cells. This was achieved by adding bunks to about 40% of the single cells. Racial distribution is approximately 52% white and 48% black (with a handful of others).

Physical Description of Institution

CHIL is a rather spacious campus plan with all low rise (one and two story) buildings. It is subdivided into four 340 bed housing units and also has a full complement of ancillary facilities. The housing units consist of two separate buildings, each one of which contains 170 beds, further subdivided into two 85 bed pods. It is a very new facility, having been operational since March of 1987. The overall level of quality is quite high, with attention to materials and detailing.

Physical Description of Housing Units

Each housing building contains two pods joined by an area with staff offices (for correctional counselors, the unit manager (one per two buildings), and a secretary). Each pod consists of a large triangular dayroom ringed on two levels by inmate rooms and support spaces.

The **correctional officer's station** is on the main floor and consists of an open podium (with a locked cabinet containing door controls). There are no physical barriers keeping inmates from approaching the station though, in some housing pods, there is a line on the floor near the podium which inmates are not supposed to cross (but appear to do so without sanction). From the podium, the officer can see many parts of the housing unit (but not the upper level cell doors which are behind the podium, and not the phone area). Near the podium is an office for the pod's case manager. This has a window which allows the case manager to see some areas of the dayroom.

Other spaces include: two television viewing rooms, an inmate office, a laundry room, and a law library (one per building). Accessible from the dayroom are showers (four per level), a drinking fountain (with a sometimes operable hot water feature), and ice machine, one telephone, and a number of bulletin boards. Within the dayroom are recreation equipment (usually a pool table, with perhaps also ping pong and/or football), four to six tables and about 16 seats (plus those in the TV areas). Inmates have access to these facilities at all times other than periodic lockdowns for counts. They are also free to leave the housing unit

during the daytime (which keeps down the population of the housing units).

Materials are "normalized" but generally rather hard (painted concrete or stucco, vinyl tile flooring, acoustic ceiling). Each unit has accents (doors, stairs and a color band) of one of two color schemes (either peach or blue and violet). The light is very satisfactory (on a sunny day) with considerable windows, skylights and "borrowed" light from activity spaces.

Both single and double bunked inmate cells are about 65 square feet each. Each has one or two bunks, a porcelain toilet and sink, one desk, one chair, shelves, a locker and a set of drawers, power and cable TV outlets. Each has an openable window, inmate controlled light, and a door that is locked with a key provided to the inmates (as well as an electronic override).

Staffing, Operation and Supervision of Housing Units

Day shift unit staffing is:

- 4 correctional officer per unit or one per pod (1:85). But one C.O. often has to leave the unit to supervise meals or other activities.
 - 2 case managers per unit (1:170) (or 1/2 per pod).
 - 2 correctional counselors per unit (1:170)
 - 1 unit manager per unit (1:340)
- 9 total staff (9:340 or about 1:38)

Overall total unit staffing is:

- 8 correctional officer per unit or one per pod (1:85)
 - 2 case managers per unit (1:170)
 - 2 correctional counselors per unit (1:170)
 - 1 unit manager per unit (1:340)
- 13 total staff (13:340 or about 1:26)

Total institution staffing is 350 for about 1,600 inmates (includes outside unit of 200) = 1:4.6.

Unit staff roles and responsibilities are:

- **Correctional Officer:** immediate supervision of inmates, security, cell checks, etc.
- **Correctional Counselors:** are security staff; supervise C.O.s; handle everyday housekeeping needs (cell moves, clothes, cleaning). Serve on committees (see case managers).
- **Case Managers:** social work; counseling, referrals (e.g., to programs or for psychiatric services); convene unit committees for job assignments, classification, risk assessment for parole, etc.
- **Unit Manager:** overall supervision of unit staff; highest decentralized authority for resolution of problems or disputes.

In terms of inmate supervision, CHIL is a textbook example of direct supervision. Officers are effective in managing their units. They communicate frequently with inmates and most interactions are professional in quality. Officers regularly move away from their stations to supervise activities or to observe in other areas of the housing module. Because staffing is limited, there are many times when there is no correctional officer in the module. Sometimes there is no housing unit staff present. This can be problematical in terms of effectiveness.

Special Programs

Special programs are offered in some housing units (note that we did not observe or do interviews on these units, though we did distribute surveys). Units 1 & 2 offer an "AIMS" program which separates "heavier" actors into one pod (2A), lighter into another (1A), and moderate into two others (1B and 2B). Pod 8B: has a Phoenix drug rehabilitation program.

LIEBER CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION, SOUTH CAROLINA

Overview of Visit

The site visit was conducted by Richard Wener (assisted by Mary Beth Craig) on November 28 and 29, 1988. Ms. Craig returned several additional times to completed archival and interview data collection. Weather at the visit dates was 50 degrees and clear. One hundred fifty inmate surveys were distributed and ninety two completed surveys were collected. One hundred staff surveys were distributed and seventy eight completed surveys were collected.

Lieber Correctional Institution(LCI) is a correctional institution housing mostly (87%) medium security inmates, with some (10%) maximum security inmates. Only medium security units were surveyed for this study. LCI uses the direct supervision model. Correctional officers are located directly on living units, and there are no closed, locked officer control stations in the living areas. LCI uses a unit management system.

Population

The total rated capacity is 696 inmates. Current average population is 1000. Racial distribution is approximately 70% black and 30% white.

Physical Description of the Institution

LCI is a campus style facility. Housing units consist of two two-story housing units. Each unit has a unit management team and officers. LCI has been operation since 1985. Over quality of the physical plant and maintenance is excellent.

Physical Description of the Housing Units

Each housing unit or wing consists of 126 rooms, with 52 % having 2 beds, for a total wing population of 192. While officers have no restricted station, they do have a designated desk near the wing entrance. This desk can easily be approached by inmates. From the station officers can see into the living area, but they must tour the wing to see rooms and upper floors (officers complain about hidden areas on the wings).

The wing has a large central bay (called the 'rock') which is empty of furniture or equipment. The bay is surrounded by several levels of rooms. Each wing has clocks and bulletin boards upon which inmate notices can be posted. Activity is not conducted on the bay. There are two lounges - one on each floor. One serves as a television room, the other for cards, reading, etc.

Each floor has a closed telephone room contain three phones (2 local and 1 long distance). Wings also contain laundry rooms a unit manager office and several counselor offices. Recreation is off the unit.

Materials are mostly concrete and metal, although furniture is movable and light. The wing space is large and acoustically poor. The dayroom has high clerestory windows which offer filtered light and no view.

Inmate cells are about 73 sf. They have 1 or 2 bunks, a toilet, sink, desk, chair, shelves, locker, power outlet, ceiling light and barred window. Windows face an internal courtyard and can be opened by the inmate. Inmates have room keys with which to let themselves in. The space is adequate for one inmate but small for 2 inmates.

Staffing, Operation and Supervision of Housing Units

Day shift staffing is:

- 3 correctional officers per unit (one per wing and one 'roamer' (1:70). Functionally one officer is in charge of each wing of up to 110 inmates.
- 1 case manager (1 per wing)
- 1 unit manager
- 1 counselor
- 1 administrative assistant
- 7 total staff per unit (7:192 or about 1:27)

Overall unit staffing is:

- 8 correctional officers per unit
- 2 case manager (1 per wing)
- 2 unit manager
- 2 counselor
- 2 administrative assistant
- 16 total staff per unit (16:192 or about 1:10.7)

LCI is a classic direct supervision facility. Officers are in and among inmates. Inmates can move freely among spaces and out of doors, until after dinner, when they must remain in the living unit. The space is large, barren and noisy, but seems clean and quite well kept.

Both staff and inmates suggest that the main problem is the overcrowding. Not only does the crowding reduce the use of the room for privacy, but a major strain appears on other facilities. Most commonly cited were the problems in dining and with phones. Long waits for the dining area are a source of frustration for inmates. Both inmates and officers cited a recent incident in which an officer and inmate altercation in the meal line almost erupted into a large problem. A number suggested that a significant problems ("riot") could occur because of this situation.

Several inmates and staff also indicated that the crowding has reduced the safety and security in the facility. Many feel that weapons are prevalent, and that assaults, and sexual assaults occur. For these reasons, officers were tempered in their assessment of staff and inmate safety.

In spite of these conditions, direct supervision seems to be working, although in a less than optimal fashion. Officers talk frequently and casually with inmates, as do other unit staff. Officers do not appear to feel restrained from going anywhere on the living unit.

RIVERFRONT STATE PRISON, CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY

Overview of Visit

This visit was conducted by Richard Wener (assisted by Faith Liebman *and Bonnie Scott*) on November 15 and 16, 1988. Weather was cool (35 degrees), with light rain. 100 inmate surveys were distributed and 70 completed surveys were collected. 75 staff surveys were distributed and 38 were collected.

The rated capacity is 471 inmates. Actual current population has been about 388. Racial distribution is approximately 60% black, 15% white and 15% Hispanic.

Physical Description of the Institution

Riverfront State Prison (RSP) is a dense, campus-like facility. Housing units consist of four living units in a four level building. The main floor consists of two living units side-by-side, each with two levels of inmate rooms. An identical set of two living units is stacked on top of the main floor. A stairwell connects the two levels of housing units. Each building has a small, fenced in recreation area in its "front yard," with basketball and handball courts. The overall quality of construction and care appears good.

Physical Description of the Housing Units

The officer station consists of an open desk and control panel situated in a lobby at the front door of the building, between the two living units. There are no physical barriers separating inmates from the desk, but inmates are not supposed to approach the desk (in policy some officers let inmates do so). From the station, officers can see into the living unit day area, and some of the room doors. To see all spaces he or she must tour the unit. One officer remains at the desk, while the other tours the living areas. Recent construction has begun to add a low plexiglass partition to the front of the officer desk to reduce access by inmates.

RSP is an Indirect Supervision institution by design which, in some ways, functions as a Direct Supervision facility, because of the open and easy access to the officer station by the inmate.

The dayroom includes several tables with chairs and a television set and a telephone. Other recreation facilities are outside the unit. Four showers per level are accessible by inmates, as is a laundry room.

The space is well lit, with large windows facing the interior courtyard. Materials are largely concrete and steel.

Inmate rooms are about 77 square feet. Each has one bunk, a metal toilet, sink unit, a desk, chair, shelf, drawer, and power outlet. There is a window to the courtyard and a light operable by the inmate. The swinging doors to rooms are operated by keys which inmates carry.

Staffing, Operation, and Supervision of Housing Units

Day shift unit staffing is:

- 4 correctional staff per housing unit (2 per floor or 2 living units) 1:40
- 1 case manager
- 1 unit manager
- 1 administrator
- 7 total staff (7:160 or about 1:23)

Overall staffing:

- 12 correctional officers/unit
- 2 case managers/unit
- 2 unit manager
- 2 administrators
- 18 total staff (18:160 or about 1:9)

Total institution staffing is 337 for 388 inmates = 1:1.15

Total correctional staff is 244. Officers are 214.

NORTHERN STATE PRISON, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

Overview of Visit

This visit was conducted by Richard Wener on October 11, 1988. Weather was a warm 65 degrees and sunny. One hundred inmate surveys were distributed and sixty nine completed surveys were collected. Seventy five staff surveys were distributed and nineteen were collected.

The rated capacity is 1,008 inmates. Actual current population has been about 1,008 daily. Racial distribution is approximately 20% Hispanic, 15% white and 65% black.

Physical Description of the Institution and Housing Units

Northern State Prison (NSP) is a dense, campus-like facility. NSP and RSP are almost physically identical campuses, with the exception that NSP is double the size. It is, essentially, RSP plus an attached mirror-image institution complete with its own yard. Housing units consist of four living units in a four level building. The main floor consists of two living units side-by-side, each with two levels of inmate rooms. An identical set of two living units is stacked on top of the main floor unit. A stairwell connects the two levels of housing units, which is observed by CCTV. Each building has a small, fenced in recreation area in its 'front yard', with basketball and handball courts. The overall quality of construction and care appears good.

The officer station consists of a glass enclosed station in a raised platform situated in a lobby at the front door of the building, between the two living units. The glass enclosed station is an intentional response to what planners felt was a too open officer station at RSP. The entrance lobby is physically separated from the living units by walls and a locked door. Visual surveillance from the control station is made through glass panels into the upper level of living units. From this station, officers can see into the living unit day area, and some of the room doors. To see all spaces he or she must tour the unit. One officer remains in the station, while the other tours the living areas.

The dayroom includes several tables with chairs and a television set and a telephone. Other recreation facilities are outside the unit. Three showers per level are accessible by inmates, as is a laundry room.

The space is well lit, with large windows facing the interior courtyard. Materials are largely concrete and steel.

Inmate cells are about 77 square feet. Each has one bunk, a metal toilet, sink unit, a desk, chair, shelf and drawer, with a power outlet. There is a window to the courtyard and a light operable by the inmate. The cells have mechanical sliding doors, which are operated by switches from the enclosed control room. Contact between inmates and the control room (to have a door opened or closed or for any other purpose) is via an intercom located in the day area.

Staffing, Operation and Supervision of Housing Units

Day shift unit staffing is:

- 4 correctional staff per housing unit (2 per floor or 2 living units) 1:40
- 1 case manager
- 1 unit manager
- 1 administrator

7 total staff (7:160 or about 1:23)

Overall staffing:

- 12 correctional officers/unit
- 2 case managers/unit
- 2 unit manager
- 2 administrators
- 18 total staff (18:160 or about 1:9)

Total institution staffing is 482 for 1008 inmates = 1:2.09

Total correctional staff is 344.

Special programs are offered in all housing units.

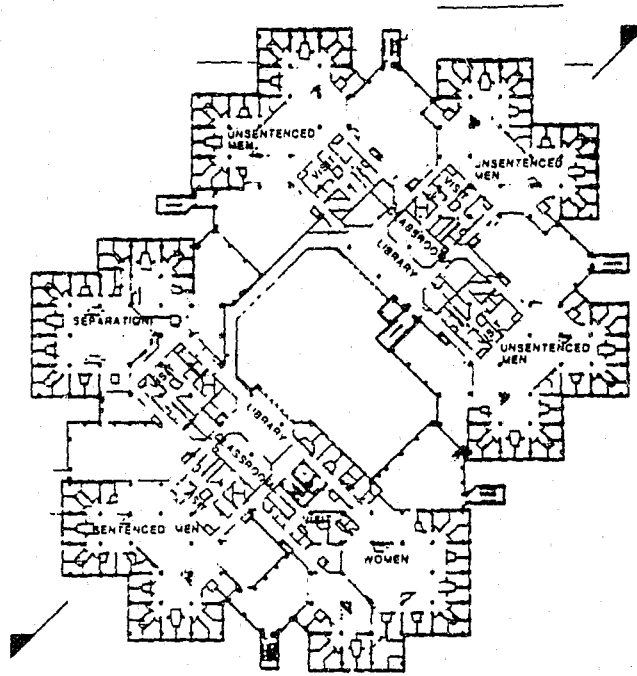


Fig. III.2-1: Contra Costa County Main Detention Facility Plan
(Courtesy of Kaplan/McLaughlin/Diaz)

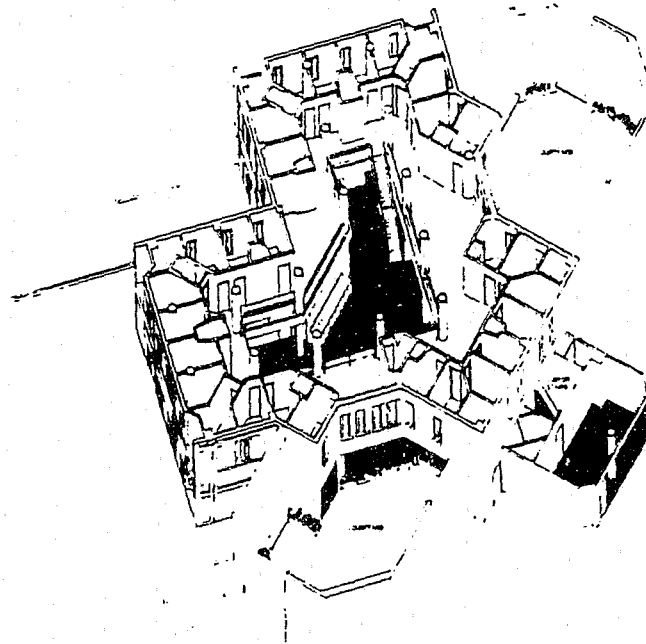


Fig. III.2-2: Axonometric of Contra Costa Housing Unit
(Courtesy of Kaplan/McLaughlin/Diaz)



Fig. III.2-3: Dayroom, Contra Costa County Main Detention Facility
(Photo courtesy of Kaplan/McLaughlin/Diaz)

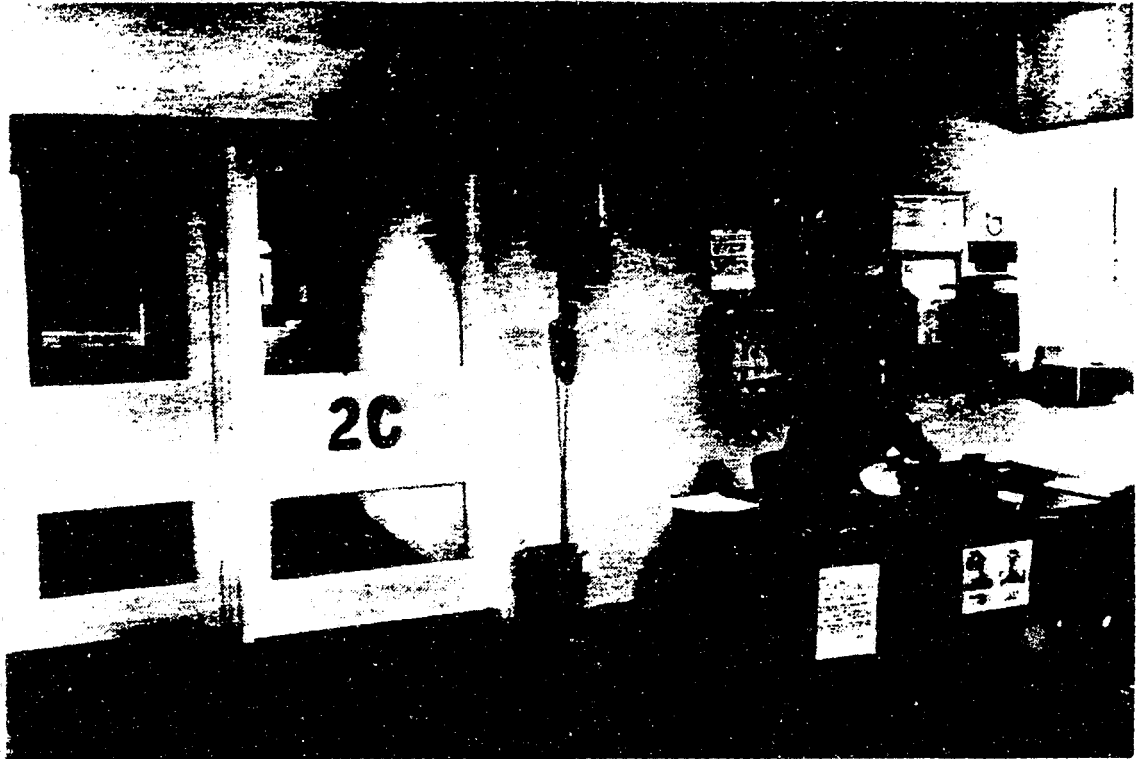


Fig. III.2-6: Correctional Officer Station, Pima, AZ

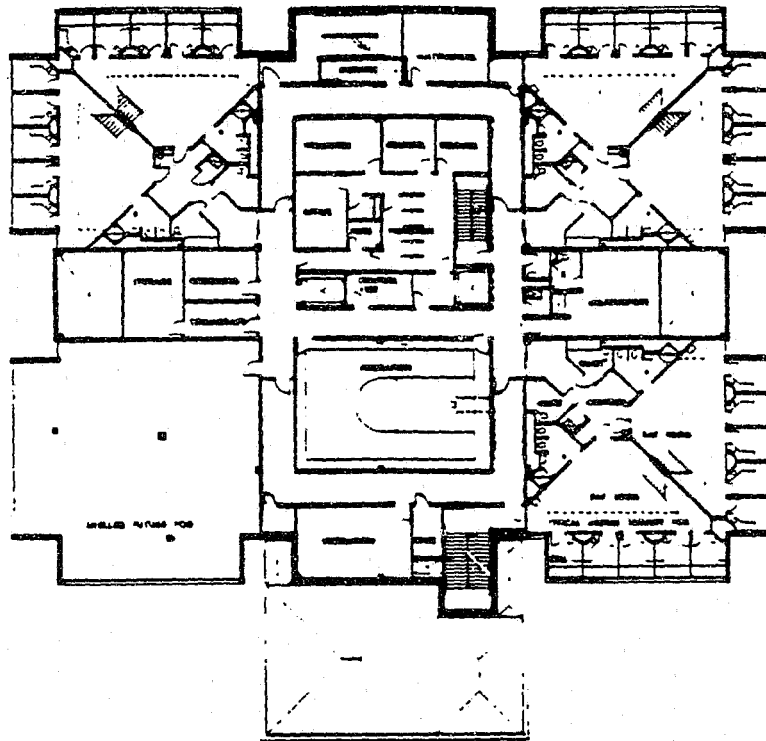


Fig. III.2-7: Plan, Roanoke, VA, City Jail

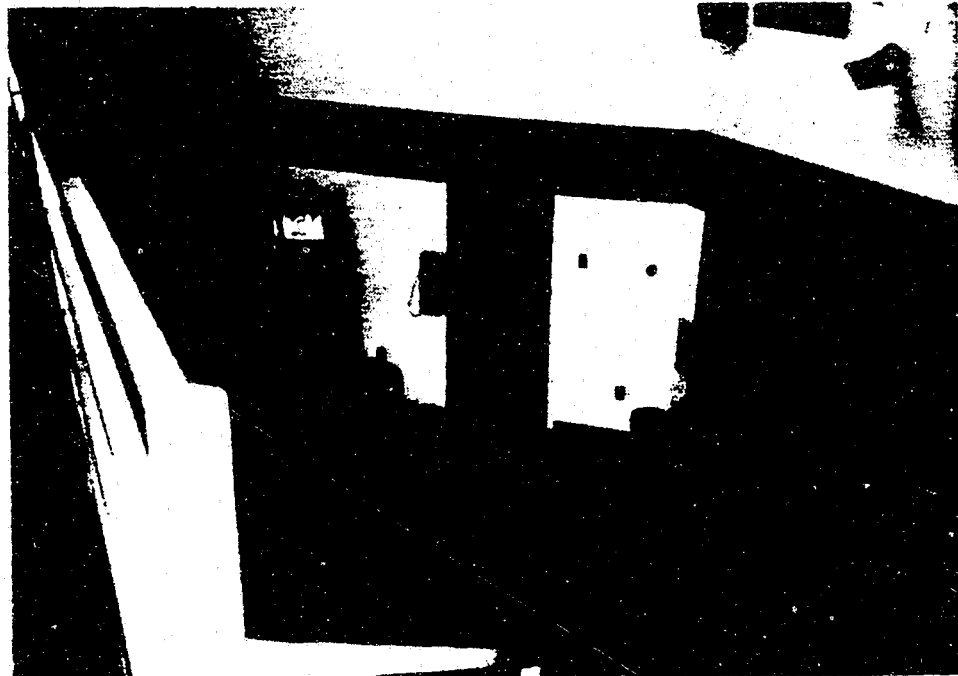


Fig. III.2-8: Dayroom, Roanoke, VA, City Jail



Fig. III.2-9: Correctional Officer Station, Roanoke, VA, City Jail

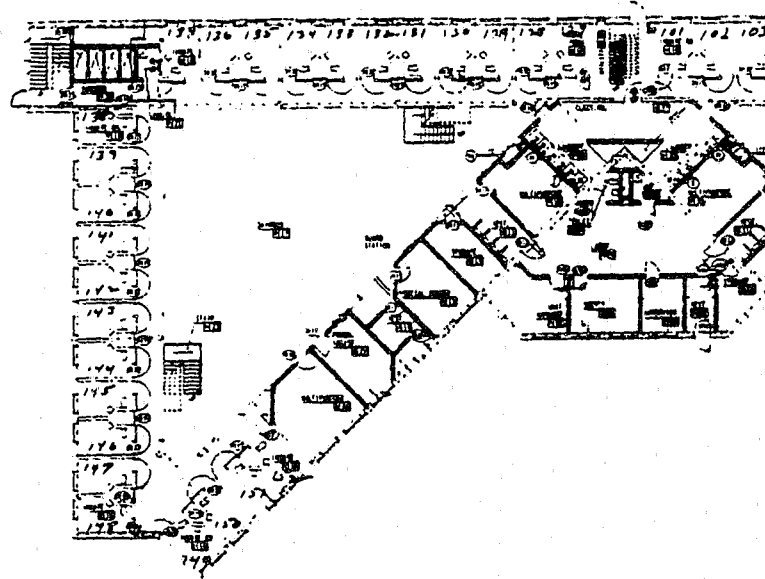


Fig. III.2-10: Plan, Ross Correctional Institution, Chillicothe, OH



Fig. III.2-11: Dayroom, Ross Correctional Institution, Chillicothe, OH



Fig. III.2-12: Officer Station, Ross Correctional Institution, Chillicothe, OH

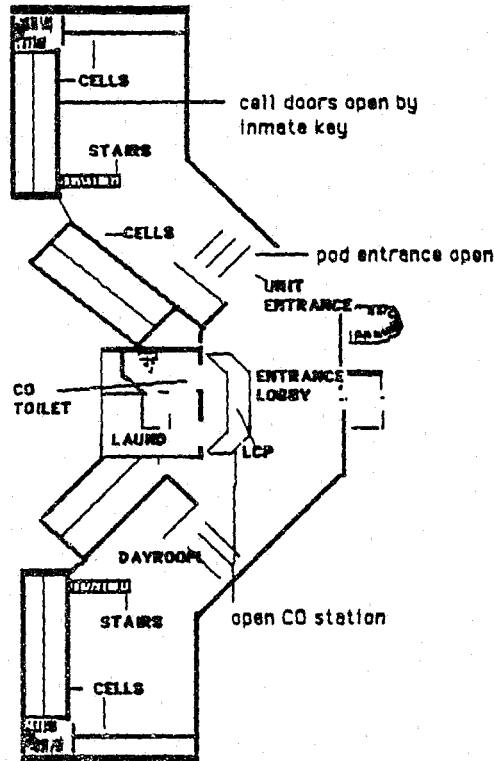


Fig. III.2-13: Plan, Riverfront State Prison, NJ



Fig. III.2-14: Dayroom, Riverfront State Prison, NJ

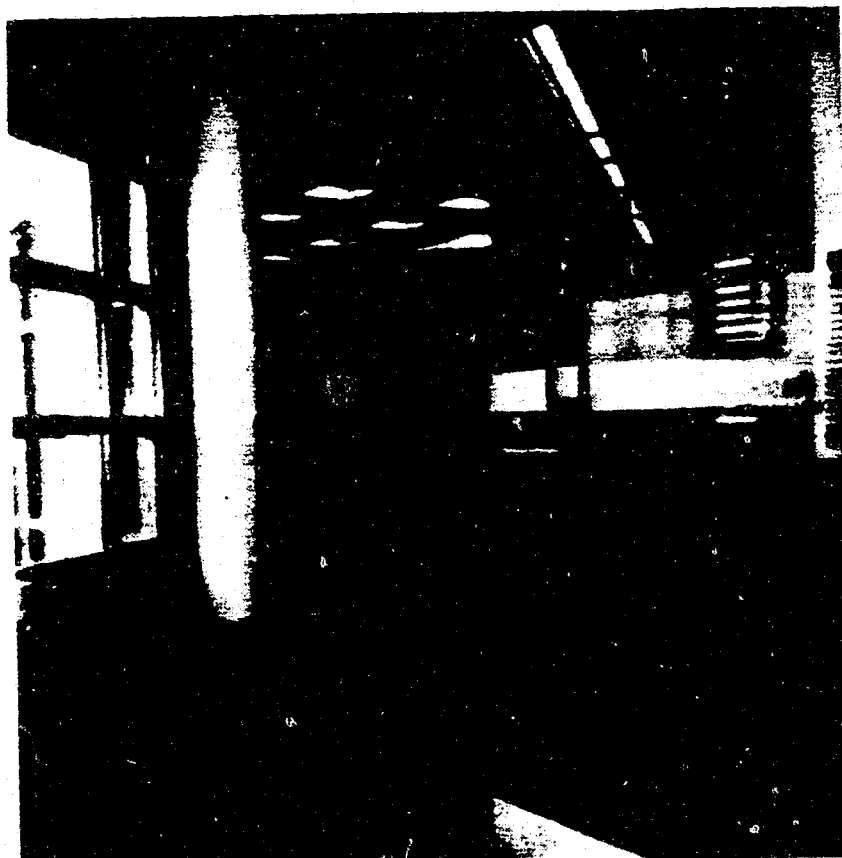


Figure III.2-15: Correctional Officer Station, Riverfront State Prison, NJ

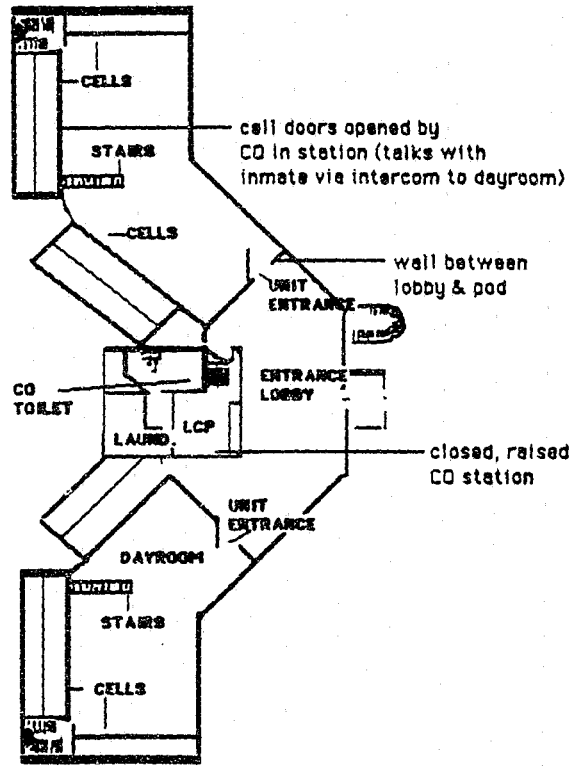


Figure III.2-16: Plan, Northern State Prison, NJ

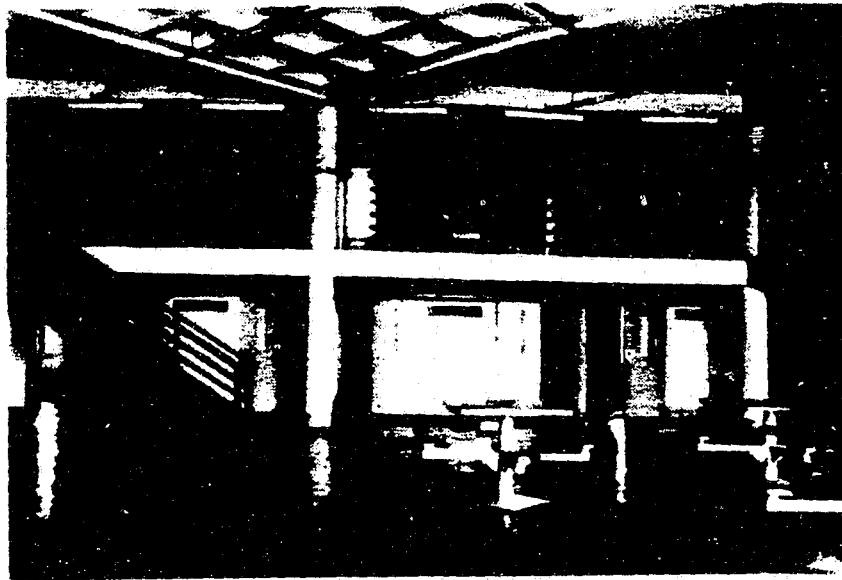


Figure III.2-17: Dayroom, Northern State Prison, NJ

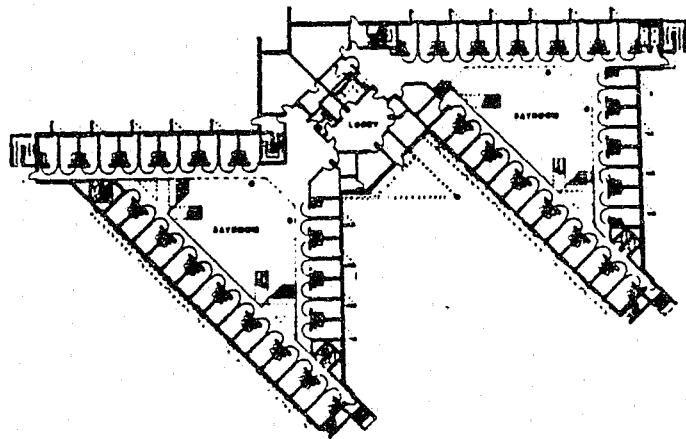


Figure III.2-18: Plan, Lieber Correctional Institution, SC

III.3 CASE STUDY FINDINGS: PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT SURVEY

Physical survey data was collected for all seven sites: PIMA, RCJ, CCC, CHIL, LCI, NSP and RSP. These sites can be differentiated in at least two critical ways:

1. Supervision type: direct or indirect; and
2. Purpose of confinement: long term sentenced facilities (prisons) and unsentenced facilities (jails).

Prisons in this study are CHIL, LCI, NSP and RSP. Jails in this study are CCC, PIMA and RCJ. Since prisons and jails vary drastically along a number of critical operational dimensions (programs, activities, services) and physical dimensions (size and number of facilities, layout, freedom of movement) we will for the most part avoid cross-type comparisons. Jails will be compared to other jails, and prisons to other prisons.

According to our classification scheme, these facilities represent a range of levels of direct versus indirect supervision. Among jails, CCC and PIMA represent "pure" direct supervision types (officers are stationed on the living unit, and there is no access-restricted staff station). RCJ, on the other hand, is an indirect supervision jail where contact with inmates is "intermittent"; that is, officers work in a closed station which is physically separated from the living unit. Contact with inmates comes during periodic officer tours of the living areas.

Among the prisons in the sample, LCI and CHIL are classic direct supervision type facilities. Officers have no enclosed booth and their only station is an open desk within inmate living areas. NSP and RSP represent different levels of "hybrid" IS facilities. RSP operates closer to the direct supervision model. Officers there work at an open staff desk which is in a lobby between two living units. From this desk officers have easy and open visual and conversational access to inmates. One officer remains at the desk while a second tours through the two living units. Since officers are between, rather than on the living units, however, this represents a "hybrid" or "impure" direct supervision model. NSP is similar operationally, but quite different physically. At NSP, one officer remains at the officer station, while the second tours through living areas. At NSP, however, the station is separate and enclosed, and there is no easy visual or conversation access with inmates between the station and the living areas. It is, therefore, a closer approximation to the IS model.

Based upon the above classification, the analysis of Physical Environment Survey data is presented according to the following scheme.

Table 111.3-1: Direct and Indirect Supervision Facilities

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA = Pima County Jail, Tucson, AZ CCC = Main Detention Facility, Contra Costa County, CA (some items)	RCJ = Roanoke City Jail, Virginia
Prisons:	CHIL = Ross Correctional Institution, Chillicothe, OH LCI = Lieber Correctional Institution, SC	NSP = Northern State Prison, NJ RSP = Riverfront State Prison, NJ (hybrid)

Age of Institutions

All seven of the facilities were built within the last 10 years. Five were built within the last 5 years.

Extent of Overcrowding

Physical Environment Surveys were conducted in two or three units at each institution. Some of the institutions concentrated their overcrowding in one or two units rather than spreading the problem throughout their facility in a uniform manner. Because of this, the items concerning crowding are only descriptive of those units that were surveyed, and do not reflect overall conditions at the institution.

The units that were surveyed at the two jails were operated "at capacity," while those at the third were seriously overcrowded. Two of the three prisons were operated over capacity in at least one of the surveyed units, while the units surveyed at one prison were operated "under capacity." Serious overcrowding is a major factor in two of the housing units surveyed, as is shown below:

Table III.3-2: Crowding in Surveyed Housing Units

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: at capacity CCC: 115% over capacity	RCJ: at capacity
Prisons:	CHIL: 22% under capacity LCI: 59% over capacity RSP: 1 unit 13% over capacity, 1 at capacity	NSP: at capacity

The overall overcrowding for the case study sites is shown in the table below. The institutions that distribute their population uniformly are highly similar to the sample housing units described above. The two institutions that concentrate their overcrowding are highly different from the surveyed units. As discussed in chapter III.5, the direct supervision subjects tend to be overcrowded, while the indirect supervision institutions we studied tended to be at or below capacity.

Table III.3-3: Overall Crowding at Case Study Sites

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: 15% over capacity ¹ CCC: 115% over capacity	RCJ: 1% under capacity
Prisons:	CHIL: 3% under capacity LCI: 60% over capacity RSP: 18% under capacity	NSP: 2% under capacity

¹ Two units 100% over capacity, others at capacity.

Space Provision In Housing Unit

There was no significant difference in the size of cells in the surveyed institutions. Average cell size in jails was 68.25 square feet (sf). Average cell size in prisons was 68 sf. Average cell size for direct supervision

institutions was 68 sf and for indirect supervision institutions 66.5 sf.

Table III.3-4: Cell Size

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: 70 SF CCC: 71 SF	RCJ: 66.5 SF
Prisons:	CHIL: 63 SF LCI: 73 SF	NSP: 70 SF RSP: 70 SF

In general, all institutions were designed with cell areas along nationally recognized norms. However, due to double celling at PIMA, CCC, and LCI, there is approximately 35 square feet per inmate in sleeping rooms for some or all inmates at those institutions.

The amount of dayroom space per inmate was 32 square feet at PIMA versus 51 at RCJ. Although the amount of dayroom space provided per inmate was lower at PIMA than RCJ, it is not a useful comparison. PIMA was originally designed for indirect supervision, so any differences between the two jails in our sample unrelated to supervision type. Our data do not include dayroom sizes for the prisons in our sample.

Number of Services Provided

We tallied whether eight functions such as recreation, dining, and visiting were provided at the housing unit or elsewhere at the institution. Jails and prisons provide about the same number of functions (average = 9). Both types of institutions provide more functions outside of the unit than in it, though prisons seem more inclined to allow inmates to move off the unit to make use of facilities. Direct supervision facilities tended to provide a greater number of services at the housing unit.

Table III.3-5: Services in Housing Unit

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: 4 CCC: 6	RCJ: 3
Prisons:	CHIL: 4 LCI: 2	NSP: 2 RSP: 2

Table III.3-6: Services Out of Housing Unit

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: 4 CCC: 3	RCJ: 6
Prisons:	CHIL: 7 LCI: 7	NSP: 6 RSP: 6

Table III.3-7: Total Services at Institution

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: 8 CCC: 9	RCJ: 9
Prisons:	CHIL: 11 LCI: 9	NSP: 8 RSP: 8

Dayrooms

Number of accessible areas or items. Dayrooms in the jails in our sample have more directly accessible items of equipment and furnishings than do the prisons. There is no significant difference between direct supervision and indirect supervision

Table III.3-8: Accessible Areas or Items in Dayroom

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: 9 CCC: 6	RCJ: 10
Prisons:	CHIL: 7 LCI: 3	NSP: 6 RSP: 7

Hardness/Softness of Physical Environment. We recorded the finish and furnishing materials in order to classify the subjects as "hard" or "soft." Fixed steel furnishings, unfinished concrete, and institutional blue/green colors were characterized as hard. Wood or fabric furnishings, vinyl or carpeted floors, wallboard, acoustic ceilings, views, draperies, and light colors were indicators of a soft environment. Plastic furnishings and brightly painted concrete walls were considered neutral.

The number of hard, neutral, and soft responses to ten items were tallied for each case. A case was characterized based upon the category with the highest frequency. Except for RCJ, the scores were

clearly weighted in favor of one classification or the other.

The direct supervision institutions in our sample were all rated as having soft environments in dayrooms, while the indirect supervision cases and the hybrid were all rated as hard. Our classifications are tabulated below.

Table III.3-9: Hard Versus Soft Dayroom Environments

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: soft CCC: soft	RCJ: hard
Prisons:	CHIL: soft LCI: soft	NSP: hard RSP: hard

Comfort of Ambient Environment. We classified the facilities "comfortable " or "uncomfortable" using a similar method to the one used to describe them as hard versus soft. Observers subjectively categorized the temperature, sound levels, and presence of odors for the housing units surveyed. Inmate control of the environment, privacy, and ready access to information were considered comfortable, and the lack of these features were classified uncomfortable.

One indirect supervision facility was classified uncomfortable through our rating process. All other institutions were rated comfortable. Supervision style does not appear to affect comfort as we defined it.

Table III.3-10: Comfort of Environment

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: Comfortable CCC: Comfortable	RCJ: Uncomfortable
Prisons:	CHIL: Comfortable LCI: Comfortable	NSP: Comfortable RSP: Comfortable

Rooms/Cells

Room Occupancy. The facilities are predominantly designed for single cell occupancy, with LCI being the exception. Both jails are designed for single cell occupancy only. The direct supervision prisons have a mixture of single and double occupancy cells. In spite of the design intent, all but one of the direct supervision facilities double occupies some or all of their cells due to crowding. This added degree of social density may confound the analysis of the impacts of direct versus indirect supervision, since multiple cell occupancy has been demonstrated elsewhere to have negative impacts on facility ratings.

Table III.3-11: Percentage of Cells With 1 Occupant

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: 85% CCC: 0%	RCJ: 100%
Prisons:	CHIL: 61% LCI: 48%	NSP: 100%
	RSP: 100%	

Table III.3-12: Percentage of Cells With 2 Occupants

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: 15% CCC: 100%	RCJ: 0%
Prisons:	CHIL: 39% LCI: 52%	NSP: 0%
	RSP: 0%	

Number of Fixture and Furnishing Items in Rooms. There is no significant difference between jails or prisons, direct or indirect.

Table III.3-13: Number of Room Fixture and Furniture Items

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: 13 CCC: 13	RCJ: 13
Prisons:	CHIL: 14 LCI: 13	NSP: 14
	RSP: 16	

Hardness/Softness of Room Environment. The cells for each institution were rated "hard" or "soft" using the same method described for the dayrooms previously. Cells in jails tend to have harder environments than cells in prisons. The differences seen between supervision types for dayrooms are not as clear for the cells themselves.

Table III.3-14: Hard Versus Soft Room Environments

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: hard CCC: soft	RCJ: unit 3B-S, soft; unit 3B, hard
Prisons:	CHIL: soft LCI: soft	NSP: hard RSP: soft

Control of Cell Environment. Most facilities allow inmates some control over their cell environment, with the exception of one unit of the indirect supervision jail.

Table III.3-15: Control of Cell Environment

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: control CCC: neutral	RCJ: unit 3B-S, control, unit 3B, no control
Prisons:	CHIL: control LCI: control	NSP: control RSP: control

Staffing and Supervision

Because the mail-out survey revealed that most facilities had some mixture of direct and indirect supervision characteristics, we asked a number of questions to ascertain the "purity" of the case study subjects' supervision style. In addition to explicitly asking their supervision philosophy, we asked about the use of rovers in the units and the characteristics of the staff station. If a facility had most characteristics commonly associated with a supervision style, we list it as "very" direct or indirect in the table below. If an institution is predominately one style or the other, but as a few characteristics of the other, the supervision style is simply listed.

Although RSP was selected as an indirect supervision site, we have reclassified it as hybrid. Officers are located at an open control desk between two units that is raised above the floor and separated from the inmates by a buffer zone. Inmates can approach a barrier and shout to the officers. One officer roves between units in direct contact with the inmates. RSP is clearly not operated in the spirit of direct supervision, but the barriers are less obtrusive than an enclosed glass booth and there is direct contact between the inmates and the roving correctional officer.

Staffing ratios are difficult to compare due to program differences between the facilities. For example, LCI appears to have a very high staffing ratio of 1:17 inmates, but this is misleading, since there is actually only one correctional officer for each "side" (i.e., one officer for about 100+ inmates). The other officers function more as supervisory staff. If program staff were deleted, CHIL would show an unrealistically low ratio of 1:109 inmates. Program staff at CHIL in effect act in a supervisory role due to their high degree of contact with inmates on the unit. The ability of program staff to supervise inmates enables CHIL to cut back

on the use of correctional officers, who also supervise movement and meals.

Regardless of the difficulties in controlling for program differences, there is no clear correlation between staffing and supervision styles. It appears that program choices affect staffing ratios more than supervision type.

Table III.3-16: Staffing and Supervision of Facilities

Facility	Degree of Direct Supervision	Avg. No. of Correctional Staff per Unit ¹	Avg. No. of Total Staff per Unit ¹	Staff/Inmate Ratio (per bed)
PIMA =	Very Direct	1	1	1:36
RCJ =	Very Indirect	2 (2)	2 (2)	1:40
CHIL =	Very Direct	0.65	2.9	1:30
CCC =	Very Direct	2	2	1:49
LCI =	Direct	4	7.5	1:17
NSP =	Indirect	2	3	1:40
RSP =	Hybrid/Indirect	2 (3)	3 (3)	1:23

- ¹ during daytime hours
- ² two C.O.s cover eight pods
- ³ two C.O.s and one supervisor per two units

Ease of Surveillance. We rated the ease of surveillance based upon officers' ability to see the dayroom, cell doors, and showers from a continuously staffed position. Direct supervision facilities are typically easy to observe; indirect supervision facilities tend to be difficult to observe. This intuitively makes sense, as stationing officers within the housing unit provides a better vantage point than a station at the perimeter of the unit, even in otherwise identical podular designs.

CCC is an exception due to the physical design of its pods. Each pod was designed with two "wings" in an attempt to restrict inmate movement. This geometry has the consequence of making it difficult to see all parts of the pod from one position. The poor lines of sight at CCC is a design rather than a supervision issue.

Table III.3-17: Ease of Surveillance

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: very easy CCC: difficult	RCJ: very difficult
Prisons:	CHIL: easy LCI: easy	NSP: very difficult RSP: difficult

Security Level. All institutions are similar in security level (i.e., medium secure). PIMA has a centralized locking capability, but was rated medium due to the operational decision to allow inmates free movement between their rooms and the dayroom during normal waking hours.

Table III.3-18: Security Level

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: med CCC: med	RCJ: med
Prisons:	CHIL: med LCI: med	NSP: med RSP: med

Cleanliness: All facilities rated overall as clean to very clean. Direct supervision prisons had the highest overall ratings.

Table III.3-19: Cleanliness

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: clean CCC: very clean	RCJ: clean
Prisons:	CHIL: very clean LCI: very clean	NSP: clean RSP: clean

Condition of Facilities: All facilities rate overall as in good to very good condition. There are no differences between supervision type.

Table III.3-20: Condition of Facilities

	Direct Supervision	Indirect Supervision
Jails:	PIMA: good CCC: very good	RCJ: very good
Prisons:	CHIL: very good LCI: very good	NSP: good RSP: good

Costs

We reexamined the cost data from our mail-out survey for our case study sites. Three measures of cost were considered: construction cost, staffing cost, and maintenance. The results are shown in the table below on the following page. They are consistent with our attempt to select more "pure" examples of each supervision type (RSP is considered indirect in this analysis). The cost differences reported for the mail-out survey are greater for the case study sites.

We normalized **construction costs** for inflation by using the annual indexes from the Local Cost Indexes in *Means Square Foot Costs, 1987*, published by R.S. Means Company. The average direct supervision prison cost per bed was 40% lower than for the average indirect supervision prison. The direct supervision jail we visited cost 45% less to build per inmate than the indirect supervision jail.

Table III.3-21: Correctional Facility Costs (In Dollars)

	Average DS Prison	Average IS Prison	DS Jail	IS Jail
Construction Cost PerBed	41,600	73,000	32,400	59,400
Staffing Cost Per Inmate*	10,900	17,300	28,300	42,300
Maintenance Cost Per Inmate*	4,200	6,700	10,900	16,300

* Annual

Operational costs were similarly lower for the direct supervision cases. Staffing costs were 37% lower for the average direct supervision prison and 33% lower for the direct supervision jail. Maintenance costs were 37% lower for the direct supervision prisons and 33% lower for the direct supervision jail.

Due to our small sample, the above figures should be considered descriptive of our cases rather than representative of the magnitude of cost differences between direct and indirect facilities. Numerous other variables could be affecting the magnitude of the results in such a small sample. We expect that a similar analysis using larger, more dichotomous comparison groups would demonstrate more pronounced cost savings for direct supervision than our mail-out survey revealed, but less dramatic than shown above.

III.4 CASE STUDY FINDINGS: BEHAVIORAL TRACKING

This chapter presents the findings for behavioral tracking data from the case study sites.

DATA COLLECTION

Tracking data were collected for 5 sites: CCC, CHIL, LCI, PIMA, RCJ. At this time, these represent two direct supervision prisons, two direct supervision jails and one indirect supervision jail. Data for NSP and RSP (one indirect supervision and one modified direct supervision prison) are not yet available. For each site, data were collected for between 3 and 4 hours on two different living units.

Seven variables were recorded or calculated for analysis:

Who: who initiated the interaction (CO = officer, I = inmate, O = other)

Activity: how much interaction occurred.

Purpose: what was purpose of the interaction. For the purpose of analysis, the codes were collapsed into several categories:

- S-I = staff-inmate interaction to provide or receive information or request an action
- S-S = staff-staff interaction
- Staff Phone = staff on the telephone
- Hostile = hostile interchange between staff and inmate
- Reprimand = staff issues reprimand to inmate

Other preestablished coding categories of behavior were largely unused.

Location: where the interaction occurred in the living unit. Although each facility was different in layout, for the purpose of analysis, locations were collapsed into several generic categories:

- cell/bedroom
- open CO station
- closed CO station
- shower area
- dayroom
- entrance
- phone area
- recreation area
- TV area
- program space
- visiting area
- other area of living unit
- off of living unit

Quality: what was the quality of the interaction, from 1 to 5, where 1 = friendly/social, 3 = business-like or professional, and 5 = hostile.

Duration: how long were the interactions, coded in 30 second intervals.

RESULTS

Almost 1500 separate observations of behavior were recorded for the five sites. No hostile behavior or quality rating of "5" was given in the observations. While it is likely that the presence of an observer caused some reaction by staff and inmates, all observers reported that activity on living units continued in what appeared to be a normal manner during the tracking.

Who Initiated Interactions

Overall, more interactions were initiated by staff (64%) than by inmates (see Table III.4-1). This overall figure is somewhat misleading, however, because of the relative imbalance of behavior at RCJ. Whereas all of the other sites had a near even split of staff- and inmate-initiated interactions (range of 42% to 58% staff-initiated), staff-initiated interactions were very high at RCJ (91.3%).

Table III.4-1: Who Initiated Interaction, by Site

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	PIMA	RCJ	NSP	RSP	Total (%)	Total Number
Inmates (%)	39.21	53.03	37.84	33.33	6.33	52.58	21.74	32.00	417.00
Staff (%)	58.66	42.42	50.68	57.71	91.23	47.42	78.26	64.00	850.00
Other (%)	2.13	4.55	11.49	8.96	2.33	0.00	0.00	4.00	55.00
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
Total Number	329.00	132.00	148.00	210.00	300.00	97.00	115.00		1,322.00

Level of Activity

While the level of interaction was fairly high at all sites, there was a great deal of variability among the sites (see Table III.4-2). The number of new interactions per hour averaged 56.7 and ranged from 41.7 (CHIL) to 88.8 (PIMA). The sites with fewer interactions, however, tended to have somewhat longer interactions, so that the total number of 30 second units spent in interaction per hour was similar across all settings. The average was eighty-five 30 second units per hour, with a range from 74.3 (LCI) to 95 (PIMA).

Table III.4-2: Total Interactions, Staff- and Inmate-Initiated Interactions

Site	No. of New Interactions	No. of New Interactions/hr.	Total Interactions	Total per Hour	Ratio of Staff/Inmate Initiation
CCC	172.00	42.60	333.00	82.60	1.56
CHIL	132.00	41.70	280.00	88.40	0.73
LCI	148.00	62.10	177.00	74.30	1.34
PIMA	188.00	88.80	201.00	95.00	1.73
RCJ	171.00	48.20	301.00	84.80	14.30
RSP	101.00	41.51	97.00	39.86	3.60
NSP	59.00	23.29	90.00	36.99	0.94
mean	138.71	49.74	211.29	71.71	3.46
std. dev.	133.96	50.76	193.90	70.15	3.73

These data become more clear when staff- and inmate-initiated interactions are separated (see Tables III.4-3 and III.4-4). The number of staff-initiated new interactions per hour averaged 33, and was very high for PIMA

(51.5) and RCJ (41.1), and very low for CHIL (17.7) and CCC (23.2). Inmate-initiated interactions were somewhat lower (mean = 19.70), due in some part to the very low level at RCJ (5.4).

The ratio of staff- to inmate-initiated interactions reveals a wide discrepancy. While four sites ranged from 0.73 for CHIL (that is, 0.73 staff-initiated interactions for each inmate-initiated interaction) to 1.73 for PIMA, RCJ had 14.3 staff-initiated interactions for each inmate-initiated interaction (meaning that almost all interactions were staff-initiated).

Table III.4-3: Staff-Initiated Interactions

Site	No. of New Interactions	No. of New Interactions/hr.	Total Interactions	Total per Hour
CCC	94.00	23.20	193.00	47.90
CHIL	56.00	17.70	116.00	36.60
LCI	75.00	31.50	75.00	31.50
PIMA	109.00	51.50	116.00	54.80
RCJ	146.00	41.10	274.00	77.20
RSP	74.00	30.41	90.00	36.99
NSP	32.00	13.15	48.00	19.73
mean	83.71	29.79	130.29	43.53
std dev	82.24	30.74	121.33	42.91

Table III.4-4: Inmate-Initiated Interactions

Site	No. of New Interactions	No. of New Interactions/hr.	Total Interactions	Total per Hour
CCC	74.00	18.40	124.00	30.70
CHIL	70.00	22.10	158.00	49.90
LCI	56.00	23.50	56.00	23.50
PIMA	62.00	29.30	67.00	31.70
RCJ	19.00	5.40	19.00	5.40
RSP	23.00	9.45	25.00	10.27
NSP	27.00	11.10	51.00	20.96
mean	47.29	17.04	71.43	24.63
std dev	43.47	16.84	63.92	23.77

Purpose

Most of the interactions for the direct supervision sites were for staff-inmate interchange (range of 64% to 83%; see Table III.4-5). Most RCJ interactions, on the other hand, were for staff-to-staff contact (72%). At the four direct supervision sites, most staff-initiated interactions were for staff-inmate interaction (41 to 74%). AT RCJ, however, most staff-initiated interactions were for the purpose of staff-staff interactions.

Table III.4-5: Purpose Of Interaction, by Site

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	PIMA	RCJ	NSP	RSP	Total (%)	Total Number
S-I Interaction	63.83%	83.33%	64.86%	76.12%	20.33%	75.64%	47.41%	57.80%	758.00
S-S Interaction	26.14	13.64	30.41	9.95	72.00	24.36	52.59	35.70	469.00
Staff Phone	6.69	2.27	2.70	13.43	7.67	0.00	0.00	6.00	79.00
Hostile	0.30	0.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	.38	5.00
Reprimand	1.82	0.00	2.03	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	1.00
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
Total Number	329.00	132.00	149.00	201.00	300.00	97.00	115.00		1,312.00

Location

The location data are consistent with those above, in that 62% of all RCJ interactions were away from the living unit, compared to none off the units at the other sites (see Table III.4-6). In all sites, the most common location was the officer station, making the placement of the officer station a critical feature. The only site in which a significant amount of time was spent away from the officer station was in CHIL, where much interaction occurred in the day room area and counselor's office.

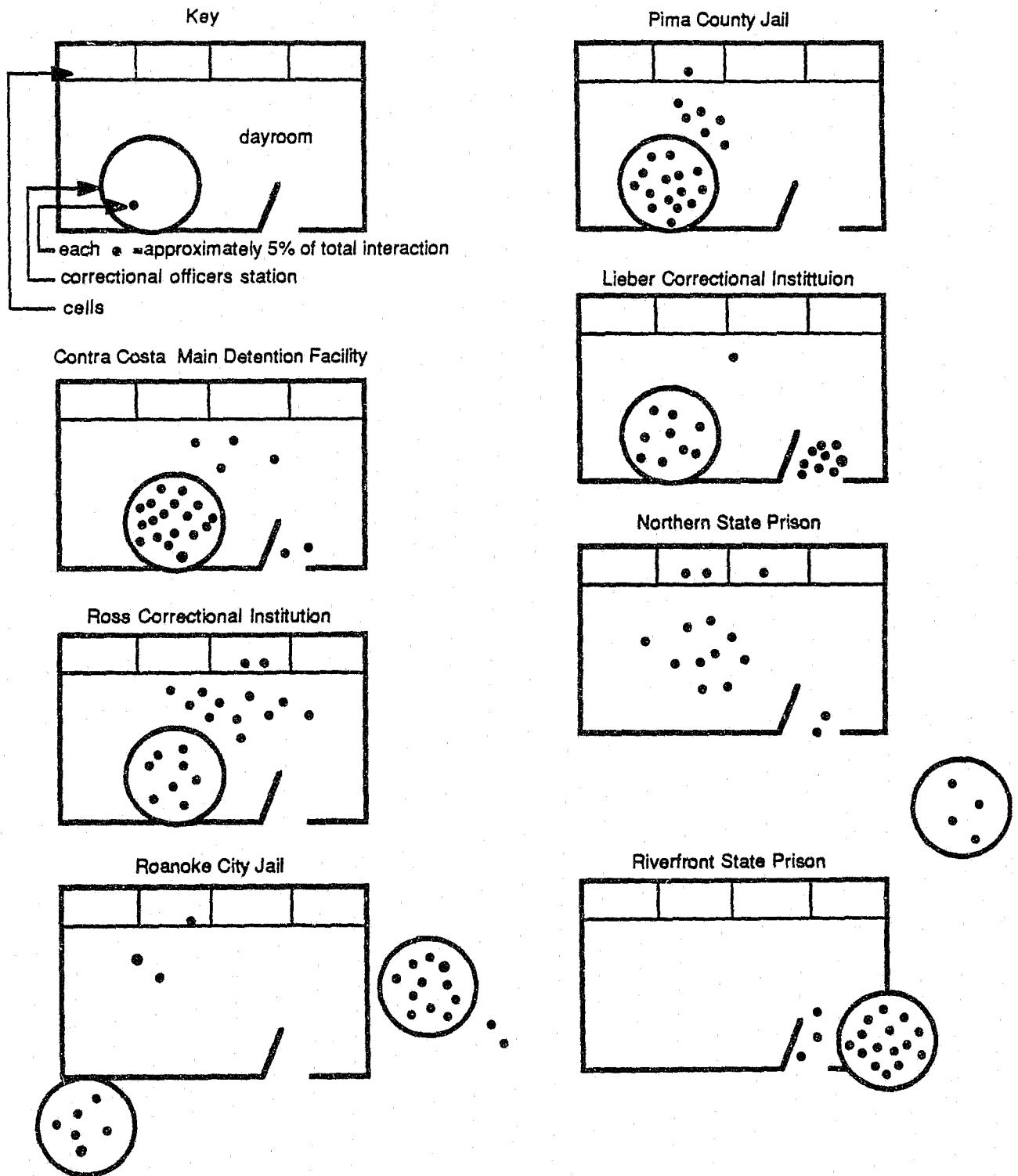
In the direct supervision sites, inmate-initiated interaction was most likely to occur at the CO station (51 to 84%), except for CHIL where more interaction occurred in the inmate day room. In RCJ, inmate initiated interaction was most likely to occur at the unit entrance. Interaction at the unit entrance was also common for CCC and LCI.

Table III.4-6: Location of Interaction, by Site

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	PIMA	RCJ	Total (%)	Total Number
Closed CO Station	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	51.33%	13.87%	154.00
Open CO Station	71.43	33.33	47.97	60.70	0.00	42.52	472.00
Unit Entrance	8.81	17.42	41.22	5.47	23.00	17.38	164.00
Unit Other	14.29	1.52	2.03	0.50	0.00	4.77	53.00
Unit Dayroom	0.00	17.42	1.35	3.98	6.33	4.68	52.00
Recreation	1.22	5.30	0.00	11.94	0.00	3.15	35.00
Television	2.43	0.76	2.03	4.48	0.00	1.89	21.00
Program	0.00	0.76	2.03	4.48	0.00	1.89	21.00
Shower	0.00	0.00	0.68	0.50	0.00	0.18	2.00
Visiting at Unit	0.00	0.76	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.27	3.00
Off of Unit	0.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.67	3.06	34.00
Total (%)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
Total Number	329.00	132.00	148.00	201.00	300.00		1,110.00

See Figure III.4-1 on the next page for a diagrammatic representation of this data.

Figure III.4-1: Location of Interactions by Facility



Quality

There were no major differences in the rated quality of interactions across the sites (see Tables 7 and 8). Most interactions were rated "3" (business-like). The only important difference was at RCJ, where staff-staff interactions commonly were rated "1" (friendly), while staff-inmate interactions were rated "3".

Table III.4-7: Quality of Interaction, by Site

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	PIMA	RCJ	Total	Total Number
1 Friendly	4.86%	0.76%	5.41%	5.97%	36.67%	13.24%	147.00
2	14.29	6.82	20.27	29.85	1.67	13.60	151.00
3 Business-Like	78.12	90.15	72.97	59.20	61.33	70.90	787.00
4	1.52	2.27	1.35	3.98	0.33	1.71	19.00
5 Hostile	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mean, All	2.77	2.94	2.70	2.32	2.25	2.61	
Mean, Staff-Initiated	2.70	2.98	2.69	2.66	2.19	2.52	
Mean, Inmate-Initiated	2.87	2.90	2.70	2.60	2.95	2.79	

Table III.4-8: Quality of Interaction by Who Initiated

Quality	Inmate Initiated	Staff Initiated	Other
1 Friendly	2.93%	18.77%	5.45%
2	16.13	12.75	9.09
3 Business-like	80.06	65.41	85.45
4	0.88	2.24	0.00
5 Hostile	0.00	0.00	0.00

Duration

Most interactions were brief, lasting less than one minute (see Table III.4-9). Inmate-initiated interactions were uniformly brief except for some longer conversations at CCC. At RCJ no staff-inmate interactions longer than 1 minute were observed, whereas staff-staff interactions were frequently longer.

Table III.4-9: Duration of Interaction, by Site

Duration	CCC	CHIL	LCI	PIMA	RCJ	Total (%)	Total Number
0-1 Min (%)	85.00	79.00	97.00	90.00	90.00	94.00	743.00
1-2 Min (%)	10.00	11.00	2.50	10.00	5.00	4.00	27.00
2-5 Min (%)	5.00	6.00	0.50	0.00	1.00	1.00	8.00
> 5 Min (%)	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	8.00

DISCUSSION

The tracking data provide a picture of the interactions that take place in the jails and prisons — where, how and with whom officers and inmates communicate. While the picture is complicated by special local conditions and design variations, patterns emerge which highlight the comparison between direct and indirect supervision facilities.

There are several consistent differences between the four direct supervision facilities as compared with the three indirect supervision facilities. The indirect facilities show a lower level of interaction overall and the interactions which do occur tend to be of briefer duration (that is, most are quick exchanges, with fewer long conversations).

In parallel, the amount of time which correctional officers in indirect facilities spend in any living unit is lower than for direct supervision facilities (note: the data for RSP and NSP represent a composite of the pair of living units supervised by correctional officers).

Partly as a result, the amount of interaction between staff and inmates is considerably lower in indirect supervision facilities than in direct supervision ones. Officers in indirect facilities (except NSP) experience a far higher proportion of staff-to-staff (versus to staff-to-inmate) interactions than do officers in direct facilities. In other words, direct supervision officers spend a higher percentage of their time interacting with inmates than do indirect supervision officers.

RCJ is the extreme example of this phenomenon, where officers spend most of their time in control stations away from living units, interacting with other officers. The greatest staff-to-inmate interaction is seen at CHIL, where officers spend most of their time interacting with inmates in day rooms.

Direct supervision and indirect supervision facilities were similar in the way officer behavior was affected by having a second officer present. We noted (both in the formal data as well as in informal observations) that with a second officer present, both officers tend to spend more time in or near the officer station, and more time interacting with each other than with inmates. This is best illustrated among direct supervision facilities by CCC officers, who had more than 70% of staff-to-staff and staff-to-inmate interactions at the officer station. Although we do not have data from before the second officer was added, we are informed that this is far more time at the control station (and correspondingly less time walking through the living unit) than was spent before. It suggests that officers may tend to gravitate to the control area to be with the other officer. Inmates needing to interact with an officer must go to the station to find one.

Among indirect supervision facilities, the most interesting comparison is between RSP and NSP. At RSP, officers experience a direct supervision-like setting, because of the open officer station. One officer, however, is permanently assigned to that station, while the other is supposed to tour the living units. Our observations show that the touring officer spent far more time at the station, and more time interacting with the other officer, than desired by management. At NSP, the control station is enclosed, so the touring officer rarely enters that space. While the ratio of staff-to-inmate (versus staff-to-staff) interaction is lower than in RSP, actual numbers of contacts are about the same. That is, NSP officers have lower levels of contact of all kinds.

This information has implications for responses to overcrowding. In some settings policy states that when inmate populations exceed certain levels (65 at CCC) a second correctional officer is added to the unit. While the second officer may be needed, our data suggest that he/she may also detract from the desired operation of direct supervision. Under the stress of the job, correctional officers appear to be drawn together — and away from inmate contact.

III.5 CASE STUDY FINDINGS: QUESTIONNAIRES

This chapter presents the findings from the questionnaires data gathered at the case study sites. A total of 612 inmate questionnaires and 264 staff questionnaires were completed.

Table III.5-1: Number of Completed Surveys

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	Total
Inmates	104	124	92	69	80	73	70	612
Staff	23	47	78	19	31	28	38	264
Total	127	171	170	88	111	101	108	876

PERCEIVED SUPERVISION STYLE

Inmate and staff perceptions of supervision style were close to, but not identical with, our ratings. Our ratings are shown in Table III.5-2 below. For inmate and staff ratings, see the discussion in Chapter III.3 on the Physical Environment Survey; also, refer to item 3 of the Staff Questionnaire (pg. A-68 of the Attachments) and item 2 of the Inmate Questionnaire (pg. A-78 of the Attachments).

Inmates in all facilities except NSP and RCJ perceived their unit as having direct supervision (see Table III.5-3). That is CCC, CHIL, LCI, PIMA, and RSP were perceived as having officers who primarily were stationed directly on the living unit. This runs contrary to our initial categorization of RSP as a "hybrid" IS facility (in which officers are stationed at an open desk but off of the living unit, with one officer making regular tours of the unit areas). By inmate perception, the open, accessible nature of the officer station made this arrangement seem more of a direct supervision type of operation. At NSP and RCJ, inmates perceived officers as primarily stationed off the unit, in enclosed stations. This is in spite of the fact that NSP officers have the same physical proximity, layout, and expectation of touring through living units as do RSP officers. The lack of easy visual access of the station at NSP seems to be a crucial factor in this perception.

In the staff survey, officers in all facilities, except for RCJ, rated their situation as direct supervision (see means in Attachments pp. A-6 and A-8). The singular discrepancy between inmate and staff perceptions is in the case of NSP. Officers apparently focus on the amount of time they spend within or patrolling through the living units, and see themselves as having considerable direct contact with inmates. Where time in the unit seems to be the most salient feature for officers, presence or absence of an accessible station may be more crucial for inmates.

Table III.5-2: Research Team's Rating of Supervision Style

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP
Direct Supervision	X	X	X		X		
Modified Dir. Supv.							X
Indirect Supervision				X			
Indir. Supv. - Intermittent						X	

Table III.5-3: Inmate Rating of Supervision Style

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	TOTAL
CO In Unit, No Barriers	69	106	65	11	66	0	45	362
CO Next to Unit, Separate	6	2	1	29	2	1	2	43
CO Away from Unit, Look Inside	8	1	6	5	2	48	2	72
CO Away From Unit, Come Inside	5	6	0	16	5	15	6	53

OVERVIEW OF ITEM RESPONSES BY FACILITY

An overview of the mean scores of inmate survey items suggests at least two different dominant influences on inmate responses: the type of supervision (DS vs. IS); and individual characteristics of the facilities (most commonly the level of crowding).

There is a pattern across a number of items of differences among facilities by supervision type — at least as rated by our classification scheme. In general, the facilities using direct supervision were rated better on most issues by both inmates and staff, and for both jails and prisons. With a few exceptions, this was clearly true for amount and type of contact, and for some aspects of safety, vandalism, appearance and cleanliness. For many of these items, the DS facilities rated best. For the three jails, PIMA and CCC consistently rated better than RCJ. Among prisons, LCI and CHIL often rated better than RSP and NSP. Further, RSP often received better ratings than NSP. Results were more mixed on other issues.

Overcrowding also seems to have played an important role in these ratings. In particular, the ratings for CCC and PIMA among jails and LCI among prisons appear to have been negatively affected by the level of crowding.

Staff survey responses were somewhat less consistent (possibly reflecting the lack of differentiation among staff about their supervision styles).

DETAILED ITEM RESPONSES

Sleeping Room Densities

The inmates in the sample were primarily from two-bed rooms in CCC and LCI, with a significant minority in double bunked rooms in CHIL. Inmates in the other facilities were almost exclusively in single rooms (see Table III.5-4).

Table III.5-4: Beds/Room for Survey Respondents

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	TOTAL
1 bed	5	66	20	54	58	37	47	287
2 bed	77	39	51	0	10	15	0	192

Background Data

Inmates in this sample were mostly males between 22 and 40 years old. Those in jails had typically been in the institution between two weeks to six months. Those in prison had typically served from six months to two years. (See Tables III.5-5 through 7.) Staff respondents were typically between 22 and 40 years old, were more likely to be male than female, had some college education, were mostly correctional officers, and had between 1 and 5 years job tenure. (See Tables III.5-8 through 12.)

Table III.5-5: Background of Respondents: Inmate Sex

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	Total (%)	Total Number
Male (%)	82%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	97%	577
Female (%)	18%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	21
Total Number	102	124	90	68	78	70	66		598

Table III.5-6: Background of Respondents: Inmate Age

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	Total (%)	Total Number
< 18	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	2
19-21	15%	3%	4%	2%	14%	23%	5%	9%	54
22-30	41%	45%	49%	42%	44%	30%	34%	42%	248
31-40	36%	37%	32%	37%	25%	35%	30%	34%	202
41-50	6%	12%	11%	15%	9%	9%	18%	11%	66
51-60	1%	2%	2%	5%	3%	1%	9%	3%	17
> 60	0%	0%	1%	0%	4%	0%	5%	1%	6
Total Number	99	124	90	67	79	70	67		596

Table III.5-7: Background of Respondents: Inmates' Time in Institution

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	Total (%)	Total Number
< 2 Wks	9%	0%	2%	0%	18%	7%	2%	5%	31
2 Wks - 3 Mo	47%	5%	11%	9%	43%	41%	5%	22%	133
3 - 6 Mo	28%	7%	11%	3%	25%	26%	8%	15%	90
6 Mo - 1 Yr	12%	21%	16%	18%	11%	15%	8%	15%	88
1 - 2 Yr	3%	51%	25%	53%	0%	12%	32%	26%	153
2 - 5 Yr	1%	10%	28%	12%	0%	0%	45%	13%	75
> 5 Yr	0%	6%	7%	5%	1%	0%	2%	3%	19
Total Number	98	124	89	66	78	69	65		589

Table III.5-8: Background of Respondents: Staff Sex

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	Total (%)	Total Number
Male	87%	70%	84%	79%	87%	81%	97%	83%	217
Female	13%	30%	16%	21%	12%	19%	3%	17%	43
Total Number	23	47	76	19	31	26	38		260

Table III.5-9: Background of Respondents: Staff Age

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	Total (%)	Total Number
< 18	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0
19-21	0%	0%	1%	1%	3%	0%	0%	1%	3
22-30	78%	43%	59%	47%	23%	50%	45%	50%	129
31-40	17%	32%	25%	32%	52%	42%	45%	34%	88
41-50	0%	17%	13%	16%	16%	4%	8%	12%	30
51-60	0%	9%	0%	0%	7%	4%	0%	3%	8
> 60	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	3%	1%	2
Total Number	23	47	76	19	31	26	38		260

Table III.5-10: Background of Respondents: Staff Education

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	Total (%)	Total Number
≤ 8 grade	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0
9 - 12	22%	53%	46%	32%	39%	65%	55%	47%	122
13 - 16	69%	36%	54%	64%	55%	35%	40%	49%	125
≥ 17	9%	11%	0%	1%	6%	0%	5%	4%	12
Total Number	23	47	76	19	31	26	38		260

Table III.5-11: Background of Respondents: Staff Time Worked at Site

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	Total (%)	Total Number
< 6 Mo	30%	0%	11%	0%	10%	4%	0%	7%	19
6 Mo - 1 Yr	13%	6%	24%	11%	10%	23%	0%	14%	35
1 - 2 Yr	43%	77%	13%	74%	10%	0%	8%	29%	76
2 - 5 Yr	9%	13%	53%	11%	45%	27%	84%	40%	103
> 5 Yr	4%	4%	0%	5%	25%	46%	8%	10%	27
Total Number	23	47	76	19	31	26	38		260

Table III.5-12: Background of Respondents: Staff Position

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	Total (%)	Total Number
Corr. Officer	100%	56%	89%	16%	97%	85%	5%	67%	175
Senior Corr. Officer	0%	9%	8%	84%	3%	4%	95%	25%	64
Program Staff	0%	32%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	15
Administration	0%	4%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	5
Total Number	23	47	75	19	31	26	38		259

INMATE AND STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF FACILITIES

For ease of analysis and intelligibility of the data, we have grouped findings by type of institution (jail or prison)

and by type of supervision (direct or indirect). In spite of some inconsistencies in staff and inmate perceptions (noted previously), Tables III.5-13 through III.5-25 use the following classification for the institutions in the study:

- Direct Supervision Jails: CCC and PIMA
- Indirect Supervision Jails: RCJ
- Direct Supervision Prisons: LCI and CHIL
- Indirect Supervision Prisons: RSP and NSP

The data reported here are for those items showing statistically significant differences between types of institutions. Mean scores for all survey items are provided in the Attachments section entitled "Data Tables".

Perceptions of Inmates and Staff at Jails

See Tables III.5-13 and III.5-14 for means for all jail items showing significant differences. Inmate respondents in the direct supervision jails rated their contacts with officers as more friendly and less hostile. They saw the officers as doing a better job protecting inmate safety (see Table III.5-15) and responding more quickly in case of an emergency (see Table III.5-16). They indicated there was less vandalism (see Table III.5-17), more privacy (especially for toilet use), and that the facilities were cleaner. They rated time in these facilities as less stressful.

On the negative side, these direct supervision facilities were clearly rated as more crowded than the indirect supervision jail (see Table III.5-18). This validates objective data that those particular direct supervision facilities were indeed much more crowded. A number of issues which were closely related to crowding were seen as problems by inmates in the direct supervision facilities (i.e., harder access to TVs, phones, etc.).

There were also some inconsistencies among items. For example, inmates in the indirect supervision jail rated officers as involved more in counseling and casual chatting (in spite of clear tracking data showing much less interaction at this facility) (see Chapter III.4).

The view from the correctional officers was generally similar to those of inmates. Officers in the direct supervision jails rated interaction with inmates as more frequent and more positive than did officers in the indirect supervision jail. They rated their facility as having less risk of sexual assault (see Table III.5-19), as safer for officers (see Table III.5.20), and as affording a better response time in case of emergencies than did indirect supervision officers. The direct supervision facilities were seen by officers as better designed to facilitate surveillance, cleaner, and easier for inmate movement. Consistent with inmate ratings, the officers also saw crowding, with its related space and facilities problems, as a much more severe problem in the direct supervision facilities (see Table III.5-21).

Table III.5-13: Scores for Inmate Surveys: Direct and Indirect Supervision Jails

Variable	DS1	IS2	t=	p<
How often CO counsels inmate*	3.52	3.11	2.18	0.030
CO/inmate contacts pleasant	2.91	2.44	2.92	0.004
CO/inmate contacts hostile	3.25	3.77	2.97	0.004
CO protects inmates well	2.45	3.01	2.84	0.005
How long to stop fight	2.78	4.03	5.73	0.000
How long to respond to emergency	2.97	3.59	2.64	0.009
Frequency vandalism in facility	1.74	2.22	2.57	0.011
Frequency of vandalism in room	1.46	1.76	1.93	0.056

Table III.5-13: (continued)

Variable	DS ¹	IS ²	t=	p<
Frequency of vandalism in facility	1.61	2.01	2.30	0.024
How satisfied with dayroom	2.86	3.43	3.03	0.003
How satisfied with outdoor recreation	3.45	4.38	5.61	0.000
Enough space for outdoor recreation	3.62	4.37	4.18	0.000
How crowded is facility	4.11	3.64	2.59	0.010
How crowded is room	3.00	2.57	2.08	0.040
How crowded is indoor recreation	3.92	3.15	3.67	0.000
How crowded is dining	3.96	3.01	4.65	0.000
Privacy in shower	2.28	3.87	8.20	0.000
Privacy in toilet	3.30	4.23	5.12	0.000
Too little outside view	2.45	2.96	2.13	0.035
Too noisy for sleep	3.54	4.03	2.40	0.020
Can use phone when need to	3.24	2.61	2.79	0.006
Looks better than expected	2.05	2.75	3.28	0.001
How clean dining	2.08	2.54	2.64	0.010
How clean toilet	1.76	3.00	6.28	0.000
How clean shower	2.66	3.51	4.50	0.000
Stressful here	2.83	3.38	2.22	0.029
Spend much time watching TV	3.08	2.57	2.43	0.017

1 Direct Supervision Jails= CCC, PIMA

2 Indirect Supervision Jails = RCJ

* Score reversed so lower number = better score

Table III.5-14: Scores for Staff Surveys: Direct and Indirect Supervision Jails

Variable	DS ¹	IS ²	t=	p<
How often CO counsels inmate*	1.89	2.30	1.87	0.070
How often CO/inmate chat*	1.89	3.18	5.52	0.000
How often work alone	2.26	3.96	5.05	0.000
Little danger of sexual assault	2.19	3.00	3.21	0.002
COs feel safe in unit	2.13	2.67	2.10	0.040
How long to stop fight	1.98	2.52	1.93	0.060
Design aids surveillance	2.74	3.28	1.72	0.093
How satisfied with dayroom	2.00	1.59	1.90	0.062
Enough space in rooms	2.35	1.82	1.90	0.062
Enough space for dining	2.30	1.69	2.35	0.022
Enough phones	2.70	2.04	2.08	0.040
How crowded is facility	4.54	3.44	4.21	0.000
How crowded is living area	3.89	2.89	3.21	0.000
How crowded is recreation area	3.33	2.52	2.61	0.012
Privacy in room	1.37	2.67	4.47	0.000
Privacy in talking with inmate	2.93	2.00	3.07	0.003
Enough sunlight	2.04	3.15	3.16	0.003
Too little outside view*	3.02	1.44	5.55	0.000
Too noisy for conversation	3.89	3.07	2.60	0.012
Can go without escort	3.79	4.52	2.56	0.013
How clean facility kept	1.89	1.56	1.87	0.070

1 Direct Supervision Jails= CCC, PIMA

2 Indirect Supervision Jails = RCJ

* Score reversed so lower number = better score

Table III.5-15: Inmate Survey Data for Jails: How Well Correctional Officers Protect Inmates

	Protect Very Well 1	2	3	4	Protect Very Poorly 5	%	N
Direct Supervision	31.87	23.08	26.92	4.95	13.19	100	182
Indirect Supervision	22.22	15.28	26.39	11.11	25	100	72
Average	29.13	20.87	26.77	6.69	16.54	100	
Total No. Respondents	74	53	68	17	42		254

Table III.5-16: Inmate Survey Data for Jails: Speed of Correctional Officer Response

	<30 sec.	30-60 sec.	1-2 min.	2-3 min.	3-5 min.	>5 min.	%	N
Direct Supervision	16.48	33.52	23.08	14.84	7.14	4.95	100	182
Indirect Supervision	7.04	14.08	19.72	14.08	18.31	26.76	100	71
Average	13.83	28.06	22.13	14.62	10.28	11.07	100	
Total No. Respondents	35	71	56	37	26	28		253

Table III.5-17: Inmate Survey Data for Jails: How Much Vandalism

	Very Little 1	2	3	4	Very Much 5	%	N
Direct Supervision	59.34	19.23	13.19	4.95	3.30	100	182
Indirect Supervision	45.83	18.06	18.06	4.17	13.89	100	72
Average	55.51	18.90	14.57	4.72	6.20	100	
Total No. Respondents	141	48	37	12	16		254

Table III.5-18: Inmate Survey Data for Jails: How Crowded is Facility

	Very Little 1	2	3	4	Very Much 5	%	N
Direct Supervision	7.78	4.44	16.11	12.22	59.44	100	182
Indirect Supervision	8.70	8.70	28.99	17.39	36.23	100	72
Average	8.03	5.62	19.68	13.65	53.01	100	
Total No. Respondents	20	14	49	34	132		249

Table III.5-19: Staff Survey Data for Jails: Risk of Sexual Assault

	Very Little 1	2	3	4	Very Great 5	%	N
Direct Supervision	38.89	24.07	22.22	9.26	5.56	100	54
Indirect Supervision	11.11	7.41	59.26	14.81	7.41	100	27
Average	29.63	18.52	34.57	11.11	6.17	100	
Total No. Respondents	24	15	28	9	5		81

Table III.5-20: Staff Survey Data for Jails: How Safe is Correctional Officer in Unit

	Very Safe 1	2	3	4	Very Unsafe 5	%	N
Direct Supervision	33.33	31.48	25.93	7.41	1.85	100	54
Indirect Supervision	14.81	29.63	37.04	11.11	7.41	100	27
Average	27.16	30.86	29.63	8.64	3.7	100	
Total No. Respondents	22	25	24	7	3		81

Table III.5-21: Staff Survey Data for Jails: How Crowded is Facility

	Very Uncrowded 1	2	3	4	Very Crowded 5	%	N
Direct Supervision	0	3.7	1.85	31.48	62.96	100	54
Indirect Supervision	3.85	15.38	15.38	50	15.38	100	26
Average	1.25	7.5	6.25	37.5	47.5	100	
Total No. Respondents	1	6	5	30	38		80

Perceptions of Inmates and Staff at Prisons

See Tables III.5-22 and III.5-23 for means for all prison items showing significant differences. Inmates in the direct supervision prisons rated their settings as having more officer contact, and said that the contact was less formal, more friendly and less hostile than did inmates in the indirect supervision facilities (see Table III.5-24). They saw less chance of a correctional officer-inmate attack, fewer fights (see Table III.5-25), and faster correctional officer response to emergencies. They felt less stressed than inmates in the indirect supervision prisons, as indicated by lower scores on the somatic complaint scale. They also felt the living units were cleaner, less vandalized, and better in appearance.

As in the jails, however, inmates in direct supervision prisons rated their settings as significantly more crowded than did indirect supervision inmates. Possibly as a consequence, they also saw risk of inmate-on-inmate attacks and sexual assaults as greater (largely because of shared rooms).

The staff data for prisons is not as clear. Officers in direct supervision prisons indicated that they had more interaction with inmates than did those in indirect supervision facilities. They also felt the facilities offered

better surveillance, better designed staff control areas, and were cleaner. Indirect supervision officers, however, rated their prisons somewhat better in terms of ease of contacting another officer and lower risk of sexual assault. They saw their setting as less crowded and having more adequate resources in terms of TVs, phones, and cell privacy.

Table III.5-22: Scores for Inmate Surveys: Direct and Indirect Supervision Prisons

Variable	DS ¹	IS ²	t=	p<
How often inmate talks with CO*	1.95	2.19	1.87	0.060
How often CO counsels inmate*	3.34	4.01	4.77	0.000
How often CO/inmate chat*	2.33	2.61	2.16	0.030
CO/inmate contacts pleasant	2.65	3.29	4.67	0.000
CO/inmate contacts business-like*	3.14	2.78	2.40	0.017
CO/inmate contacts hostile*	2.35	2.94	3.98	0.000
CO comfortable on unit	2.27	2.75	3.26	0.001
Little danger of inmate/inmate attack	3.36	2.93	2.73	0.007
Little danger of CO/inmate attack	2.56	3.33	4.76	0.000
Little danger of sexual assault	2.42	2.11	2.09	0.038
How long respond to emergency	2.99	3.94	5.18	0.000
How often inmate/inmate fight	2.77	2.52	1.85	0.066
How often CO/inmate fight	1.58	1.97	3.19	0.002
Frequency of vandalism in room	1.44	1.81	2.91	0.004
How satisfied with room	2.36	2.97	3.79	0.000
How satisfied with dayroom	2.85	3.26	2.84	0.005
How satisfied with dining	3.76	2.96	5.35	0.000
How satisfied with indoor recreation	2.99	3.55	3.67	0.000
How satisfied with outdoor recreation	2.66	3.68	6.53	0.000
Enough space for dining	3.50	2.83	4.33	0.000
Enough space for outdoor recreation	2.13	3.57	9.53	0.000
Enough space for storage	3.32	4.18	5.57	0.000
Enough phones	4.56	4.16	3.23	0.001
Enough TVs	3.22	2.75	2.83	0.005
How crowded is facility	3.74	3.21	3.44	0.001
How crowded is room	2.58	2.08	3.05	0.002
How crowded is indoor recreation	3.76	4.16	2.96	0.003
How crowded is dining	4.36	3.72	4.86	0.000
Privacy in conversation	2.88	3.73	5.75	0.000
Enough dayroom reading light	1.54	1.75	1.82	0.070
Enough sunlight	2.16	2.68	3.14	0.000
Too little outside view*	2.03	2.77	4.23	0.000
Noise in dayroom*	2.56	1.90	4.39	0.000
Too noisy for TV*	2.29	1.56	5.81	0.000
Too noisy for sleep	2.77	3.20	2.52	0.012
Can't change TV channel/volume*	1.99	2.74	4.26	0.000
Can use phone when need to	3.40	2.85	3.13	0.002
Can't shower whenever want*	1.79	2.23	2.65	0.008
Can go without escort	2.31	3.08	4.26	0.000
Looks better than expected	1.53	2.14	4.40	0.000
Colors unpleasant	3.36	2.77	3.75	0.000

Table III.5-22: (continued)

Variable	DS ¹	IS ²	t=	p<
How clean facility kept	1.31	1.64	3.71	0.000
How clean dining	2.95	2.18	5.85	0.000
How clean toilet	1.23	1.47	2.51	0.013
Spend little time active*	2.21	2.53	1.92	0.060
Somatic stress	1.71	2.20	3.29	0.002

1 Direct Supervision Jails = CCC, PIMA

2 Indirect Supervision Jails = RCJ

* Score reversed so lower number = better score

Table III.5-23: Scores for Staff Surveys: Direct and Indirect Supervision Prisons

Variable	DS ¹	IS ²	t=	p<
How often inmate/CO talk*	1.41	1.72	2.33	0.020
How often work alone*	2.37	3.05	2.56	0.012
It is easy for inmate to contact CO	2.18	1.75	2.40	0.018
Little danger of sexual assault	3.40	2.93	2.34	0.021
COs feels safe in unit	2.94	2.50	2.17	0.032
How often sexual assault occurs	2.79	2.09	3.91	0.000
Surveillance in living area	2.85	3.60	3.42	0.001
Surveillance in residential control area	2.76	3.35	2.86	0.005
How satisfied with CO station	3.30	3.68	2.67	0.008
Enough space in rooms	2.34	1.94	2.00	0.048
Enough space for dining	2.59	1.72	4.73	0.000
Enough phones	3.10	2.24	4.09	0.000
Enough TVs	2.35	1.72	3.81	0.000
How crowded is facility	3.58	3.20	1.83	0.070
How crowded is living area	3.32	2.70	2.85	0.005
How crowded is paperwork area	3.07	2.61	2.16	0.030
Privacy in shower	2.05	1.40	4.20	0.000
Privacy in toilet	2.35	1.68	4.01	0.000
Privacy in talking with inmate	2.53	2.07	2.52	0.013
Enough dayroom reading light	1.54	1.32	1.84	0.070
Enough sunlight	2.04	1.53	3.08	0.003
Can go without escort	2.01	1.58	2.45	0.016
How clean facility kept	1.72	2.00	2.01	0.046

1 Direct Supervision Jails = CCC, PIMA

2 Indirect Supervision Jails = RCJ

* Score reversed so lower number = better score

Table III.5-24: Inmate Survey Data for Prisons: How Friendly is Correctional Officer/Inmate Contact

	Very Friendly 1	2	3	4	Very Unfriendly 5	%	N
Direct Supervision	22.9	21.96	32.71	12.62	9.82	100	214
Indirect Supervision	11.11	9.63	42.22	13.33	23.7	100	135
Average	18.34	17.19	36.39	12.89	15.19	100	
Total No. Respondents	64	60	127	45	53		349

Table III.5-25: Inmate Survey Data for Prisons: Number of Correctional Officer/Inmate Fights

	Very Few 1	2	3	4	Very Many 5	%	N
Direct Supervision	66.36	17.76	9.81	4.21	1.87	100	214
Indirect Supervision	51.13	18.05	19.55	5.26	6.02	100	133
Average	60.52	17.87	13.54	4.61	3.46	100	
Total No. Respondents	210	62	47	16	12		347

OVERCROWDING

There are several pieces of data, including those noted above, which suggest that overcrowding in the direct supervision facilities affected inmate and staff responses on several items. Two of the facilities which otherwise represent models of direct supervision are the most overcrowded (CCC and LCI). Overcrowding takes the form of the use of double bunking in rooms, and in a total living unit population higher than the initial or rated capacity. The two other direct supervision facilities (PIMA and CHIL) have less critical crowding, but still have a percentage of inmates in double bunked rooms which were originally intended as singles. By comparison, the indirect facilities in our sample are the least crowded.

These physical conditions were reflected in the ratings on crowding items. CCC and LCI were consistently rated poorly by inmates and staff on crowding items describing inmate spaces. RCJ, RSP and NSP typically rated better on crowding in living unit spaces.

There are some data which indicate that, overall, inmates in single rooms feel significantly safer than do inmates in double rooms (see Table III.5-26). This would account for the less positive ratings of safety on some items, especially for LCI.

While strongly influenced by crowding, perceived safety does also seem to be related to inmate perception of supervision style (item 2 on the Inmate Survey). Inmates who saw staff as being in their living area most of the time felt better protected and less in danger from officers than did inmates who perceived officers as mostly away from the living units.

OPEN-ENDED COMMENTS

Over 250 open-ended comments were provided by inmates on the survey forms. The comments were content coded for analysis (see Table III.5-26). Most of the comments represented complaints about specific staff actions, policies or conditions, although there were some general statements (e.g., "this place stinks," or "this place is pretty good").

Negative comments are typical in any evaluation, since problems are often more apparent and salient than good features. This is even more true in confinement settings, where "gripes" and "bitching" are the norm. These complaints should be viewed in terms of specific content of responses, and taken seriously when they are overwhelming in focus, or are supported by other sources of data, as are some of the responses below.

Most comments were complaints about aspects of institutional life and were more likely to refer to policy or operations than physical setting. Most common were complaints about food quality or amount (48) and staff attitudes (35). Others complained of lack of programs or activities, and insufficient medical services.

The most common physical setting comment was on institutional crowding (28) and lack of yard or outdoor space (16). Inmates in several settings also noted a need for more access to telephones (16). Occasional comments referred to excess noise (5) and poor heating or ventilation (5).

Table III.5-26 Types of Open-ended Survey Comments, by Facility

	CCC	CHIL	LCI	NSP	PIMA	RCJ	RSP	Total
Facility Good	3	15	8	0	1	3	3	33
Facility Bad	4	1	3	0	1	0	0	9
CO Bad	5	9	5	4	10	0	2	35
CO Good	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	4
Crowded	3	2	15	0	7	0	1	28
Need Prog.	5	6	0	2	4	4	2	23
Need Phones	1	11	1	0	1	0	1	15
Need Yard Space	2	2	7	1	3	0	1	16
Need Medical Service	3	4	0	0	0	6	0	13
Noise Problems	1	4	0	0	1	2	0	8
HVAC Problems	1	0	0	0	1	3	1	6
Bad Food	18	9	3	0	8	10	0	48
Good Food	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total Number	48	66	42	7	39	28	11	239

Comments By Facility

One obvious finding which is supported by the survey items and tracking data is the large number of spontaneous positive comments about the environment at CHIL and to a lesser degree LCI. Almost all of the general positive statements were made in these facilities. They were also the only facilities in which the general positive comments outnumbered negative ones (15:1 at CHIL; 8:3 at LCI). Given the "complaint" norm for prisons noted above, this is a remarkable result.

CHIL was also one of the only facilities to have spontaneous comments on the good quality of staff. The main significant negative response at CHIL was about the shortage of available telephones (11).

A number of facilities drew comments on negative qualities of officers. This was true of facilities which otherwise rated well on the survey (CHIL = 9, PIMA = 10, LCI = 5). A large portion of these comments were

that the officers and rules were too "picky" and that very small rule infractions were likely to draw a disproportionate response. This apparent response may actually be directly related to the intent of DS, which often strives to make inmates responsible for minor infractions which might be ignored in other settings.

While there were very few comments overall at NSP, most of those were about officer quality. In these cases, the comments were more likely to note negative, unpleasant, or confrontational officer attitudes toward inmates.

Consistent with the survey ratings, crowding was spontaneously mentioned as an obvious and significant issue for inmates at LCI (15) and to a lesser degree at PIMA (7) and CCC (3). Inmates at LCI also noted problems with lack of space for yards and activities (7).

III.6 CASE STUDY FINDINGS: INTERVIEWS

This chapter presents the findings from interviews with inmates and staff. Interviews were completed at six of the seven case study sites (all but Contra Costa County). The interview questions were quite similar for inmates and staff, with slightly different wordings. Since the interviews were open-ended, there were many other prompts and digressions. Responses are synthesized here by issue, with the questions reproduced for each topic. We have noted that in many cases interviewees have used the opportunity to complain about operations, rules, food, and other issues which are beyond the scope of this study. Those comments have generally been ignored.

OVERALL IMPRESSIONS

Inmates: How do you feel about living in the housing unit you are assigned to?

Staff: How do you feel about working in the housing unit you are assigned to?

Staff: What do you think about the impact of housing unit design and operations on inmates?

Some of the **direct supervision** institutions received highly positive comments, along the lines of "this is the best facility I've ever been in." The facilities were characterized as low stress settings. Inmates said: "To me it's paradise;" "if you got a problem, there's a pod officer to take care of it." One staffer said, "I like it. It doesn't seem like a prison. Many inmates come expecting a prison with bars. At first it makes them nervous, but they adjust. It puts more responsibility on them." But one officer preferred the more traditional prison (with bars) that he had worked in before, feeling that roles and expectations were clearer. Overcrowding, where it existed, clearly made inmates more negative about settings.

At the **indirect supervision** institutions, comments were neutral to negative, with some inmates finding the settings rather stressful. Staff in the indirect facilities bemoaned the lack of visibility of inmate areas. Inmates seemed to find these facilities more stressful than did direct supervision inmates, and particularly noted difficulties in staff contact.

SAFETY AND SECURITY

Inmates: How safe is it for you here?

Staff: How safe is it for you here, especially when working at your typical post? Does the design (and operation) of the housing unit affect security?

Inmates in **direct supervision** facilities generally express feeling quite safe. This relates to the low levels of stress and high levels of interaction with staff, who they feel are there to protect them. Classification of inmates is also praised as contributing to safety. Problems are seen when no staff are present (in one direct facility, this is in part a measure of the level of trust, even though it is largely due to lack of staff), or when overcrowding limits staff knowledge and control of what is going on. Staff feel very comfortable within the living units. This includes female staff. Inmates are not thought to have or need weapons (to protect themselves from other inmates). Some staff express concern about isolation or the lack of backup, where this occurs. The issue of provision of a booth as haven is unresolved. Where they exist in direct facilities, staff seem to appreciate them. At one overcrowded direct facility, staff seemed to wish they had them. Others did not feel the need. The commonest reported source of tension and fights (in all types of facilities) is the lack of resources, especially telephones.

In **indirect supervision** facilities, there is clearly less of a feeling of safety among both inmates and staff. Inmates do not feel protected by staff and have to fend for themselves. At one jail, staff feel safe in their control booths, but do not want to enter the living units unless inmates are locked down. These staff feel safest when they have very complete visibility and the refuge of an enclosed booth.

While all felt that attacks and assaults were rare in both of the indirect supervision prisons, officers as well as inmates commented that the need for the officer to tour a pair of living units caused inmates some jeopardy during the time the "cop is on the other side." The presence of single cells is seen as an important aid to safety, although difficulty in accessing single cells in NSP is a handicap. Safety seemed closely connected to staff presence, such that it seemed somewhat less a concern for inmates at RSP than at NSP.

PRIVACY

Inmates: Does the housing unit give you the privacy you need?

Staff: Does your work setting give you the privacy you need to do your job?

Privacy is not related so much to supervision mode as to other factors (single versus double occupancy cells, crowding, noise, placement of telephones, provision of offices). Inmates in double cells complained of a lack of privacy as did those in a facility with toilets visible from the dayroom. Ease of access to rooms is an important factor in inmates' perceived privacy. Privacy for phone conversations and places for staff and/or inmates to gather for a private conversation were felt to be important. Staff needed a place for paperwork, though this did not need to be an enclosed control booth. In one of the indirect supervision facilities, staff complained that inmates had privacy from staff but not from each other.

PROVISION OF FACILITIES AND GENERAL QUALITY

Inmates: How do you feel about the equipment or activities available to you in the housing unit?

Again, facilities are not related to supervision mode. As mentioned above, telephones were often cited as lacking. Where recreation was not easily accessible, inmates complained. In prison settings, inmates had much more scope to have their own televisions.

STAFF-INMATE INTERACTION

Inmates: What are your contacts with staff like?

Staff: What are your contacts with inmates like?

A key difference between supervision modes becomes clear with these questions. In **direct supervision** facilities, staff-inmate interaction is described as frequent, professional to pleasant in nature, inmates feel that they have easy access to staff when they need or want it. Officers feel that they get to know the inmates well (which helps in evaluating them). Officers state the need to keep contacts from getting too personal or friendly. One inmate said, "At a lot of places they [officers] sit at a window [in a control booth] and look through, but with the guy in here [in the dayroom] something comes up and you can talk to him."

In **indirect supervision** facilities the quantity and quality of interactions is described as being much lower. At an indirect jail, inmates described feeling isolated from staff and unable to get an officer's attention when needed. They admitted going out of their way to hassle the officers, who in their turn, perceived much verbal abuse from inmates. Between the indirect and hybrid prisons, there was a considerable difference in interactions due to the character of the staff station. Where it was enclosed, inmates reported unpleasant interactions and officers reported less frequent contacts. Inmates in both the indirect supervision prisons reported contacts to be only occasional, while officers saw them as more frequent. Both groups reported typical interactions to be perfunctory — brief discussions over unit business.

CARE OF FACILITIES

Inmates: How do inmates treat the housing unit?

Staff: How do inmates treat the housing unit?

There was little difference in the level of care (or degree of vandalism) reported at the various sites. All reported a rather good to good level of care. At some of the direct supervision facilities, this was attributed to the clear expectations, reward system, and continual observation by staff.

CROWDING

Inmates: What is it like when it gets crowded here?

Staff: What aspects of design or operations help you or hinder you in dealing with overcrowding when (and if) it occurs?

By and large, the **indirect supervision** facilities in our sample were not overcrowded, so our results are not enlightening regarding any differences in coping that might be due to supervision. By contrast, all the **direct supervision** facilities in our sample were experiencing some degree of overcrowding. This varied from crowding in one or two units, to distributed double bunking of about 40% of the rooms throughout the facility, to one facility that was greatly overcrowded throughout (a second facility under these conditions did not supply interview data). All comments agreed that overcrowding leads to negative outcomes for those who experience it. While limited overcrowding (say of one unit or of some sleeping rooms) is seen to be manageable, it is also clear that at a certain point crowding begins to subvert the benefits, and perhaps to undermine the effectiveness, of direct supervision. When it gets more severe, it is seen as raising tension, putting added stress on equipment and support spaces (e.g., dining and recreation), causing more fights, reducing safety, and leaving staff unable to personally know each inmate.

Among the strategies for coping with overcrowding, adding equipment (phones, TVs) and staff, as well as using the single occupancy rooms as rewards and the overcrowded areas for new arrivals and short-termers, were mentioned. (Some of the problems of going to two staff in a unit, such as them spending more time interacting with each other and less with inmates, are discussed elsewhere in this report.)

CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT

Inmates: What kind of control do you have over the lighting and temperature in the housing unit?

Staff: What kind of control do you have over the lighting and temperature in the housing unit?

The **direct supervision** facilities generally seem to provide inmates more control over lights and sleeping room doors, with two of the prisons even supplying inmates with their own keys. This is in keeping with a philosophy of encouraging responsible behavior. One indirect supervision prison (RSP) allowed inmates keys to their own rooms, while the other (NSP) used sliding doors opened from the control room. The RSP door procedure was seen as a positive feature by staff and inmates, with the control over room entry significantly aiding privacy and reducing stress. The NSP operation was viewed as a negative by almost all staff and inmates — it was cumbersome, time consuming, and difficult to use. In general, there seems to be little ability to control temperature in any of the facilities (heat and cooling seem to be provided centrally, though some facilities had openable windows).

SYNTHESIS: FEATURES TO KEEP OR CHANGE

Inmates: What aspects of the housing unit's design and operation work well? What would you change

about the design or operation of the housing unit you live in?

Staff: What aspects of the housing unit's design and operation work well? What would you change about the design or operation of the housing unit you work in?

There were no clear contrasts between the supervision modes. In general, respondents appreciated dayrooms for openness, visibility and provision of equipment (when adequate) and complained when visibility was impaired or equipment inadequate. Single rooms were greatly praised for their provision of privacy. Staffing at less than the full complement and overcrowding were uniformly rejected. Inmates in the indirect supervision prisons clearly wanted more access to fresh air, reduced noise, and greater facilities. They also criticized the lack of a continual officer presence. Staff in these facilities also criticized the intermittent officer presence. The most interesting difference among them was that officers at NSP felt constricted by the enclosed officer booth, and wanted greater inmate contact. RSP officers, on the other hand, felt exposed at the open station, and wanted greater enclosure and protection from inmates.

IV.1. CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

This study set out to find the salient differences among correctional facilities operated by the divergent inmate management styles which are characterized as direct and indirect supervision. We have reported above on the methods and findings from a broad mailout survey and seven in-depth case studies. While some desired data could not be reliably assembled, we have amassed a great deal of pertinent information. We have also gained impressions from the exposure to so many individuals involved in both forms of supervision. These impressions are shared below, along with our summary of "hard" data findings.

Our study has revealed some of the multiple facets of direct supervision. Direct supervision reflects the physical design and condition of a facility, the policy and rules which govern staff supervision, the location of staffing, but also perhaps a "state-of-mind" of the officers and the inmates.

According to its proponents, the direct supervision style defines supervision as a matter of proximity and interpersonal relations, more than of visual observation from a distance. Security and safety come from the officer's function as a social facilitator and service provider, as much as from being "the cop on the beat." Indirect supervision relies more on visual observation under conditions of physical separation of inmates from staff. Thus, the indirect jail we studied relied heavily on view ports, electronic surveillance, and secured staff areas away from inmates. And the indirect prison installed closed control stations specifically to reduce officer vulnerability to inmates.

Based upon claims made by proponents and findings from prior research, we hypothesized that direct supervision facilities would perform better on most measures impacting staff and inmate perception, behavior, communications, safety, health, and so forth. It was also thought that direct supervision might cope better with crowding, cost less to build and operate, and have rather specific design implications. This final chapter, then, reports on our conclusions in reviewing the findings. These will be discussed by issue, comparing direct and indirect supervision facilities on each one. Finally, the limitations on our findings will be discussed, and recommendations for further studies will be offered.

REVIEW OF FINDINGS

What is Direct Supervision, Anyway? (Or, "Indirect Supervision, By Any Other Name")

Many prisons describe themselves as direct supervision, even though they have enclosed control booths at the housing units with at least some of their staff stationed in them. These staff are typically responsible for controlling doors, communicating over loudspeakers, and providing back-up. In addition, they have one or more staff who are stationed within the housing unit. This may be a floor officer who is assigned to the dayroom in one housing unit, or a "rover" who circulates among units — but spends a considerable amount of time face-to-face with inmates. This officer is typically responsible for room or cell checks, close up observation of activities and equipment, and direct communication with inmates. We refer to these facilities as "hybrids" (and one was included among our case studies). In fact, "pure" indirect supervision appears to be unusual among medium security prisons. These facts make it difficult to classify prisons and to identify ones that are truly limited to indirect supervision.

Jails, by contrast, appear to more closely follow the direct/indirect dichotomy. The preponderance of jails do not appear to station officers within the housing unit dayrooms (and rovers appear to typically do little more than perform security checks) and, thus, would be clearly classified as indirect supervision. The direct supervision jails are all quite new. However, some of them are provided with enclosed control booths, either because the system committed to direct supervision after plans were finalized, or as a fall back (preserving the option of reverting to indirect supervision at a later date) or as a failsafe measure (a haven in emergencies). See the discussion below of ways in which the presence of the booth may subvert direct

supervision goals.

How Is Each Supervision Mode Perceived By Management?

Assuming that direct supervision and indirect supervision are understood, how do administrators and others perceive the appropriateness of each mode? From our mailout survey, we found that there was a trend toward direct supervision facilities being rated somewhat better. As one might expect, managers of direct supervision facilities were significantly more likely than managers of indirect facilities to feel that direct supervision was an appropriate design and management form for many or all inmate types. In interviewing these managers, we found a tendency for them to be "true believers," almost totally convinced about the efficacy of direct supervision and, possibly, blind to any possible shortcomings. Since direct supervision is the relatively new and less common mode of supervision, it is perhaps natural for these managers to be self-assured and even evangelical. Managers in the more prevalent indirect supervision facilities have no need to convince people that their mode is viable — and may well never have even considered the direct supervision alternative. On the other hand some highly professional managers of indirect supervision facilities are becoming somewhat defensive, and wish to prove that they can achieve the same positive outcomes as direct supervision claims.

In What Ways Do Direct and Indirect Facilities Differ Physically?

We have mentioned the presence of an enclosed control booth at the housing unit as characterizing indirect supervision facilities (though this has been demonstrated not to necessarily be a decisive differentiation). We have also found from the mailout and case study surveys that direct supervision facilities are more likely to be "softer" and more "normalized" (e.g., to have movable furniture, wooden doors, and upholstered furniture). They do not, however, seem to be any more likely to have single versus double occupancy cells. The cells in direct supervision facilities, on the other hand, are more likely to have more amenities than those in indirect facilities. Sanitation levels, cleanliness and overall condition were not found to differ.

How Critical Is the Built Environment?

Three issues are dealt with here: environmental quality, visual surveillance, and the provision of an enclosed control booth.

How much does an improved quality of environment contribute to inmate management or other beneficial outcomes? Many interviewees spoke of the kind of behavioral expectations which the environment sets up. Direct supervision administrators were more likely to rate "softer," more flexible, and more "normalized" furniture as appropriate for their facility. From the case studies, inmates were more favorable toward conditions in the direct supervision than in the indirect supervision facilities. Direct supervision facilities were perceived as more satisfactory, and as having better privacy, and better environmental conditions.

The "softest" facility in the case study survey was Contra Costa (which was also suffering from extreme overcrowding). It did not seem to derive great added benefits in terms of outcomes compared to the other, harder direct supervision facilities (such as Pima or Lieber which have soft features but are relatively hard). An unanswered question, then, is at what point are the desired expectations communicated (or not) to inmates and staff?

A great deal of effort in correctional facility design has gone into making cell doors, the dayroom and other inmate-occupied areas visible from a staff station. In either supervision mode, staff gain a tremendous amount of information about goings on in the unit by visual observation. Good visibility was uniformly praised and poor visibility decried where they were perceived to exist. Of course, if staff are not limited to a fixed vantage point from a control booth, the geometry of the unit becomes less important. With staff moving about, the openness of a direct supervision dayroom (if there are not significant blind spots or hidden areas)

appears to suffice. Interestingly, administrators of direct supervision facilities rated their facilities as better on ability to survey the setting than did those from indirect supervision. Thus, visibility from a fixed control station is all important in indirect supervision facilities.

The provision — or not — of an **enclosed control booth** (assumed for indirect supervision facilities) does seem to be quite critical in direct supervision facilities. While many indirect supervision systems appear to believe that the booth is needed for security or as refuge, it is clear from observations and interviews that it is possible to do without it very successfully (e.g., at Contra Costa, Ross and Lieber). On the other hand, several staff at a direct supervision facility which has a booth (Pima) felt that its presence was a benefit as a refuge (for paperwork and potentially for emergency escape). In direct supervision facilities with control booths, the challenge is to manage staff so that they do not "hang out" in the booth, rather than circulating through the unit. This problem seems to be magnified when more than one staff is assigned to a unit (see discussion of overcrowding below).

The comparison between the two New Jersey prisons is particularly interesting with regard to the control booth, since the housing units are essentially identical except for the degree of enclosure at the officer station. Each prison has two officers assigned to a pair of living units, and at each one an officer remains at the station while the other roams through the two units. At one, however, both officers are in contact with inmates. An inmate can contact the desk officer by simply leaning over the desk and talking to him or her. At the other, however, the stationary control officer is within a glassed in booth and functions only to operate the control panel, provide limited visual surveillance of living units through glass panels, and, if needed, provide back-up to the floor officer.

Inmates were clearly aware of this distinction, and rated the former as a direct supervision facility, and the latter as an indirect supervision facility. Interestingly officers rated the latter as a direct supervision facility, apparently focussing on the time they spend "on-tour" in the living units.

Is One Mode Safer Than The Other For Inmates or Staff?

While objective, comparative measures of safety such as numbers of physical and sexual assaults, suicide attempts, and escapes were impossible to obtain, there is considerable evidence that direct supervision facilities are seen as safer than indirect supervision ones. From our mailout survey, we found that direct supervision administrators rated their facilities as better on variables of safety and reported fewer incidents of violence (at borderline significance levels) than did indirect administrators.

The evidence from the case studies is less clear and appears to have been distorted by extreme overcrowding at two of the direct facilities. However, when crowding (in the form of double bunking) at the prisons is controlled for, inmates appear to feel considerably safer in direct supervision facilities. Among jails, even the crowded direct supervision ones perform better than the lower density indirect supervision one, according to both staff and inmates. Inmates at the indirect supervision jail feel less well protected by officers and more exposed to sexual assault, and officers, too, feel less safe (even with their control booths).

A clear differentiation is seen in terms of staff response time to a fight or emergency. The direct supervision facilities were seen by inmates as providing an acceptably quick response (under a minute), while the indirect supervision facilities were felt to have unacceptably long response times (in the 3 to 5 minute range).

Perceived inmate safety relates to their perception of the officers' location. Where the officer is seen as mainly being in the housing unit rather than away (in a booth), inmates feel better protected and even in less danger from the officers themselves.

How Do Staff and Inmates Interact in the Two Modes?

Our data provide considerable, but not complete, support for some of the assumptions which underlay the

operation of direct supervision facilities. The observations of staff and inmate interaction showed that officers in direct supervision facilities do indeed spend their time within the living units and largely in interaction with inmates. In the indirect facilities this was much less so. In the indirect jail, not only did officers stay outside the living unit, but the data also show their interactions to be largely with other staff at their stations. Inmate contacts were brief, limited, and at the unit entrance.

The interview comments also reflect some of these differences. Direct supervision officers, for example, were more likely to see their job as involving counseling, and regularly spoke of "stopping problems before they start." Inmates who had experienced both types of supervision contrasted the difficulty of talking with the "guy in the booth" in other facilities with the ease of simply approaching the officer in the dayroom: "if something comes up, you can just talk to him."

Who Is In Control of the Institution?

Staff, rather than inmates, appear to be in control of direct supervision facilities. Staff and administrators feel positive about this. Inmates appreciate the safety it gives them, but some miss the "old days" (in other facilities) when they ran the institution. With officers having so much knowledge and control (and an absence of more serious incidents), some inmates complain that even petty rules are enforced (which would be overlooked in other institutions). An inmate might get written up in a direct supervision facility for not having a clean room, where it would take something much more serious in an indirect supervision facility.

Does Supervision Mode Have an Impact on Coping With Overcrowding?

Crowding (occupancy above design or rated capacity) has been mentioned several times above as having a negative or distorting effect on the results at direct supervision facilities. It is important to recognize that crowding is part of a complex set of effects, including physical and social density, number of inmates assigned to sleeping rooms, and living unit size, among other factors.

In our case studies, we found some ratings of institution safety, for example, where direct supervision facilities did not rate as well as some indirect supervision facilities. This seems to be related to the level of overcrowding in the direct supervision facilities, to the sheer numbers of inmates on living units, and to staff-inmate ratios. In fact, the direct supervision housing units were much larger than the indirect supervision — and far more over capacity.

For example, one of the direct supervision jails in our sample has two correctional officers for 100+ inmates on one living unit designed for about 45 inmates. The indirect supervision jail, by contrast, has 3 officers to supervise 56 to 80 inmates and is operating at design capacity. These inmates are in 8 distinct, very small pods of 7 to 10 beds. Similar contrasts in crowding and living unit size exist for our prison sites.

There are several conclusions which seem fair about crowding in direct supervision facilities. First, the direct supervision sites seem to hold up fairly well under what in some cases is extreme overcrowding. For some factors, the overcrowded direct supervision facilities are operating as well as — and in some cases as or better than — the indirect supervision facilities.

Yet direct supervision clearly provides no immunity against problems. There are warnings in our data of potential problems from continued crowding. And in some ways, the crowding seems to strike at the foundation of the principles of direct supervision. For example, one sees officers are spending more time with other officers and at their desks than the direct supervision model would propose. Officers also indicate that they are increasing unfamiliar and out of touch with inmates.

One issue at the heart of direct supervision problems with crowding comes from adding extra officers on the living unit as population increases. At one direct supervision facility, officers explicitly stated that adding an extra officer does not compensate for dealing with additional inmates. For example, one officer may be able

to reasonably deal with 60 inmates on a direct supervision unit and be able to know their names and problems. However, if the population doubles, neither of the two officers can know 100 inmates as well as one can know 60. The nature of the job and the form of interactions with inmates change.

Adding a second officer provides limited help, and may be a hindrance in some ways. Many inmates will remain anonymous to each officer. If an inmate asks one officer for something and is not satisfied with the response, he can make the same request to the other one, perhaps playing them off against each other. An added problem is the understandable temptation to spend more time with a colleague at the officer desk, and less time in inmate spaces. At our overcrowded direct supervision jail, we observed this phenomenon, as unit officers "retreated" to each others' company.

Of the facilities in our sample, the indirect supervision jail had the smallest number of inmates in its living units. This smallness is helpful in reducing social density; there are fewer other inmates for each inmate to deal with, thus potential for conflict may be fewer. There is also less competition for telephones, televisions, or food. The smallness of the housing units, in fact, probably accounts for most of its positive ratings. Unfortunately smallness comes at the expense of direct officer contact, which appears to have negative effects. And at current staffing levels, the officer-to-inmate ratio is the highest of all the institutions studied, making it the most expensive to operate. Cost forecloses the possibility of having enough officers to constantly supervise all inmate areas, and the design makes such supervision impossible with current staffing.

Are There Differences in Cost Between the Two Modes?

There is evidence that direct supervision facilities may cost less to build and operate than do indirect ones. Nelson (1988) has discussed the contributing factors at some length. However, our mailout survey was inconclusive, finding no difference in construction cost per bed (\$39,500 versus \$41,700). Among contributing factors, direct supervision facilities were somewhat (although not statistically significantly) more likely than indirect supervision facilities to use porcelain versus stainless steel toilets, wood versus metal or barred doors, swinging versus sliding doors, and manual versus remote or motor driven locking mechanisms. Indirect facilities also reported greater concerns and problems with conditions of confinement lawsuits than did the direct supervision facilities.

The case studies, though less generalizable, show more striking differences in cost. The two more normalized, direct supervision prisons cost far less than the two indirect/hybrid facilities to build (about \$42,000 versus \$73,000 per bed), to staff (about \$11,000 versus about \$17,000 on a per inmate per year basis), and to run (about \$4,200 versus \$6,700 per year per inmate). The same contrast holds for the jails in our sample, where the direct cost less than the indirect to build (about \$44,000 versus \$59,000 per bed), to staff (about \$28,000 versus about \$42,000 on a per inmate per year basis), and to run (about \$11,000 versus \$16,000 per inmate per year). While we caution against drawing conclusions from these figures, they may lend support to arguments others have made about relative costs.

How Do Managers Choose a Supervision Model?

Given the currency of the debate within the corrections field concerning direct supervision (and endorsements from some professional associations), it may be difficult for a correctional system to avoid facing a conscious choice of supervision modes when planning a new facility. With considerable (even if inconclusive) evidence pointing to benefits of direct supervision (and little or no evidence that alternative models are superior), why do some systems select direct supervision while others consider and reject it?

Perhaps because direct supervision facilities (and especially the softer facilities like Contra Costa and the recent federal facilities) may not be consonant with their deepest feelings about what a correctional setting should be like. These facilities may be seen as being too nice for inmates, who after all are supposed to be punished. Until the Tombs in New York City was built, direct supervision might have been argued against as incapable of use for tough urban inmates.

Again, the supervision mode may not represent what some see as being expected of an officer (interaction, communications, inmate management). If the impression of the supervision model runs counter to deeply held feelings or beliefs, it may be rejected no matter how much objective evidence is marshaled on its behalf.

Direct supervision requires very considerable change for a system which is operating by indirect supervision. This change may be perceived as unnecessary risk taking by decision makers, who may feel that they will be blamed if it fails, or ostracized even for suggesting it. Changing to direct supervision requires overcoming considerable resistance within the system. Some officers feel that indirect supervision is a superior approach, and a number of these officers do not successfully make the transition to direct supervision, probably leaving for other positions.

Direct Supervision Requires a Commitment to Make it Work

As part of the decision to operate under direct supervision, there must be a commitment from top management that it works and contributes to the organization's mission. Management must believe that it is viable and effective, in order to bring the balance of their organization along with them. But believing in direct supervision is not enough, management must also make a commitment of resources, manpower, training, public relations, and so forth. An effective classification system to screen inmates and alternative settings for those inmates who cannot succeed in a direct supervision unit are also essential.

There has even been a concern expressed that, with many systems planning new direct supervision facilities, one or more will put the officer in the housing unit without the training and the classification of inmates required to make the direct supervision system work. This could lead to a real problem (such as an officer being killed).

We observed some situations in which officers were in open contact with inmates without the benefit of a management commitment to direct supervision or the kind of training and support which accompanies that philosophy. An example is RSP where officers work in a system which looks very much like direct supervision (no barriers to contact), but felt in danger because of their openness, and desired an enclosed station. In striking contrast is the ease with which officers in direct supervision facilities handle open contact and do not express a need for an enclosed station.

We interpret this distinction as being directly connected to the overt presentation of a direct supervision philosophy, training and supervision. It is the lack of training and management commitment that makes RSP officers uncomfortable, not an inherent danger of being in direct contact with inmates.

Is One Mode Better Than the Other?

To summarize, direct supervision facilities appear to cost less or the same as indirect supervision ones to build and operate, require less or the same level of staffing, and achieve desirable outcomes in terms of meeting their missions, reducing stress, improving safety and security, and so forth. If there is a drawback to direct supervision facilities it is that they may take more effort and commitment to plan, train for, and manage.

On the other hand, and even with the apparent advantages of direct supervision, it must be stated that some of the indirect supervision facilities in our surveys performed quite well in many ways. Well managed, well designed indirect supervision correctional facilities must not be looked down upon, particularly since so many of them are hybrids with partial direct supervision characteristics. Such facilities would appear to be within an acceptable range in terms of critical outcomes.

Two factors which could account for the lack of stronger differences between direct and indirect supervision in our findings must be noted. First, the direct supervision facilities were uniformly overcrowded, and experiencing double bunking at moderate to severe levels. The indirect supervision facilities were largely at

capacity with single bed cells. The direct supervision facilities were, then, operating at a disadvantage unrelated to supervision mode. One might presume that the questionnaire scores would have been more positive at lower population levels. This seemed most clear at CCC and LCI where overcrowding was most severe, and problems in this area were picked up in comments and interviews.

Second, the indirect supervision facility case studies suggest that they may be operating well in spite of, rather than because of, their design and management philosophy. Indirect supervision design and operation seem clearly to make the officer's job more difficult, and at times seem to have required increased staffing. At RCJ, for example, both staff and inmates indicated that the lack of clear and constant staff observation of inmate living spaces makes operations difficult. At RSP, officers spend too much time at the station, talking with one another, and too little time in the dayrooms.

Thus, while our research shows clearly that direct supervision *does* work and can work very well (especially when crowding is limited), it does *not* demonstrate that indirect supervision *does not* work, only that it presents certain obstacles which must be overcome. Our conclusions, however, must be considered tentative for the reasons outlined above and in the next section.

AN ASSESSMENT OF OUR RESEARCH

Several aspects of, and limitations on, the research methods and approach used here have become clear. We focussed on two main approaches: a broad mailout survey plus relatively few in-depth case studies. It has become obvious that, in spite of our careful attention to selection of case study sites, the results are not (and cannot be) a simple comparison of direct versus indirect supervision. Differences in supervision style clearly existed and appeared to have an impact, but facilities also differed in significant ways such as unit size, degree population was over capacity, and staff-inmate ratios. They undoubtedly also varied in other important but more subtle and more difficult to measure ways on policy issues, programs, procedures, staff training, etc. Of course, no field study of settings as large and complex as prisons or jails could ever be as controlled on one issue, such as supervision, as one might want. Our ultimate approach has been to view these sites as a series of case studies and to look for similarities and differences. It would be an error to look for or expect a finely controlled experiment here. On the other hand, the behavior tracking data is quite powerful in describing effects directly related to supervision.

There are other limitations on the generalizability of our findings. We only looked at relatively new, medium security, adult male institutions. Because of the problems of "hybridization" we were only able to have a limited sample of indirect supervision prisons. We have been careful, however, not to compare prisons with jails.

We have also concluded that problems in collecting archival data (sick call, incidents) are serious and inherent. Variations in the way these are collected and recorded by the institutions themselves are so great that the sites were hardly comparable. Thus, we rejected the archival data and have not reported on it here. The problem of having to use data on such outcomes as incidents or sick call rates, which are collected idiosyncratically among correctional systems and even facilities, will remain until a more uniform reporting mechanism is established. It would require another study at least the size of this one focussing on those variables alone to gather reasonable data of this type. We recommend consideration of a "prospective" study which would collect these data as events occur, rather than relying on historical records.

PART V: REFERENCES

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