The Impacts of a New Prison on a Small Town: Twice Blessed or Double Whammy?

Final Report of The Clallam Bay Project

Prepared for
National Institute of Justice
Grant Number 85-IJ-CX-0022

Prepared by
Katherine A. Carlson, Ph.D.
Principal Researcher

Clallam County Sheriff's Department
Port Angeles, WA 98362

Sheriff Steven T. Kernes, Project Director

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The Clallam County Commissioners gave their approval to the grant request and the project's in-kind contributions. They also gave financial support from state one-time prison impact funds. When the project started, commissioners were Lawrence Gaydeski, Dorothy Duncan, and Evan Jones. Dave Cameron has since replaced Evan Jones. All commissioners have been helpful, with Lawrence Gaydeski especially available to discuss county perspectives.

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Members of the staff and administration at the Clallam Bay Corrections Center assisted in data collection. Tom Waters, the prison's first superintendent, and Bob Moore, its second, were particularly supportive and forthcoming. Other corrections officials from institutions in Washington and other states also contributed to data collection, as did persons from state Departments of Corrections throughout the country. Administrators and staff from Washington's Department of Corrections responded to data requests and offered full support for the project's purpose.

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MEMBERS
PROJECT ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Lawrence Gaydeski, Clallam County Commissioners

Ty Gill, Clallam Bay resident and teacher

Dr. Robert Howell, Washington State University

Dr. Lowell Kuehn, The Evergreen State College

Carol Owens, Clallam County Human Services Department

Dr. Paul Pastor, Jr., The Pierce County Sheriff's Department

Chase Riveland, Washington State Department of Corrections (replacing Amos Reed)

James Sherril, Washington State Department of Social and Health Services (replacing John Gabler)

Dr. Ezra Stotland, University of Washington

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: THE CLALLAM BAY PROJECT

THE IMPACTS OF A NEW PRISON ON A SMALL TOWN: TWICE BLESSED OR DOUBLE WHAMMY?

BACKGROUND

The Clallam Bay Project was a research study of the initial impacts of a new medium security prison on a small, rural Washington community. The National Institute of Justice provided primary funding support (#85 - IJ -CX 0022), with additional funding from Clallam County through state one-time prison impact funds. The project was administered through the Clallam County Sheriff's Department, Steven Kernes, Sheriff.

There have been few studies of prison effects on their host community, and most of these have been limited in scope and method. Even less is known about the impacts of new prisons. The main conclusion of this previous research is that prisons consistently provide economic benefits to their host areas, primarily through direct employment in the industry itself. There is some evidence that there also are adverse prison impacts associated with crime and social service needs when prisons are in remote areas and are proportionately large for the size of their host community. Business and community leaders in communities with prisons tend to view the industry positively; other residents have more mixed reactions. There is some indication of reduced community satisfaction among local residents.

Research for the Clallam Bay Project began in August of 1985, just prior to the conclusion of construction and the opening of the prison for a one year interim operation as a minimum security facility for 99 inmates. The Clallam Bay Corrections Center began accepting medium security inmates in January of 1987 and reached full capacity of 500 about a year later. Research on the prison's impacts continued until September of 1989, covering the first three and one-half years of the prison's operation. A variety of methods were used to collect data, including several longitudinal surveys with community residents and prison employees, interviews, participant observation in the community, and compilation of statistics from businesses, organizations, and governmental agencies.

The community of Clallam Bay is located on the extreme northwestern end of Washington state's remote Olympic Peninsula. The peninsula is separated from the main population regions of the state by water and mountain barriers. Clallam Bay itself is 50 miles from the nearest city of any size and has a beautiful natural setting with many outdoor recreational opportunities. The community is unincorporated and had a population of about 1,000 scattered residents when the prison opened. Its pre-prison economy had been based on the timber industry and seasonal sports fishing and tourism. Like many rural communities, residents of Clallam Bay had historically been somewhat underserved in social and health services and law enforcement as compared to more urban areas.

BEFORE THE PRISON

In the early eighties, Clallam Bay lost its major timber employer and was beginning a serious economic decline. Several community business persons petitioned the state to site its next 500 man prison in Clallam Bay, an offering that met with substantial opposition from other residents. Proponents of the prison believed it would be the community's best chance to regain lost jobs and population and ensure year-round economic survival. Opponents felt the prison was an inappropriate fit with the community's character and believed that it would bring an increase in crime and social service needs and mean a deterioration in their lifestyle.

When the Clallam Bay Corrections Center opened in January of 1986, the community had already experienced several years of economic disaster. The population had declined 30% in five years, enrollment at the school had dropped 47%, and local businesses and services were struggling to stay alive. The town's business centerpiece, a supermarket, had been mothballed in 1982, pending economic improvements to be brought by the new prison. These improvements were not coming as fast as residents had expected when the facility was sited. Prison construction had produced few local jobs; the interim operation as a smaller minimum security prison reduced the size of the immediate workforce and the first prison employees had mostly come from outside Clallam Bay.

These unmet or deferred expectations contributed to initial disappointment and uncertainty about any eventual prison benefits to the community. The full staffing and operation of the corrections center during 1987 occurred in a climate in which hope, high expectations, and disillusionment competed for residents' sentiments. With the years of waiting, the community's need for positive prison impacts had increased beyond their realistic prospects of occurring. In this atmosphere, unmet expectations for benefits were interpreted as prison negatives; adverse impacts from the prison also took on added significance.

PRISON IMPACTS

The prison eventually brought the number of jobs promised during siting, but these were more likely to go to other county residents or newcomers than to Clallam Bay residents. This was partially due to low levels of applications for prison jobs from Clallam Bay residents and partially due to their difficulty in competing against other applicants with more skill or experience. The community's shortage of suitable rental housing as well as its remoteness contributed to many prison employees opting to settle outside of Clallam Bay, further depriving the community of economic benefits. Living and working in this rural area presents challenges for many newcomers: the prison has had difficulty recruiting applicants for some positions and its turnover rate is above that of other state institutions.

Despite resident disappointment about local hiring, the prison has contributed substantially to the local and the regional economy. Most of these economic benefits are indirect contributions by employees to area businesses. Clallam Bay's economy has improved during both the tourist and the winter season since the prison opened. The local supermarket has reopened and there are several new small businesses. There are few direct prison expenditures in Clallam Bay; elsewhere in the county providers of goods and services, notably educational services, have benefitted considerably from prison purchases and contracts. Additional input into the area economy has come from the distribution of state prison impact funds: one-time impact funds have been used for local and county-wide improvements; other impact funds reimburse for inmate-related criminal justice expenditures.

The population of Clallam Bay has increased nearly 20% from its pre-prison level. It seems that only a shortage of housing keeps the community from returning to or exceeding its former population. Over 40% of the prison's employees live in Clallam Bay, less than prison proponents had anticipated but still enough to significantly affect the community's mix of residents. New residents are disproportionately young adults and their young families. Many have remained in Clallam Bay for only a short time before moving, frequently to take other corrections jobs elsewhere. This tendency to transiency has limited the involvement of new residents in community affairs and distanced them from other residents and their concerns. There is some resentment of new residents' apparent disdain and dislike for the community; on their part, new residents sometimes find those living in Clallam Bay to be greedy and concerned only with gaining financially from their presence in town.

A few of the new residents are the family members of incarcerated inmates in the prison; a few other inmate families have settled elsewhere in the county. Some inmate families living in Clallam Bay have been identified as abusing local social service resources and involved in criminal activities. Their small numbers have kept the actual significance of such impacts minimal; their identity has meant that all such negative outcomes of their presence have been perceptually of great importance. The small town closeness of Clallam Bay requires employees, other residents, and inmate associates to live side by side. This proximity contributes to uneasiness. Visitors to the prison also have been involved in some unwanted activities but their occasional presence in town is more likely to be welcomed as another source of economic benefits. The location of the facility appears to be reducing the number of visitors who come there.

Inmate family members, employees, released inmates, and previous residents of the area are all felt to have contributed to an increase in reports of criminal activity in Clallam Bay. Criminal justice impacts from the prison were expected to be high due to social disruption, and the crime statistics and resident's judgements confirm that this has occurred. Overall calls for service from the Clallam Bay area to the county sheriff have

increased by more than 50% since the prison first opened, a rate which exceeds population growth and the rates of other areas, and which is only minimally due to offenses committed inside the prison. The greatest increases in offenses have occurred with crimes involving personal violence: except for those involving bad checks, property crimes do not show commensurate increases. Law enforcement for the area has not expanded proportionate to increases in crime, and with the need to attend to criminal activities within the prison, coverage in Clallam Bay has effectively decreased since the prison opened.

The prison also was expected to bring increases in demands for social services. Needs for such services do seem to have gone up but the relationship of these to the prison is ambiguous. There are more individuals living in Clallam Bay who receive state welfare than before the prison, but providers of other forms of local poverty assistance note a decrease in demand. Drug and alcohol abuse among young people seems not to have risen, and, while there is a perception that there are more drugs and drug problems in the community, this is not shown in increased drug-related arrests or in need for treatment. The same is true for mental health services: service providers and residents report there is a higher incidence of problems but other than as expressed in crimes of violence, these problems have not resulted in documentable demands on local services.

Medical services in Clallam Bay prior to the prison had been provided in a local clinic by a nurse practitioner and visiting doctors. Patient counts had fallen drastically with the community's population loss, and residents were hopeful that, with new residents, their clinic would be able to attract its own physician. The numbers of patients using the clinic have reached former levels and stabilized its budget, but a local doctor has been harder to come by. Lack of such services has contributed to decisions by some potential new residents to live elsewhere.

Enrollment in the local schools has increased as well, and has improved 44% since its pre-prison low. New students are clustered in the lower grades; high school enrollment has not increased. As with medical services, the school's limited upper level offerings have been cited as reason by some to commute to their jobs at the prison from nearby larger communities. Still, more than a third of the Clallam Bay school's students have a family member working at the prison. New students are active participants in school activities. School staff report a high incidence of disciplinary problems with some newcomers; there also has been an increase in the proportion of students who qualify for special education. In the community itself, the increase in young people has exacerbated a shortage of organized activities for youth. Child care services for younger children also have emerged as a critical local need.

Clallam Bay and its characteristics have had an effect on prison operations. Dissatisfaction with living arrangements or recreational options or long commutes have contributed to high rates of employee turnover. Morale in the institution is poor and reports of security shortcomings are common in the community.

These difficulties have in turn affected the community and the confidence of its residents in institutional operations and security.

There have been several inmate escapes: five occurred during the interim minimum security operation and two since medium security. No violent confrontations have resulted, but the search for one escapee concentrated on a residential area for more than two days. Residents report themselves to be less confident of the safety of their persons and property and more security conscious than in the past: more are keeping loaded weapons in their homes. Inmates also have contributed to community well being, serving as volunteer labor for a multitude of local improvement projects.

The community has had difficulty attracting the outside investors it needs to improve its housing stock and add other services and attraction. With its new industry, it does not qualify for most government assistance programs; without improvements, it cannot hope to maximally benefit from the prison. Residents, local businesses, government agencies and the prison's administration have variously worked together and separately to attempt to meet needs for more housing and services such as child care. They have met with some modest successes. As the community continues to recover from the depths of its long wait for prosperity, it is expected that there will be more local resources available to further its prospects.

ASSESSING IMPACTS

This combination of good and bad community impacts from the Clallam Bay Corrections Center has been met with an equivalent mixture of resident responses. Some residents count the economic survival of their community and its population recovery as benefits sufficient to outweigh any deficits. Other residents lament the loss of a previous lifestyle in which unwelcome or unfriendly strangers and risks of crime or violence were seldom a concern. Some families have moved away, moves which ironically are made more feasible by the community's revitalized economy. Residents who remain are variously seeking to come to terms with their new dominant industry, an effort which is sometimes hindered and sometimes aided by the actions of prison administrators in their dealings with the town.

Persons who had positive expectations for prison impacts have found themselves disappointed in the magnitude of returns directly to the Clallam Bay community. This disappointment is a product of unreasonable expectations, expectations which were heightened by corrections officials and prison proponents during the dispute over siting. Actual prison benefits could have been predicted with a more objective look at the community's assets and the competitive capacity of other area towns. The sense of less-than-it-should-be among Clallam Bay residents somewhat detracts from appreciation of what are very real community gains as a result of the prison. Negative impacts from the institution have similarly been below expectations, but in the absence of any sense of overwhelming

gains, those negatives which have occurred are given extra weight.

At the time research was concluding, the Clallam Bay Corrections Center was planning to nearly double its inmate capacity. This addition will make the institutional population nearly as large as that of its host community, a ratio that other research suggests contributes to an increase in negative impacts. At the same time, further cutbacks in the area's timber industry mean that the increase in prison jobs will be welcome. Having made a choice to combat a previous loss of industry with the prison, the community of Clallam Bay is protected from a fate which is now facing its neighbors. One of these nearby communities has applied for a prison of its own; another has rejected a proposed prison; both have used the experiences of Clallam Bay to inform their different decisions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH FOCUS

COMMUNITY CHANGE

The history of many small American communities is best written as a chronicle of change. Fueled by industrialization and shifting economic priorities, these towns have grown and declined, become larger or shrunk to a few residents and fewer businesses. Some have simply sustained themselves, others have prospered, and some have lost their population and even their identity to fallen fortunes. In this broad scale, community change is a typical event.

For individual community residents, community change is likely to be more unsettling. We tend to identify with the communities where we live, and indeed, our personal fortunes are usually deeply tied to theirs. The declining industry means lost jobs; economic growth means employment and prosperity. This identification goes deeper than economic ties, however, for it is in the context of "community" that we find meaning and connections with each other. This is a community of relationships, not one of place, but it is sustained within a particular geographic location and comes to be associated with the town or city in which we live.

Such concepts of community are popular themes for social theorists (Durkheim 1964; Bender 1978). They have observed the transition of towns to cities, the decline of small communities, and the consequent changes in lifestyle and social relationships which ensue from either expansion or reduction in population. One is struck by the significance of such changes for people living in these transformed communities. With so much tied up in these places where we live, it is not surprising that we face the prospects of major community change with some trepidation. Most of us do not need social scientists to tell us that things will be different after the changes than they were before. And even if the prospects are for growth rather than decline, we also recognize that some of these differences may be unwelcome or uncomfortable.

It is in this sense that community growth is two-sided. It is simultaneously desirable and undesirable, necessary to our well-being and also a threat to it. This duality underlies the debates surrounding development policies and prospects in city councils. We may take sides for or against growth, but we also recognize that it contains both positive and negative potential. Our differences are in what we consider most important and thus worth risking, sacrificing, or trading for. In such trade-offs, we do try to mitigate any negatives, both directly by taking steps to reduce their occurrence, and indirectly, by aligning our vision so as to diminish their significance.

All of this is by way of preface to the following account of what happened to a small community when it became home to a new industry. The hopes and fears of its residents, their reasons for seeking or opposing the industry, and the consequences of the

industry's first years of operation all fit a familiar pattern. This pattern has been well described by the authors cited above, and more pragmatically by research on the consequences of rural industrialization (Summers et al 1976).

The site of the industry is Clallam Bay, Washington, a small town whose previous industries could no longer support its population, and whose population as a result was shrinking. The residents of this community hoped for the best from their new industry. They expected it to bring them employment and economic prosperity, to provide buyers for their homes, children for their schools, and supporters of their community and its services. They also feared that these benefits might not come to them but to their neighbors, that newcomers might be profoundly different than they themselves were, and that change and its stresses might create social problems. In all this, the citizens of Clallam Bay were like residents of multiple other communities facing the prospects and perils of a new industry.

There also are differences between Clallam Bay and the communities described in the rural industrialization studies, and primary among these is Clallam Bay's "industry" itself. The source of new jobs in Clallam Bay is not a manufacturing plant but a state prison, home to hundreds of convicted felons separated from society by locks and fences. This industry is operated by the government, not private business, and its principal product is security for those it houses within its walls.

Prisons As Industries:

Prisons do have much in common with other industrial development, including all the positive expectations cited above - jobs, new residents, and an improved economic climate. More than most industries, they offer stable employment, independent of the vagaries of the market and with virtually no prospects of declining demand: prison populations have been growing steadily for the past decade, and show every indication of continuing to expand. The industry is clean, environmentally benign, and through contributions of inmate labor, may even add further to a community's economic benefits.

Unlike most industries, prisons also have an extra element. This is the element of risk. Unlike its sister "LULUs" (Locally Undesirable Land Uses), e.g. hazardous waste disposal sites and nuclear power plants, this risk emanates from people. It is the metaphorical product of the prison industry - its inmates - who add an extra deficit to the possible costs or losses incurred by a community which hosts a prison.

Realistically, the direct risks associated with inmates are very minor for a prison's host community. The potential escapee and his potential local crimes are unlikely events, as are any riots that might threaten employees or spill out to affect the community. Rarity is only one factor influencing community judgement of the threat of such events, however, and their perceptual significance is ultimately a judgement based on cultural values (Gross & Rayner 1985; Slovic et al 1979). Nor are dangers

from inmates the only or even the most significant deficits felt to be associated with hosting a prison.

The presence of inmates and their characteristics serve as sources for other perceptions of risks to the host community. These risks can be glossed as the potential for "contamination," with the danger to the community occurring not from the internal operations and inhabitants of the prison but from association with these. Such dangers occur from the presence in the community of family members and friends of inmates, who by extension are considered undesirable. They also are associated with the conditions of working with inmates, and thus attach to employees. Prison employees are engaged in what is known as "dirty work," labor which by its very nature stigmatizes those who perform it.

For towns considering hosting a corrections center, another duality is added to the dual nature of rural community development. A small community getting a prison faces a mixture of positive and negative impacts, some the result of those effects a prison shares with other industries and others the result of effects specific to corrections. Thus the title of this report - "Twice Blessed or Double Whammy? Prison Impacts on a Small Community." There are aspects of prison-specific impacts which enhance a community's benefits, and there are others which add to its deficits.

Whether these cancel each other out, or the pluses outweigh the minuses, or the reverse, remains a question. The answer is uncertain in part because it is too early to know the outcome for this particular community. Clallam Bay is still a place in transition, adjusting and accommodating to its new industry. Continuing questions about the consequences of prison location also are due to the fact that calculating the sum total of such impacts is not a simple matter of rationally computing objective harm or loss against counter-balancing benefits; the weighing of these items is not standard and differing evaluations of their importance will lead to differing conclusions.

THE CLALLAM BAY PROJECT

PROJECT ORIGINS

The Clallam Bay Project had its origins in questions raised in 1983 during the environmental impact assessment process for the then proposed new state corrections center in Clallam Bay, Washington. The Washington State Department of Corrections had selected this remote northwestern community of 1400 residents (1980 census) as its first choice for location of a 500 bed medium security prison. Business leaders in the community had sought out and encouraged this selection, a welcome contrast to the Department's most recent prior siting efforts. The requisite impact assessment, conducted by the architectural firm which designed the institution, promised little in the way of difficulties.

The environmental impact assessment process is a routine aspect of new facility siting; it is intended to review both the biophysical and the socio-economic consequences of the facility's

construction and operation and to present ways in which any adverse effects might be ameliorated or avoided. A satisfactory resolution of any development-caused problems is the expected outcome of the combination of data collection, published reports, public hearings, and written commentary entailed in the usual impact assessment process.

To several Clallam Bay area service providers, there was unsatisfactory information used in this process to estimate prison effects on service needs and demands due to the facility's operation. Projected prison effects were derived from a mix of unsubstantiated assumptions about prison impacts, partial data from existing prison communities elsewhere, and estimates about future events using standardized economic models of unknown applicability to the local community. To many, these failed to address what seemed to be unique issues relating to the community's size, isolation, and availability and quality of services. Their discomfort with this shortage of information was enhanced by the assumptions of undesirable impacts associated with prisons noted earlier.

The independent efforts of the Clallam County Sheriff's Department and the Clallam County Human Services Department, among others, to find a more meaningful empirical base on which to project impacts identified little better information. At that time - 1982 to 1983 - there was no research documenting the effects of new prisons on their host communities, and only minimal information about prison impacts on longstanding prison communities.

Forced by the demands of the process to respond to the siting documents with inadequate knowledge as to probable impacts on services, the Sheriff and the Human Services Director determined to develop a more rigorous and reliable way of identifying prison effects for the future. The eventual result of their determination was a grant request to the National Institute of Justice from the Clallam County Sheriff's Department to study the community of Clallam Bay and track the consequences of its new prison.

RESEARCH SCHEDULE

The Clallam Bay Project commenced in July, 1985, some 6 months before the prison was scheduled to open. Prison construction was in its final phase. The research was originally intended to last 2 years, beginning prior to prison opening, extending through the start-up phase, and concluding after the institution had operated for at least one year at full capacity. In the Fall of 1985, shortfalls in the operating budget of the Department of Corrections and an unanticipated drop in the state's prison population led to a change in plans for the new prison. The state did not immediately need Clallam Bay's medium security beds, but did not want to mothball the facility. A minimum security institution in nearby Jefferson County was temporarily closed, and the Clallam Bay Corrections Center (CBCC) was opened in January 1986 for 99 minimum security inmates. Conversion to medium security and phase-up to full staffing was delayed until February 1987.

The scaled-back interim operation and extended phase-in of the

institution required adjustments in the research schedule. It would be impossible to assess prison impacts under regular operation of the institution during the time period of the original grant. In order to allow completion of the research's original objectives, a grant extension was submitted and funded to carry the project until March, 1989. Internal savings and supplemental funding from state prison impact funds allotted to Clallam County supported project continuation until the end of August, 1989.

In all, information was gathered on community impacts during the period immediately prior to the prison opening, over the facility's 13 month interim operation as a minimum security institution, and then during its phase-up and full operation for approximately another two years. Information on the prison's siting phase also was collected through a review of written records and retrospective interviews with community residents.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This report is organized to lay out, as clearly as possible, the consequences of the prison in Clallam Bay as they occurred over the course of the research. It is divided into 14 chapters. The first chapter is this introduction; the second chapter presents a review of other research on prison impacts. This is followed by a brief chapter on methods to outline procedures for data collection and analysis. Then, to set the stage for what happened in Clallam Bay, Chapter 4 outlines the characteristics of the community before the prison and the expectations held by Clallam Bay residents for prison impacts. Chapter 5 is the last of these introductory chapters and describes prison impacts specific to facility construction and interim operation.

The main body of the report (Chapters 6 - 13) details how the community was affected by its prison from its opening in 1986 to 1989. For the most part, these effects are categorized in ways familiar to those experienced in prison siting selection and controversy: employment and economic impacts, population impacts, criminal justice, education and services effects, and so on. The hopes of prison proponents and the fears of prison opponents do indeed augur the real events of prison operations, albeit not necessarily to the degree either would predict. Chapter 14 considers the extent of community change brought by the prison, and adds an epilogue summarizing further changes which have taken place since the end of formal data collection.

In Clallam Bay, people feel they have entered into some sort of a bargain or trade-off: some part of their lifestyle and community in exchange for prison benefits. They routinely evaluate prison effects in terms of whether or not this bargain was a good one. Such an assessment entails consideration of <u>all</u> effects, not just those under immediate scrutiny. As a result, in considering the consequence of the prison on the economy, for example, any positive or any negative impacts on other aspects of life also are factored into this equation. People do not judge impacts in neat compartments, but in conjunction with other effects, both good and bad, wanted or feared.

Given that the host community does not consider prison impacts in isolation but as parts of a whole, this report can do no less. Accordingly, an attempt is made to be faithful to the viewpoint of community residents while also conforming to the necessity of separating impacts into particular types or categories in order to allow comparison with other data and for purposes of clarity. In each chapter, some part of these complexities and contingencies are included, and this inclusion leads to considerable overlap with discussions of other impacts in other chapters.

RESEARCH APPLICATIONS

NEED FOR INFORMATION ON PRISON IMPACTS

The years following the initial development of the project have confirmed the significance of the questions about prison impact raised in Clallam County: new prison construction across the country has expanded dramatically, with more to come as states and the federal government try to house an ever-expanding prisoner population. 1988 was the 14th consecutive year in which the number of prisoners reached a new high, and demand for new prison beds is likely to out pace prison construction for some years to come (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1989).

These prisons must be located somewhere, and siting selection frequently focuses on communities very like Clallam Bay. This is part of a longstanding pattern: America's existing prisons are located primarily in small towns and rural areas. A nationwide survey conducted by the project in 1987 found that 58% of the country's medium, maximum, or mixed custody prisons were in communities of 10,000 or fewer residents; 62% were in an area characterized by prison administrators as "rural." Despite recommendations that new prisons should be located in areas close to the urban centers from which the majority of prisoners come (Nagel 1973), this tendency toward siting corrections facilities in rural locales seems likely to continue.

The reasons for this are readily apparent. Despite their prospects of economic benefits, prisons are perceived by the general public as undesirable neighbors. As such, they are subject to the NIMBY syndrome - "Not In My Back Yard" - and their location thus becomes as much a matter of politics and power as one of optimal selection of the most appropriate site. For the prospective host community, prison siting also is a matter of need for the industry by the community and the availability or the absence of other alternatives.

Rural areas and small communities persist as prime candidates for prison location both because they lack the population base and the political clout to keep prisons out, and because declines in traditional resource-based rural economies make getting a prison into a community an appealing alternative to community economic problems. It is this second factor which seems to be most significant in the current spate of new prison sitings. In some states, communities are actively competing with each other to earn the right to host a new prison (Pagel 1988; personal

communications). They are doing this because prisons bring jobs, and jobs bring economic stability and perhaps growth, and these communities have few if any other options for providing either and a great need for both.

GENERALIZING FROM CLALLAM BAY

In many ways the community of Clallam Bay is quite typical of new prison sites across the nation. It is small (1980 population 1400), remote (50 miles to the nearest town of 17,000), and the recent victim of economic problems (the largest local employer, a timber company, shut down its operations in 1980). Clallam Bay residents, or some of them at least, also lobbied hard to get their prison, not because it was an industry they wanted but because it was an industry they had a chance to get.

Finally, and also typically, all Clallam Bay residents did not see a prison as a desirable industry, regardless of the shortage of alternatives. Many opposed its siting, and ultimately, resented its coming. Lack of information about likely prison impacts weakened the case of the new prison's supporters, increased the anxieties of its opponents, and made it nearly impossible for those responsible for Clallam Bay's services to plan and prepare for either positive or negative outcomes.

It is in these ways that the experiences of Clallam Bay and its new prison may be considered predictive or indicative of other communities finding themselves in similar circumstances. Obviously, all communities are different, and these differences can be significant influences on prison impacts. Clallam Bay is somewhat smaller than most towns selected for prison sites, and thus has somewhat less of those things size brings - businesses, services, organized leisure activities, etc. Its history and the particulars of its prison's initial operation also are unique and unlikely to be duplicated elsewhere. Rather than focusing on these peculiarities, this report is written with attention to those areas of prison impact Clallam Bay is most likely to share with other prison host communities. More localized specifics of personalities or circumstances are included only where they contribute some understanding or insight to this broader, comparative purpose.

The prolonged period of prison start-up, and the consequent extension of the research period to four years, both contributed to and detracted from the ability to generalize to other prison sites from Clallam Bay's experiences. On the positive side, the additional time permitted several unplanned surveys to be included in the project's data base. It also allowed for the compilation of more in depth data on the community and its changes. The assessment of prison effects over a period of several years meant that short-term or transitory impacts were identifiable, and important data was collected on the efforts of residents and community services to adjust and come to terms over time with the prison, its staff, and their effects on the community.

Somewhat less helpful for purposes of comparison with other prison sites are the idiosyncracies of the corrections center's initial operations at Clallam Bay. Few other medium security

prisons will begin their operation with minimum security inmates inhabiting a fraction of their cells, and incidently installing their own furniture in the process. The year this was occurring at Clallam Bay is thus most atypical, and may have had unknown effects on subsequent impacts. Interestingly, residents and prison staff alike treated the minimum operation as simply a way station on the road to the "real" prison to come. In all aspects, it was temporary, and while unlike the usual opening of a medium security facility, its operation was unlike that of a minimum security institution as well.

The main effect of the interim operation was most probably an increase in the sense of frustration and disappointment among residents waiting for promised prison benefits. For others, it confirmed a belief that promises made during siting would not be kept. These feelings were not new ones for Clallam Bay's residents, but their reinforcement by the delayed opening of the fully staffed facility may have set in motion a more negative set of expectations and a greater readiness to see unwanted impacts than would otherwise have been the case. Still, it was surprising how rapidly the residents adjusted their opinions in a more favorable direction once the institution became medium security. It was as if they were seeking justification to feel good about the town having a prison, not its opposite. That this did not always come to pass speaks less of the residents' unwillingness to see benefits than of the difficulties in realizing these in Clallam Bay.

ASSESSING PRISON IMPACTS

Before a prison is sited and after it is in place, community residents are engaged in a process of evaluating its costs and its benefits. During siting, these effects are abstract and unexperienced. Their implications are judged according to the values individuals assign to them. Once the prison is operational, people have actual events and experiences to include in their equation making, but these are still filtered through the relative values assigned to each. Thus, experiences and their significance continue to be subject to interpretation.

The judgements of Clallam Bay residents about their prison are influenced by their previous expectations and whether individuals expected the prison to bring primarily benefits or deficits to the community. Positive expectations lead to a search for prison benefits; negative expectations to the opposite. Another factor in residents' judgements is the magnitude of the positive or negative impacts anticipated. With expectations of high benefits, realization of lesser, albeit beneficial impacts, may produce an unfavorable assessment of prison outcomes. It also appears that when negative impacts fall below expectations, residents may be more willing to count the scale as balanced by even a modest level of benefits.

The impacts of the prison on Clallam Bay are a combination of those associated with any sizable industry locating in a rural

community, and of those unique to the type of industry that is corrections. These effects are complex, and include both positives and negatives. As they have occurred in Clallam Bay, the balance between pluses and minuses is an ambiguous one, and thus the conclusions about the impacts of the Clallam Bay Corrections Center also are ambiguous. In part, having a prison is what you make of it, and the results of this research provide data to delight both the most ardent prison proponent and the most determined opponent. There is no simple answer here.

There also is no simple or no single answer to communities trying to decide whether they should host a prison or to corrections departments considering whether they should select a community. What we learn from Clallam Bay is that the relationship between a community and a correctional center is a complex one, with many factors involved in the shaping of initial impacts. What we should learn as well is that these effects are nonetheless largely predictable, and by virtue of that, in many cases malleable. Many beneficial prison impacts can be enhanced and many negatives avoided or ameliorated. What has happened and what has <u>not</u> happened in Clallam Bay tells us a great deal about how this can be accomplished.

As for Clallam Bay, the community will have many years to learn about prison impacts. Many changes in those identified here are possible, and some of these are already under way. Other changes involving the size and character of the institution also are underway, and these will have additional and perhaps different effects on the community. On the basis of what has happened thus far and what seems likely to happen in the future, I think Clallam Bay made a good decision when it offered its town as a prison site but there are many in the community who would disagree. I suspect there will be a similar divergence of opinion among those who read this report.

CHAPTER 2
PRISON IMPACTS: A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

Studies of prisons and prisoners form a substantial portion of the social science literature, an indication that their workings and inhabitants are both interesting and generally of some research significance. If the number of published books and articles is any guide, the communities where these prisons are located are of considerably less importance. References to prison towns occur in passing if at all, with all our scholarly attention focused on life inside the walls. This neglect has left our understanding of prisons in a contextual vacuum, as if correctional institutions were entirely self-contained and their settings irrelevant.

That prison settings are not at all irrelevant has been amply illustrated by the reactions of residents of proposed new prison communities. These reactions range from the strongly opposed to the strongly supportive: they are seldom neutral. Prison siting is an emotional and often controversial decision process. For corrections officials, determining a location for a new facility represents one of their most delicate and difficult activities, and more than one politician has saved or lost a career through the process of site selection.

According to one commentator, opposition to prison siting is "...rationalized, quite predictably, in one of three categories: fear of harm from the inmates, economic anxiety, and civic pride (McGee 1981:110)." Another way of phrasing these and similar objections to a prison in town is that of fear of community change and loss of preferred lifestyles (Carlson 1988a). Conversely, local supporters of prison siting tend to emphasize the jobs and economic benefits an institution would bring, while discounting the likelihood of any of the negatives identified above (Pagel 1988).

Until recently, most of these debates have been carried forth with little substantive information to support or refute either view. This void has become increasingly unsatisfactory with requirements for Environmental Impact Statements prior to siting. The need for some basis on which to project socio-economic effects has been further reinforced by the presence in many states of siting guidelines requiring community support. The final and perhaps most important factor in stimulating research on prison effects has been the growth in new prison construction.

The boom in prison construction has been associated with a significant shift in the attitudes of residents in many communities toward prison location. While opposition is still a frequent concomitant to siting, communities are increasingly competing with each other in seeking to become prison hosts. A comparison of 1984, 1986, and 1988 prison construction surveys conducted for Corrections Compendium, an industry periodical, reveals this change in community sentiment: in 1988, 24 correctional systems reported receiving only community support, five only opposition, and 12 a mixture of both (Pagel 1988:6). This turn around has been at least partially fueled by information about the occurrence of positive prison effects and the absence of negative ones. While much of this information is journalistic and anecdotal, there also are several more or less substantive research reports on prison impacts.

Studies selected for inclusion in this review were identified through a search of published materials, a request for information sent to every state's department of corrections, and through contacts with other individuals involved in prison impact research. With few exceptions, the prisons in these studies housed adult, male, medium security-level inmates or above. There is

comparatively less information available on the effects of minimum security or juvenile facilities, and such institutions are likely to produce a somewhat different set of impacts because of significant differences in their operation and inmate characteristics.

The majority of these prison impact studies are modest ones, concentrating on a single issue or a set of a few related issues. Most typically, these issues are taken from the objections perceived as raised by prison siting opponents and from the expectations held by siting proponents. In several, the assessment of prison effects is indirect, with information on control communities used to determine presence or absence of prison-related effects in the prison locales. Research methods and sources of support vary greatly. Few of these studies have been published and thus most have had a limited circulation.

All studies included here, regardless of their source or sponsorship, meet at least minimal standards of scientific rigor. The research on which the reports are based was conducted by scholars with appropriate academic credentials or by agency research staff, and in each, methods utilized fall within the range of those acceptable in the academic community. One can quibble with some of the methodological assumptions in several reports, but such dispute is in the nature of a scholarly critique, not a dismissal of their findings.

This does not mean all these reports are without bias. Some are clearly efforts to refute arguments opposing prison siting; others adopt a more objective tone; one seems to stress prison deficits. Interpretations of the research results correspond to these emphases. Where the raw data on which these interpretations were based was available, any such obvious slant was controlled for by re-computation and reconsideration in this review. With the implications of prison impacts often a matter of opinion, one risks substituting one bias for another, both of which may be reasonable and rational. The point here is less to do a critical review than to present an overview of what information is available.

The most substantive failing of the majority of these studies is their limited scope. They are snap-shots of prison impacts, focusing on only a very few aspects of prison effects, and these only those most readily accessible. Few provide comparative information on pre-prison conditions or on resident attitudes. The studies that take a more comprehensive look at prison impacts are in the minority, and even these do not compare with the depth and breadth of material collected for Clallam Bay.

Because of their variability in method and scope, and the further variation in the types of communities and prisons covered, each study included in this review is presented in order of research complexity, with the simplest reviewed first. The chapter concludes with a discussion of common findings.

STUDIES OF SOCIAL INDICATOR DATA

WISCONSIN

One of the first attempts to assess prison effects was undertaken in Wisconsin for that state's Division of Corrections and Bureau of Facilities Management by Craig F. Stanley of the University of Wisconsin (1978). Stanley explored the effects of prison proximity on property values in two communities, one an urban area adjacent to Green Bay and the other a city of 8,000 residents. In both locales, the prisons had been in place since the previous century. In neither did closeness to the prison adversely affect assessed housing value or lower the market price of homes in the community.

ALABAMA

The Wisconsin data is extensively cited in a report prepared for the Alabama Department of Corrections (1982). This report also reviews a study from Canada (discussed below), and includes a brief assessment of changes in industrial and community development activity in a section of Montgomery where a prison was located ten years previously. The Montgomery researchers found that other industrial locations in the vicinity had increased since the prison, that the population of the area had more than doubled, and that real estate values were above the city's average. An industry survey found that the presence of the prison had no notable negative effects on selection of a site for development.

Alabama institutions and their economic impacts also were the focus of a research study published in 1984 (Smykla et al). Smykla and his associates (from the University of Alabama) used control regions for each of the three counties with prisons under examination. The study period was five years, beginning with two years prior to the facility's first year of operation and extending two years thereafter. All of the prisons had been open for less than 15 years, with one starting operations as recently as 1978. The counties ranged from rural to predominantly urban in character.

On the basis of a review of a variety of economic well-being indicators, including total employment, retail sales, property values, and juvenile and adult crime rates, Smykla and his colleagues were able to conclude that: "...no negative effects of the prison (sic) have been identified, and positive improvement is seen in some of these areas (1984:539)." New industry expansion was less than that in control counties for two of the prison locales, although there was no actual pre/post-prison indication of decline.

PENNSYLVANIA

A study of the local economic impacts of a minimum security prison in Pennsylvania during its second year of operation was published in 1987 (Rogers & Haimes). At the time of the study, Rogers was associated with the University of Pittsburgh and Haimes was a researcher with the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Their paper is included in this review because its emphasis on salaries and expenditures covers issues common to all institutions, regardless of security level. Looking at prison expenditures for salaries and wages, small business purchases, and non-profit educational services, the researchers found that 65% of the total expenditures was made to firms or individuals located within 25 miles of the prison; subtracting salaries, the proportion spent locally was 56% (1987:31). Rogers and Haimes also found that nearly half the staff was comprised of individuals initially hired from this same local area.

CALIFORNIA

Crime rates and property values in prison locales served as the topics for a 1985 study conducted in California by Jerry Hawes of the State Senate Office of Research. In this project, seven prison cities (ranging in size from 6,500 to 80,479) were measured against 15 control communities matched on the basis of population and five other demographic characteristics. Comparisons of crime rates in the prison host communities and their controls found that in the aggregate, rates for prison locales were 22% lower: 10 of the control communities had higher crime rates, four had lower, and one was the same (1985:12). Although this was not singled out for attention in the report, the raw data which was also included showed that the prison host communities with the

smallest populations (11,003 and 6,520) had crime rates 22 - 24% higher than their comparison cities.

The study's methodology did not allow for any further analysis of these findings or the reasons for them; the author posited that the presence of correctional officers in an area may have a deterrent influence on crime. Hawes concludes: "The evidence submitted in this report does not conclusively prove that the siting of a prison in or near a city is a deterrent to crime in that community. That same evidence strongly suggests that prisons neither create an environment which encourages crime nor attracts a criminal element which negatively impacts on that community's safety (1985:24)."

This report also found positive property value differences between prison sites and control cities. Using the change in assessed valuation per capita occurring between 1979-80 and 1982-83 as the measure, cities with a prison had a higher aggregate growth; property values rose at a higher rate in prison locales than in 11 of the 15 control communities.

OREGON

A series of studies on prison impact conducted in Salem, Oregon have come up with a rather different set of conclusions about prisons and crime. The studies were done under the auspices of three different agencies: the Bureau of Governmental Research & Service, University of Oregon; the Oregon Corrections Division; and the Salem Police Department. Up until late 1985, all Oregon prisons (with the exception of one camp) were located in Salem, the state's capital. A similar condition prevailed for most of the state's mental hospitals. This concentration of institutions had concentrated as well many of the services customarily offered to former patients and prison parolees, and appears as a consequence also to have concentrated certain prison impacts.

The research by the Oregon Corrections Division (1987) looked at the residences and residential changes of inmate visitors. It thus addresses the frequently raised questions about whether the presence of prisoners in an area also brings in a group of "undesirable" family members and friends. The researchers found that most visitors lived within commuting distance of the institutions and that the distribution of visitor residences was similar to those from which inmates were committed. A small number of visitors did move into the Salem area while the individual they were visiting was incarcerated: a nearly equal number of inmate visitors had moved out, making any increase a negligible one.

Callier & Versteeg (1988), working through the Salem Police Department, did identify several incidents in which locally resident inmate family members (who had moved to the area because of the institution) produced a disproportionate impact on area law enforcement. This suggests that numbers of such families alone may not be the most critical determinant of their effects. Callier & Versteeg also found that the Salem area had twice the number of correctional clients released into the community as had originally resided there, and that a sample of such releases had a high number of rearrests.

These conclusions are supported in greater detail in the research done through the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of Oregon (Seidel & Heinkel 1987; Seidel et al 1987). In these reports, the researchers noted the increased residence of released felons in the Salem area due to the location of the state's prisons. They found that nearly half of these individuals were likely to commit additional crimes while living in Salem, and that they made extensive use of a broad range of publicly supported social services,

particularly drug and alcohol treatment. In the most recent report, Salem was compared with a control city without state prisons and found to have a substantially higher crime rate, a finding viewed as linked to the presence of the large ex-offender population.

STUDIES INCLUDING ASSESSMENT OF RESIDENT ATTITUDES

The studies of prison impact summarized above share a tendency to be limited in scope and method: most have utilized existing statistical data and none have incorporated any assessment of resident attitudes or responses. There are a few studies of prison effects on local communities which are not so restricted and thereby provide a more personal and in many cases more detailed account of what a prison means to its host community. Oregon again serves as the locale for one such study. In this research, the attention is directed to a new prison, converted from a former mental hospital, located in a small, rural city in the eastern part of the state (Millay 1989).

OREGON

Millay is on the faculty at Eastern Oregon State College. He assessed the new prison's initial impacts through interviews with local residents and review of existing data. Millay found that despite fears and predictions to the contrary when the prison was opened, the community had seen no substantial influx of inmate families or friends, no increase in crime rates, and no increased resident concerns about personal safety. Former hospital employees and other local residents made up the prison's primary work force, and the institution had become the community's largest single employer. Social service agencies did note that some of those prisoners' families who had moved in presented disproportionate problems, and law enforcement and the courts system had experienced workload increases due to cases involving inmates.

With plans underway to more than double the prison's population in the near future, the community's presently positive attitude was also a qualified one: residents were somewhat uncertain that current conditions could be sustained. This uncertainty was strongest within the criminal justice system, where prison-related demands had already begun to strain resources. Millay emphasized the tentative nature of this city's generally favorable reactions to prison impacts, a response which was subject to change and reinterpretation should conditions alter.

BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA

The oldest of this group of studies was done in British Columbia, Canada, by W.W. Zarchikoff and his associates (affiliated with Simon Fraser University) for the Canadian Ministry of the Solicitor General (1981). This research examined three institutions, maximum through minimum security, located in a single rural area. A matched community without prisons was used as a control. In addition to compiling indicators on economy, property value, crime, escapes, inmate families and the like, Zarchikoff and his colleagues also looked at employee and resident attitudes about the area and the prisons. The primary methodology used involved a telephone survey of a sample of residents and prison employees; additional survey and other data was collected from local businesses and service providers.

Zarchikoff found the impact of these prisons to be primarily positive in regard to the local economy; neutral in terms of direct effects of inmates and

inmate families; and without influence on the incidence of crimes. The attitudes of area residents present a less positive picture of prison impacts: a majority felt their families were not safe because of the prisons and believed that the quality of life in the area had been changed by their presence; 47% thought prisons were a menace and 45% identified them as a disadvantage. Residents further felt that there had been an increase in crime because of prisons, that inmates were a threat to their security, and that their neighborhoods were less safe than they had been prior to the prisons. Residents did feel least concerned about the likelihood of inmate escapes from the maximum security institution and most concerned about those from the minimum security facility.

Few prison employees were included among the area residents: less than a third of the institutions' employees lived in the communities studied, with the employees living elsewhere citing dislike of the area as a primary reason for this. Employees made few local purchases, and those who were non-residents were less committed to corrections work than their fellows and tended to have been employed in the corrections field for a shorter time.

Zarchikoff concluded that small towns would tend to be more adversely affected by prisons than urban areas because of the greater visibility of a prison in the rural context. There was, however, no evidence that residents of rural communities would be less safe during escapes or that crime rates would increase. The contrast between this empirical finding and residents' perceptions and fears was the topic of several of the study's concluding recommendations. Visibility and attitudes also served as the topic of a published paper based on this research (Maxim & Plecas 1983).

This more detailed analysis of a portion of the Canadian community survey data focused on residents' perceptions of vulnerability and the relationship of these to prior victimization, proximity to the prisons, and life cycle status. The resulting analysis produced inconsistent and somewhat intuitively contradictory results. In seeking to understand this, Maxim & Plecas raised a point that may be critical to the understanding of resident attitudes in existing prison locales: those with the greatest concerns may have left the area, while those who remain may be accommodating to cognitive dissonance for staying. In either case, attitudes of residents of an extant prison host community are liable to be poor indicators of residents' initial responses to a prison.

COMPREHENSIVE STUDIES

Reports included in this last group of studies have in common a relatively comprehensive look at prison effects. They are thus more comparable to the Clallam Bay Project. In both, this comprehensiveness is attained through use of multiple methods and the inclusion of several prison locales. These studies also share a considerable degree of ambiguity and complexity in their findings, revealing a combination of positive and negative prison impacts.

FLORIDA, ARIZONA, TENNESSEE, & IDAHO

The effects of seven institutions in four states were looked at by Kathleen Abrams and her associates at Florida International University (Abrams et al 1985; Abrams & Lyons 1987). The first study included three Florida prisons; the second, supported by the National Institute of Corrections, added another state prison, two county jails, and a federal prison in three other states - Arizona, Tennessee, and Idaho. All the facilities had been operating for six to ten years and all were located in metropolitan areas; two sites also had other correctional

institutions in the same area. The 1987 study generally expanded on the previous research, and is the one covered here except where otherwise noted.

The research used both existing data and resident and business surveys, contrasting findings from the prison vicinity, or target area, and a control area. Abrams and Lyons utilized a variety of different definitions of target and control areas, depending on the variables being assessed and the characteristics of the locale. The target areas uniformly consisted of that region immediately adjacent to the institution and extending from two to ten miles in every direction. Control areas were typically selected from those contiguous to this target area, matched according to several demographic factors. For the most part, these methodological boundaries did not coincide with any actual municipal or county territorial distinctions, and also were not constructed with any attention to resident identification of community or geographic significance. This makes their use as indicators to demarcate prison impact zones of questionable validity.

In all the institutional sites covered, the researchers found property values to be generally unaffected by the prisons, with most realtors surveyed citing little or no negative impact. The institutions had significant positive impacts on the local economies, with the greatest effects occurring with large facilities located in either relatively smaller or slow growth communities. One aspect of prison effects covered extensively for the Florida institutions and highlighted in the 1985 report concerned the value of free inmate labor to local projects. This proved an additional economic benefit to communities hosting a prison.

Public safety and local law enforcement impacts were found to be quite minor: crime rates in the target areas were below those in controls with a single, urban-core locale exception. Escapes were not numerous for any facility, plans for appropriate response to escapes were in place, and escapees had committed no known local crimes except for a few auto thefts to aid in leaving the vicinity. Local law enforcement agencies reported no impression that prison visitors were involved in local crimes. In terms of workload, law enforcement agents cited only the additional need to respond to incidents in the institutions or assist with escapes: they evaluated the "burden" of their local corrections facility as minimal or non-existent.

Abrams and Lyons conducted telephone surveys with random samples of target and control area residents in each of the states: three of the four facility locales covered in these surveys were prison hosts, the fourth had a jail. More than 90% of all survey respondents felt their institution had created no problems, and a substantial majority felt unthreatened by escapes. Most rated their neighborhood's quality of life as acceptable and without decline. In a less favorable vein, more of the residents living where a prison was located were likely to see the institution as a disadvantage rather than as neutral or an advantage, and target area residents were more negative on this issue than residents of control areas.

After being told of the benefits brought to a community by a prison, a small majority of the target area residents in two prison locales agreed that the benefits from a facility outweighed the disadvantages; those in another prison site did not alter their negative opinions. This particular facility had been the focus of a bitter siting dispute when it was built, and Abrams and Lyons conclude their 1987 report with an assessment of prison siting difficulties and some proposed solutions.

WASHINGTON

The most recent multi-institutional study on prison impacts was conducted in Washington state (Lidman 1988). At the request of the State Legislature, the Department of Community Development contracted with the Washington State Institute for Public Policy at The Evergreen State College to assess the effects of all six of the state's institutions for medium and maximum security inmates, including the facility housing females. Lidman subcontracted portions of the study to researchers at the University of Washington (Hodge & Staeheli 1988) and Whitman College (Parcells & Farrington 1988). Information on the effects of the Clallam Bay Corrections Center was summarized from the preliminary results of the Clallam Bay Project (Carlson 1988b) and is not covered here. The following review covers findings for the other five institutions.

Methods used in the Washington state study included both identification of control communities in a manner similar to that used in the California study (demographic matching), compilation of existing data, and interviews with community leaders and service providers. The state's three largest prisons served as the study's principal focus: impacts of the other two facilities - the women's institution and a former federal facility located on an island -received a more cursory review because of their locations and the absence of any particular local resident concerns. All the prisons are in or close to metropolitan areas, and all the communities have had corrections facilities for many years.

Lidman and his associates found that the effects of the prisons varied from site to site. While payroll, prison purchasing, and capital expenditures were a consistent economic plus in all communities, the significance of benefits received depended on the size of the area relative to the size of the prison: larger prisons in smaller areas made greater contributions to the local economy. In no prison site were property values or retail activities negatively affected because of the institutions, and the facilities often made substantive contributions to local tax revenues through contracts for services and state tax redistribution. Business and development leaders in one prison site did note the need to overcome a "prison town" image when dealing with potential investors, but this seemed not to impede development.

This community was Walla Walla, site of the state's largest and oldest prison, housing Washington state's maximum security prisoners among its inmate population. It is a comparatively isolated city in a primarily agricultural area. Unlike other Washington prison sites, Walla Walla is located across the state and some distance from the region's urban and population corridor from whence come the majority of the state's inmates. In all but this community, the presence of inmate families was small and their activities had no consistent and verifiable negative effect.

In contrast, inmate families had apparently moved to Walla Walla to be close to prisoners: an estimated 93 to 200 families lived in the area, approximately 10% of the facility's inmate population. This presence contributed to added problems for local law enforcement. While the extent of criminal activity among this group was apparently proportionate to their percentage of the local population, local criminal justice providers argued that this group was only in the area because of the prison, and thus any effect they might have was a negative impact of the institution. The greater tendency for inmate families to move to this prison community was seen to be a consequence of the longer sentences for many prisoners, the difficulties associated with commuting for

visits, and the area's relatively modest cost of living (Parcells & Farrington 1988; Farrington & Parcells 1989).

Unlike the findings of studies elsewhere, comparisons of crime rates between the three major Washington institutions and their control communities found those of the prison locales to be equal or above the controls. The crime rates for Walla Walla, in particular, were above those of its control communities' average in both crimes of violence and property offenses. Walla Walla's law enforcement community felt their city's crime rate was high because of the activities of inmate families and prison employees, an impression which was supported by some criminal justice statistics.

These statistics were most notable in the areas of juvenile crime and drug offenses. In both, participation of those connected with the prison, either as employees or family members of employees or inmates, was above that of their percentage in the population. Farrington & Parcells (1989) conclude that while the data to substantiate a causal link to the prison for these and other criminal justice problems is sometimes sketchy, Walla Walla clearly has a disproportionate share of such problems.

The effects of internal prison disruptions on community resident attitudes was noted in both Walla Walla and Monroe, a Washington suburban community with a complex of three prisons. These facilities had experienced inmate riots and unrest in the late 1970's, significantly and negatively affecting resident acceptance of the prisons in their midst. In Monroe, these feelings produced concerted community resistance to the siting of the third prison in the early 1980's (An opposition which stimulated Clallam Bay's business leaders to solicit a prison for their community). After several years of institutional calm and community outreach efforts, relations between Monroe and its prisons were again cordial at the end of 1988 (Hodge & Staeheli 1988). Similarly positive relations have resumed in Walla Walla, where the community is now looking forward to the benefits of the siting of a new minimum security institution and expansion of the existing facility (Farrington & Parcells 1989).

IMPACTS AND THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES

The studies reviewed above have many differences in terms of their scope, sophistication, methodology, and the specifics of their research questions. They also differ in the relative size and character of the communities and the prisons studied. Taken alone, even the most comprehensive of these reports presents an incomplete picture of prison impacts. Together, however, they begin to indicate not only what impacts are likely, but also the conditions under which particular impacts will tend to be realized. These indications of prison impacts and their circumstances fit into the categories familiar from siting disputes: the economy, inmate escapes and inmate families, the criminal justice system, and community lifestyle.

ECONOMIC IMPACTS

In terms of prison benefits, contributions to the local economy stand out as by far the most significant. Prisons do indeed bring jobs, and generally add to other areas of the economy as well. These economic pluses come with a few caveats. First, the relative importance of any prison-related economic benefit depends on the size of the prison and the size of the area in question: large prisons in small communities provide the biggest boost; prisons in large cities

make similar contributions, but their proportionate significance is clearly reduced.

The boundaries of the area considered impacted also influence the determination of prison economic benefits. Employees in rural prisons may not live or purchase in the host community, and thus while a county or region may derive benefits, those accruing to the immediate local community may be more modest. Differences in state prison purchasing practices, and again, size-related differences in a community's retail or wholesale offerings, also affect the extent of any economic boon.

Prisons brought into a community because of their anticipated jobs for current local residents may or may not fulfill expectations. The suitability of the local available labor force, their interest in prison work, and the proximity of other communities and their workers all need to be taken into account. Nearby communities, especially if they provide more attractive or preferable residential options, also may erode local growth and benefit. The extensive literature on rural industrialization (Summers et al 1976) reports the same qualifiers for predicting impacts from other industries.

INMATE IMPACTS

In most regards, conditions of incarceration and inmate characteristics are of little concern to prison host communities. They are internal features of prison life, and affect local residents only indirectly. These usual boundaries between the prison and the community are violated with an escape, however, and thus the potential for escapes and the likely actions of escapees often become a focus of resident concern.

Most of the studies reviewed above treat escapes only in statistical terms, e.g. rates of incidence and their outcomes. According to this data, escapes are relatively rare occurrences with almost always benign community consequences. Where these studies have included assessment of community attitudes about escapes and escapees, the findings are somewhat mixed. In British Columbia, Canada, potential risk of escapes contributed to community fears. That one escapee violated statistical trends by murdering a local resident undoubtedly contributed to these feelings, illustrating again that numerical incidence is not all that influences attitudes (Zarchikoff et al 1981). The research by Abrams and her colleagues (1985; 1987) does not fit this pattern, but the urban locations of these institutions and the artificial construction of community in these studies may account for this.

Escape risks are considerably higher for minimum custody or work release facilities, and most of the literature reviewed here deals with medium custody prisons or above, with one notable exception where both types of institutions were included. In this, residents were found to feel more secure with maximum security institutions where escape risks are low (Zarchikoff et al 1981).

More favorable findings for prison proponents come from the assessment of the presence of inmate associates. Prisons do not uniformly bring an influx of inmate families and friends. The exception to this trend occurred where the prison had a combination of inmates with longer sentences, was in a locale remote from the residences of most families, and where the community offered an affordable choice of residences. In other prison host communities where the presence of inmate families was assessed, no substantial numbers were found. As is the case with escapes, however impacts are not simply a matter of numbers.

Inmate families seem to be a population with a higher than average level of problems and prospects for criminal activity. It also is the case that any

transgression associated with them is likely to be noted by community residents as a negative impact of the prison and thus be accorded extra significance.

Inmates themselves may contribute to positive prison effects when they are involved in some form of service work in the community. This type of service work was typically viewed by community residents as an asset. Inmates also can contribute to an increase in negative impacts when they remain in an area after release.

This latter effect is most likely when families also are resident in the area, further contributing to antipathy to inmate families. It also is more probable when services for released inmates are concentrated in the vicinity. Policies requiring release to county of origin and concentrations of services in these areas rather than prison locales appear to discourage former inmates from remaining in prison host communities (Millay 1989). Ironically, if prisons were more commonly located in the urban communities and areas where convicted criminals disproportionately resided before incarceration, this and related issues would be moot.

Finally, while a prison's internal operation may not directly affect its host community, there are indications that internal institutional features still do contribute to prison impacts. Length of sentence is a definite example of this, with institutions holding maximum security inmates being more likely to attract relocation of inmate families, especially when the prison's site is a remote one. Internal order or disruption also influences how the community views the prison and its risks.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IMPACTS

Demands resulting from inmate criminal behavior within the institution are the most consistent criminal justice impacts of a prison. Investigation and prosecution of such crimes typically falls to the law enforcement agency in the jurisdiction where the prison is located. The degree to which such responsibility presents a difficulty for these agencies depends again on the size of the institution relative to that of the agency in charge. State policies for reimbursement also vary. Prison service demands were referenced as a problem by agencies who felt themselves overburdened and inadequately compensated; in other jurisdictions, they presented little difficulty.

Prison impacts on host community crime rates produced the most mixed and ambiguous results. Prisons were associated with stable crime rates, decreased crime rates, and increased crime rates. While some of this diversity may be the result of inappropriate control communities or areas in the research projects themselves, there are other factors which transcend these methodological issues. As a group, those prison communities with higher crime rates tended to be either smaller, more isolated, with a greater population influx of some type, or some combination of these.

The common factor in all these settings and under these varied circumstances is, once again, relative institution to community size. Small communities with large prisons, and larger cities with similarly disproportionate prison populations were more likely to exhibit increased crime rates. In addition to this comparatively straightforward relationship between community and prison size, several studies also identified characteristics of those committing the additional crimes. Inmate families, released inmates, and correctional employees are variously cited as offenders (Farrington & Parcells 1989; Callier & Versteeg 1988; Seidel & Heinkel 1987). Neither inmate families, former inmates, or correctional employees can contribute significantly to an area's criminal activity unless they are proportionately numerous or disproportionately

active. It is where both conditions are apparently present that crime rate increases are associated with prisons. This suggests a combination of causal factors, ranging from employment practices through "crime prone" tendencies in certain populations. The methodology in none of these studies allows such questions to be systematically examined beyond the stereotypes often applied to prison families and prison staff.

Overall, the research conducted thus far indicates that prisons in and of themselves apparently do not lead to increased community crime rates; prisons in combination with factors of community size, community character, and the characteristics of staff and inmates may contribute to such increases.

COMMUNITY LIFESTYLE IMPACTS

The category of community lifestyle includes a variety of attitudinal and behavioral prison impacts on daily life and community identity. In most of the studies reviewed above, these impacts were not assessed; in a few, information was collected about the views of local leaders and service providers; and in three, covering several prison sites, general resident attitudes were surveyed.

Insofar as the prisons studied tended to improve the local economies and provide few service burdens, local leaders and service providers perceived the institutions favorably. Where services were burdened, as in Salem, Oregon and Walla Walla, Washington, these attitudes were much less bullish. In these cities (where institutional size was proportionately large), there was a feeling that the prisons drew resources from other citizens and in this regard, presented a negative impact.

Where the attitudes of a more eclectic sample of residents were assessed, evaluations of prison impacts on lifestyle issues tended to be decidedly mixed. Perceived and actual increases in crime, and heightened concerns for neighborhood and family safety because of crime, or inmate escapes or escape risks, contributed to negative evaluations. Economic benefits contributed to positive evaluations, as did lack of prison visibility due to proportionately large community populations.

In general, the assessments of prisons as disadvantageous to the community and detrimental to residents' quality of life tended to be combined with acknowledgements of prison contributions or at worst, no particular effects. Residents did not uniformly condemn their prisons in any of these communities. Abrams and her associates (1985; 1987) found that negative evaluations could be moderated when positive economic impacts were considered, a finding similar to the diverse assessments of various prison impacts noted by Zarchikoff et al (1981). Individuals living in communities with prisons appear to be engaged in an ongoing assessment of its benefits and detriments, with either view able to be elicited. Attitudes to impacts are thus always subject to change, even in prisons that have been in place for many years, by events that seem to influence the balance of these continuing assessments.

This takes us back to our initial consideration of siting. The significance of residents' pre-prison attitudes on later judgments reinforces current practices by many corrections systems of locating prisons only where there is predominant community support. Abrams and Lyons (1987) found the least acknowledgement of prison benefits where the prison had received substantial opposition during siting. This assessment was not a matter of ignorance or lack of awareness of any prison benefits but a weighing of both benefits and detriments. Over time, Maxim and Plecas (1983) see these unfavorable lifestyle evaluations as declining, either because residents accommodate to the givens of a prison, or because those who do not move away.

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY

APPROACH

The primary purpose of this research was the assessment of change due to a prison in a single community. Accordingly, the selection of research methodology required attention to procedures which measure variables over time and which allow identification of the factors influencing change. This framework guided all aspects of the project's data collection efforts. The general approach utilized was the tracking of a range of important community status variables over a period of several years. Ideally, the track began prior to prison construction and operations - late 1983 - and either continued throughout the project or was picked up again at a point after the prison had been fully operational for a year or more.

The particulars of the community being studied also influenced the selection of methodology. Clallam Bay is a community with a small and unambiguous geographic center. It also has a small population. This made the community well-suited for participant observation. It also precluded the need for sampling strategies to conduct survey work: the entire population could be readily reached in any survey. Already noted previously has been the benefit of project length on the capacity to expand and to intensify the project's data base.

To these advantages, the size of the community also contributed some methodological disadvantages. Foremost among these was the fact that certain occurrences, especially those which are statistically uncommon, were difficult to analyze because of small numbers. Another drawback of the community's size comes from its status as an unincorporated place. Data were not always available at the community level. In some cases, the data that were available were subject to certain restrictions because there was no way to assure confidentiality for such a small number of potential sources.

The size of the community contributed as well to a very open research process. Ideally, any study of impacts would have these impacts in no way influenced by the study process itself. While every effort was made to avoid such an influence in the Clallam Bay Project, it was not possible to isolate the research process from community life. The researcher's frequent presence in the community along with the repeated requests for information through surveys and the collection of existing data made the study a very public one. Local residents were themselves participants in the project, and their cooperation was essential to its data base. In many cases, it was through the efforts and cooperation of owners and employees at businesses and services in Clallam Bay and elsewhere in Clallam County that the necessary quantitative data were obtained. Further, local residents served as sources of critical project information through their responses to surveys and their participation in interviews, and through their public statements and their private comments to the researcher. It is

their voice which dominates this report and their words which add substance and meaning to the quantitative data.

Some type of exchange was necessary between researcher and residents to justify continued participation in the sometimes onerous data collection efforts requested of residents. The logical currency for this exchange was the research data. Accordingly, all data collected by the project was available on request to area residents if its format allowed this and there were no confidentiality constraints. Information compiled from agency records or files was given back to the agency in summary form after collection.

Distribution of the employee survey results was limited to prison staff at the request of the institution; student survey results were shared only with members of the educational community; all other survey summaries had widespread distribution or were available upon request. The researcher also occasionally prepared informational reports using several different data sources for use by area residents or agencies preparing grant requests or seeking support for a particular community project.

None of these project documents included any conclusions or interpretations. The data were made available; their meaning was left unstated. This was done in the interest of avoiding in so far as possible further influencing research outcomes. The published papers which preceded conclusion of this report concerned matters already resolved (Carlson 1988a) or publication occurred after data collection was concluded (Carlson 1988b & 1990). The distribution of information from the project during the course of data collection represents a compromise between ideal research autonomy and the reality of sustaining research relationships.

The conduct of the project and the availability of information about prison effects on Clallam Bay may have heightened Clallam Bay residents' sensitivity to these effects, making them more ready to consider their occurrence, whether favorably or otherwise. The research was not the only activity that focused attention on prison impacts during this time, however. Protracted discussion of state prison impact funds and their distribution, changes in prison operations, positive and negative occurrences linked to the prison, and visible community changes also highlighted prison impacts for even a casual observer. While the Clallam Bay Project may have added to the tendency to note prison impacts, it in no way created this.

Through the claims and counter-claims of siting, Clallam Bay residents were pre-disposed to examine and weigh prison effects, looking for validation or repudiation of siting expectations. Residents were quick to attribute any community changes to the prison, and, perhaps due to the delayed opening, eager to draw conclusions about its effects. Wanting to know what happened was a mutual preoccupation of both residents and the researcher. The continuing willingness of residents of even long-term prison host communities to judge prison effects, as referenced in Lidman (1988) and others (Abrams & Lyons 1987; Zarchikoff et al 1981), suggests that this process of evaluation is ongoing. What the researcher

does is identify the pre-existing judgements of residents at any particular time; the research process does not appear to generate these judgements.

It is nonetheless a fact that, due to the research, Clallam Bay residents and others were in some cases better informed about prison effects and community change than they would otherwise have been. Project data were frequently cited to support locally developed projects; there is no evidence that the data either stimulated or thwarted these. Efforts by the institution to improve prison and community relationships were probably informed and possibly quickened by community and employee survey results. Again, however, project data were not the only factors or information sources in these actions, nor even necessarily the most significant. Countering this, there also is no shortage of examples when resident or institutional actions were contradictory to research findings of which the actors were aware. It seems that any effect the research had on outcomes was a modest one, and then more likely as a reinforcement for prior tendencies.

The Clallam Bay community's adjustment to its prison did not end when project data collection did. Some of what is reported here about the community is no longer valid because of events subsequent to the research period. The town discussed in these pages is Clallam Bay as it was at the end of 1988 and the first part of 1989. The report is written in the present tense only as a convenience to the reader. An epilogue in Chapter 14 provides an update, but this too will be outdated before the report is printed.

DATA COLLECTION

Conceptually, the project was divided into three distinct periods associated with prison phasing: Phase I - the period prior to prison opening, including siting and construction, generally covering 1982 through 1985; Phase II - the facility's interim operation as a minimum security institution, dating from January 1986 to February 1987; and Phase III - operation of the facility as a medium security institution, beginning February 1987 and continuing to September 1989 for some data, with collection of other data concluding at the end of 1988.

Within these parameters, approaches to information collection can best be described as eclectic. With two staff (a principal researcher and a secretary/research assistant), the project's length, and the community's smallness, a wide range of information types were included. This diversity of information and sources falls within three general methodological categories: 1) Case Study; 2) Survey; and 3) Existing Sources. Each is discussed in more detail below.

CASE STUDY

The case study method entails in-depth information collection in a single setting over an extended period of time. In this project, the setting was the community of Clallam Bay; information

was collected through interviews with community residents and participant observation in the community informally, during casual encounters, and at various meetings and local events.

Interviews:

When the project first started, a series of initial interviews were conducted with local individuals identified as key community informants. These interviews included residents who played prominent roles in both promoting and opposing the prison as well as others selected on the basis of their positions - e.g. school principal, minister, business owners, etc. Snowball sampling, with these informants used to identify others, was used to identify other residents. A few interviews also were conducted with former residents and non-resident community service providers.

The majority of these formal interviews were conducted during the project's first 6 months, with 34 Clallam Bay residents or community service providers included. The interviews were semi-structured in format and designed to obtain information about the community as it had been prior to prison siting, during the siting dispute, and as it awaited prison opening. Questions included interviewee's identification of characteristics of the community and its residents, their attitudes toward the community, involvement in it, expectations for the prison and prison-related changes, and their assessments of any such changes to date. Each interview lasted approximately 2 hours, with some individuals interviewed multiple times.

These interviews served two purposes. First, they provided the project with data from residents' perspectives concerning past events, the community's present characteristics, and its anticipated future. This information was useful both in its own right and as a basis for construction of the community surveys. Secondly, the interviews provided an entry into the community through those interviewed. The research and the researcher were thus identified to the town, opening up conversations about the prison and the community in a range of settings and with diverse participants. This greatly facilitated the participant observation process, and, rather than continuing with formal interviews, further information on residents' views was obtained in more natural settings in the community.

Interviews continued to be used throughout the project for initial contacts with individuals newly placed in different community or institutional positions. Thus, key new personnel at the prison, the school, the post office, and so on, were interviewed at some point early in their tenure. These later interviews tended to focus more specifically on the particulars of the individuals and positions involved, but included as well general questions about Clallam Bay and prison impacts similar to those asked of earlier informants. They were likely to be less formal than earlier interviews, and many were intermixed with participant observation in the settings in which they took place.

Handwritten notes were taken during all interviews. These were later expanded during dictation and then transcribed.

Participant Observation:

Participant observation identifies a range of data collection approaches connected by their emphases on the compilation of information about activities and events directly, as they occur in their natural setting, and without controls or contrivance by the researcher. The method may include intensive, nearly constant research involvement, with the researcher as a full-time resident in the community or group under study; it also can be used for more occasional community participation in public settings and at organized events. The latter approach to participant observation was employed for this project.

Clallam Bay was visited an average of one day a week throughout the project: more time was spent in the community early in the research and during certain key research periods; less time was spent in the community during surveys, periods of other data collection, and analysis. Public settings such as coffee shops and businesses and regular and special meetings of different community organizations and groups provided the majority of participant observation opportunities. Private settings such as homes were included much less frequently, although many conversations were conducted in privacy between the researcher and residents.

In all these settings, information was collected on routine, everyday matters of community life as well as about the areas of particular research interest. As the researcher and the project's purpose became known in the community, comments about community change and prison impact were sometimes deliberate: more often, residents' remarks about the prison and its effects were made without regard for either the study or the researcher. The prison and its operation was an important occurrence to Clallam Bay, and as such, its impact was a frequent subject of conversation.

Some community meetings, such as those of the prison's community advisory committee and the citizen's committee to distribute prison impact funds, were explicitly concerned with prison effects. In others, discussion of the prison and its consequences was sometimes as an aside, sometimes as a topic in its own right. Certain events such as an escape or a crime committed by a member of an inmate's family increased attention to the prison and thus heightened discussion about prison impacts in any meeting or setting.

Participation observation always contains some degree of selectivity due to the particular characteristics of its major instrument - the researcher. As a middle-aged female professional, my welcome (and thus the information obtained) varied in different settings and with different individuals. Logistically, it was easier to make contact with some persons than others. The participant observation material includes more data from public contacts with business and community leaders than from private settings or from residents who seldom took part in community affairs.

Information obtained in informal settings was converted to dictated field notes as soon after leaving the setting as was possible and later transcribed. During formal meetings or phone

calls, hand written notes also were taken, and these too were dictated and transcribed.

Other Data:

Additional information for the case study data was obtained from events occurring outside of Clallam Bay but related to the research aims. These included presentations by prison representatives at various public forums or meetings, conversations with Clallam Bay service providers or Clallam Bay residents, and other occasions in which the prison and its effects were discussed in Port Angeles and other communities. Other contributions to case study data came from phone conversations with prison staff, Clallam Bay residents and service providers, and residents of proposed or extant prison host communities elsewhere. In all such occurrences, field notes on information obtained were dictated and subsequently transcribed.

SURVEYS

The project employed a variety of surveys. These were used to expand and replicate information obtained through case study methods as well as to acquire information from persons not otherwise contacted. Four of these surveys were conducted at two different points during the project to assess change: the first point either before or early in the prison's operation and the second from one to two and a half years later. These surveys constitute the core of the project's survey data base. They include questionnaires mailed to all community households and all prison employees, questionnaires administered to all Clallam Bay students in grades 5 - 12, and a door-to-door census of the community's residents.

Three other surveys, directed to more specific issues, were conducted only once and made more minor data contributions. These were a questionnaire distributed to prison visitors, a post-card questionnaire mailed to all existing prison sites nationwide, and a post-card questionnaire of area residents' views on crime (conducted by the project researcher for the Clallam County Sheriff's Department).

Copies of the instruments used in all surveys are included in the Technical Appendix to this report. The particulars of each survey and its administration are summarized below:

Community Surveys:

The community survey questionnaires were designed to identify basic demographic characteristics of Clallam Bay residents, their use and evaluations of local services, and their attitudes toward the community, the prison, and any community changes. Both design and administration was guided by the methods outlined by Dilman (1978). Each survey package included a letter identifying the project and the survey's purpose, instructions to have an adult household resident complete the questionnaire, a printed questionnaire, and a stamped, addressed envelope for return. One week later, a follow-up postcard was sent to the same addresses as

a reminder to reply. Notices announcing the forthcoming survey and its purpose were printed in both area newspapers (The Daily News and The Forks Forum). The Forks Forum also ran reminder notices urging residents to complete their survey about one month after the survey forms were mailed out.

In June 1986 and June 1988 all postal customers within the Clallam Bay and Sekiu mailing areas were sent a survey package. This use of all postal customers with Clallam Bay or Sekiu zip codes necessarily included local businesses as well as households, and some residents therefore received more than one survey. Survey returns indicated no duplication of returns from individuals and it is likely that most duplicate surveys were discarded. It is known that a few residents of the same household did return separate surveys.

The first survey focused on expectations of prison effects and reactions to the impacts of construction and the interim operation thus far. The second survey concentrated on judgements of prison effects. The two surveys were designed to mirror each other in most respects, with a few additional questions about specific prison impacts added to the second questionnaire. Both surveys allowed for expression of a full range of attitudes toward the community and the prison.

In 1986, 506 questionnaires were mailed out and 237 were returned, giving a response rate of 47%. 624 questionnaires were sent out in 1988, with 226 or 36% returned. The demographic characteristics of the two sets of respondents were very like each other and similar to that of the entire adult population of the survey area. Compared to population characteristics identified in the community census, survey returns included a slight disproportionate percentage of female respondents (54% and 55% respectively). There also was a minor skewing in favor of older respondents.

The responses to the 1986 community survey indicated that it was used by some prison opponents to give expression to their continued opposition to the institution. With this first survey occurring during a period of generally disappointing returns from the prison due to the limitations of the interim operation, it is possible that responses also reflected more negative attitudes from prison supporters as well. The 1988 community survey was distributed eighteen months after the prison had converted to medium security operations and some of the rancor of siting as well as the disappointment of the interim operation had diminished. This may have contributed to a diminished return rate. The length of the research project also may have played a role in reduced survey returns, with residents experiencing some study overload. A handful of residents returned incomplete surveys in protest against what they felt to be an unauthorized survey of students at the school (see below). This boycott was not an organized one and is thought to have had very little effect on overall return rate.

Student Surveys:

One concern expressed during siting dealt with the adverse effects any new population would have on the community's young people. In particular, residents worried about increases in drug and alcohol use. The student surveys were designed primarily to assess drug and alcohol use patterns, student attitudes about the community, the school, and the prison, and involvement in school activities. The drug/alcohol use questions were designed following a standard format for such surveys; other questions mirrored those asked of adults or dealt with issues particular to the school. Except for the addition of more questions about the effects of the prison, the second survey was essentially identical to the first. School administrators reviewed and approved both the survey forms before they were distributed and elected not to involve the school board or parents in this review process.

Questionnaires were handed out to the students during class time by their teachers, students sealed their completed questionnaire in an envelope, and returned it to the teacher for transmittal to the researcher. Teachers gave out questionnaires separately to any students absent during the class distribution. Students were familiar with the project through prior contact by the researcher at the school, and were assured of confidentiality for their responses. All data was aggregated at a level sufficient to protect individual confidentiality in the reports prepared from survey results.

In May 1986 and in March 1988, all Clallam Bay students in grades 5 - 12 completed a questionnaire. Ninety-seven questionnaires were completed in 1986; 105 in 1988.

CBCC Employee Surveys:

An attempt to survey prison employees when the prison initially opened was made by distributing a questionnaire through the institution's personnel department. Returns on this survey were unacceptably low and its information is not used here. In 1987, the new superintendent at the corrections center indicated an interest in surveying employees about institutional as well as community issues. Accordingly, a survey was designed to meet the interests of both the project and the prison: representatives from the employees' labor organization and the administration were involved in a review of the survey design. At that time, it was agreed to re-administer the survey the following year.

The questions included in the employee surveys were of two types, reflecting the surveys' dual purpose. One set of questions dealt with issues of employment, employee/management relations, and other matters of concern to the institution's internal operations. The second set of questions dealt with the community and community relations, and in many cases corresponded to the questions in the community surveys. The 1988 employee survey focused on assessing change during the period since the 1987 one, and thus asked more comparative questions. Other differences between the first and

second employee surveys reflected changing issues of interest to the institution.

Questionnaires were mailed to all prison employees, using the same packaging and procedures as for the community surveys. Completed questionnaires were mailed to the researcher, with only a summary report provided to the institution to assure respondent anonymity. For the 1987 employee survey, an additional letter preceding the questionnaire packages and encouraging participation was mailed out over the signatures of the superintendent and the labor organization's representative. In 1988, notice of the forthcoming survey was posted in the prison's daily bulletin.

The survey was conducted with all prison employees in September 1987 and again in October 1988. In 1987, a total of 275 questionnaires were delivered and 159 (58%) were returned. In 1988, a total of 286 questionnaires were delivered, with 128 (45%) returned. In both surveys, proportionately more returns were received from administrative or non-custody staff than from employees in custody positions. The reduced return rate for the 1988 employee survey may have been a partial result of the questionnaire's similarity to the community survey which employees living in Clallam Bay had received just three months previously.

Community Census:

When the project began, Clallam Bay was known to have lost a substantial but unknown number of its residents since the U.S. census was conducted in 1980. It was necessary to do another census in order to identify a current population base on which to assess any prison-related population growth. In October 1985 (prior to prison operations), and again in April of 1988, the project attempted to obtain accurate information on the number of Clallam Bay residents and their key demographic characteristics through a house-to-house headcount.

The area encompassed by the census was that geographical region which coincided with the busing district of the Clallam Bay Schools. This area was generally demarcated as well by adjacent uninhabited areas, dividing Clallam Bay from its neighboring communities. For readers with knowledge of local geography, it included all residences east of Clallam Bay (Pysht area), Clallam Bay and Sekiu proper, all houses west to the school bus turnaround point (Tretivik's), and residences located to the south, ending at Lake Ozette (Royal & Hoko).

Following notices about the date and purpose of the census in the paper and posted in the community, project staff and volunteers from the community and the Clallam County Sheriff's Department went door to door to every household. Information was collected on the number of household residents and the age and sex of each. Where residents were not at home, a postcard was left for return and the location of the house was indicated. Repeated attempts were made to complete the census, including publication of a return reminder in the Forks Forum. As a last recourse, information was sought from neighbors. In 1985, 94% of the area's residences were covered in the census; in 1988, the percentage included was 98%.

Visitor Survey:

Over a period of several months in early 1988, adult visitors to CBCC were requested to complete a brief, confidential questionnaire. The institution's Community Involvement Coordinator requested the survey and was responsible for its distribution and retrieval. The survey form was designed to obtain information about demographics, visiting patterns, and any locally encountered problems. Two similar questionnaires were used: one for visitors living in Clallam County, the other for visitors coming from outside the county.

Visitor records indicated that approximately 290 different adult visitors came to CBCC each month during the survey period. A total of 96 usable questionnaires were returned in this same time frame. The survey sample differed from the overall population of prison visitors by being somewhat older and by including proportionately more relatives and fewer spouses.

National Prison Location Survey:

In January, 1987, a three question postcard survey was mailed to the chief administrator of every medium, maximum, or mixed security level institution in the United States. Additional information on each institution was compiled from the 1986 American Corrections Association Directory. It was the purpose of the survey to obtain information about the type and size of communities where prisons were located in order to characterize usual institutional sites.

Surveys were sent to 472 institutions; 398 responded. Partial survey information on non-respondents was obtained through a current Atlas to provide a 100% sample for all but one question. Overall, the results of the survey confirmed that prisons are most likely to be in small, rural communities, with larger prisons disproportionately located in smaller towns. CBCC was found to be directly comparable to some 15% of the nation's existing correctional institutions.

Clallam County Sheriff's Department West End Survey:

On February 1, 1988, the county Sheriff's Department mailed out a brief, four question survey on law enforcement issues to 1,000 randomly selected residents of unincorporated west Clallam County. The sample was drawn from registered voters. The incentive for the survey was to gauge need for additional west end deputies: the questions included a request for an assessment of any growth in crime in the past two years - the period since the prison began operating. Three-hundred and seventy-five completed survey cards were returned, for a response rate of 38%.

EXISTING DATA

Information derived from existing data sources provided accounts of activities or prison-induced changes in six topical areas: 1) the economy; 2) population related services; 3) social and health services; 4) criminal justice system; 5) the educational system; and 6) the prison itself. Existing data were compiled through already available reporting procedures whenever possible. When needed information could be obtained in no other way, data were compiled directly from the office or agency records. This latter, more time-consuming option was often necessary because of limited availability of data aggregated at the community level. Doing these hand counts resulted in use of several different time periods for different data sets; in all cases, these time periods still corresponded to pre-prison and post-prison dates.

Where appropriate and feasible, the criteria for usable data included the capacity to compile a track extending from a period prior to prison operations and through full operations, roughly 1985 through 1987. Earlier starting dates were used where data were available. Ideally, data were obtained through 1988, but this was not always possible. Other selection criteria for existing data concerned consistency in definitions used in compilation and consistency in service provision, or, at a minimum, clear accounting for any substantive service changes. As noted previously, the data also had to be able to be dis-aggregated to the community level since much larger populations elsewhere in the county made county-level data inappropriate for the project's purpose.

A number of the data sets that were intended to be collected for this research could not meet even these minimal criteria. The collection of some materials was discontinued and other data was discarded as unreliable or otherwise unusable. In some cases, unsatisfactory data sets are included with qualifications because of their importance to key project questions. All data from existing sources that are used in the project's analysis are briefly referenced below. More detailed specifics about each data set and its features are discussed where the material is referenced in the text of the report.

Controls for the influence of other factors on these data included compilation of additional data sets from nearby or comparison communities. This was not practical for all types of data, but such control data were collected for key economic and criminal justice system indicators. In other cases, the time series nature of the material itself incorporates a certain built-in control, especially for a community the size of Clallam Bay. Any significant changes not attributable to the prison had readily identifiable causes, and these were very few in number.

Economy:

Economic indicators include: State retail sales tax collections for the zip code areas encompassing Clallam Bay and Sekiu, with categories collapsed for confidentiality, and similar

data as control from Clallam County and Port Angeles; records of liquor sales from the Clallam Bay and Forks retail outlets of the Washington State Liquor Control Board; county building permits, by area; county records of housing purchases, by area; information on expenditures by the Clallam County Sheriff's Department for prison services from billing for state impact reimbursement; information on county expenditures of one-time prison impact mitigation funds from the Office of the County Commissioners;. record of CBCC payments for sewer services by the Clallam County Department of Public Works; and records of CBCC purchases of goods and services in the county, by area.

Population Related Services:

Service indicators include: records of public utility hook-ups for Clallam Bay; records of phone service connections and disconnections for Clallam Bay; information on use and new card sign-ups from the Clallam Bay branch of the library system; post office box rentals in Clallam Bay (there is no mail delivery in the community proper); and Clallam County Transit information on ridership on the bus runs to the Clallam Bay area.

Social & Health Services:

Service indicators include: State Department of Social and Health Services payments to residents of Clallam Bay and other county communities; agency reports on client caseload, by area of residence, from the county's two community mental health centers (Forks and Port Angeles); records of patient visits and revenues from the Clallam Bay medical clinic; and Forks Hospital District records of ambulance use in the Clallam Bay area.

Additional information on social and health services was obtained from a Clallam Bay needs assessment prepared in 1988 by the Clallam County Human Services Department; a survey of its employees child care needs conducted by CBCC also contributed information in this service area.

Criminal Justice System:

Indicators for this system include: caseloads from the District Court serving Clallam Bay, with all crimes with Clallam Bay locations reviewed separately; records of the county's Juvenile Diversion program, by area; and calls for service to the County Sheriff's Department, by area, the Port Angeles Police Department, and the Forks Police Department, with all areas but Clallam Bay used for controls.

Educational System:

Indicators for this system include: enrollment in the Clallam Bay Schools; a school conducted survey on adult education needs; and the annual reports of the program of education in the prison (administered by Peninsula College).

Prison:

Information specific to the prison and its operations includes: institutional records on employee numbers, positions, and residences; information on prison payroll; residences of applicants for prison jobs from the State Department of Personnel and the prison's own records; turnover statistics for corrections officers employed in state prisons, by institution, from the State Department of Corrections; Department of Corrections data on inmate characteristics, by institution; records of inmate infractions from CBCC; and information on CBCC visitors from institutional visitor logs, with comparable information collected for visitors to the Washington State Corrections Center at Shelton.

ANALYSIS

CASE STUDY DATA

One feature of interview and participant observation data is its accessibility to two levels of analysis. The first level is that analysis which takes place when the information is first collected and immediately thereafter. In addition to checks for internal consistency, consideration of the contents of interview and field notes allows the researcher to incorporate desired changes into the research process while it is ongoing. This capacity for change is one of the virtues of the case study method. Questions that come up in the course of one interview can be explored in others; insights into attitudes, behaviors, or causes can be subjected to more intensive exploration in subsequent observations.

In Clallam Bay, this process was regularly applied to all interview and field notes, with plans for the next interview or observation period generated in part through consideration of the results of those done previously. Information or attitudes obtained from one source would be checked by eliciting similar comments from others. This process both validated and enriched the field data. The quarterly reports to NIJ provided another opportunity for routine consideration of case study findings, with regular review of all field notes included in their preparation.

The second level of analysis on case study data occurs at the conclusion of some discrete phase of data collection. In this project, the field study portion was divided into three parts, corresponding to the three phases of the study identified previously - before the prison, the interim operation, and full operation. Notes from each of these periods were reviewed, with portions coded according to specific content areas. Analysis was first done on the contents of the notes as a whole, and then in terms of the specific components identified within that whole.

The coding categories used in this process were suggested by the interest areas of the research - that is, the economy, the criminal justice system, etcetera. These same categories also appeared in the notes themselves, albeit often intermingled with each other, and thus may be said to be naturally occurring

categories. What the researcher looks for in these is patterns both within and across coded areas. This process was completed for the period prior to the prison opening in early 1986; second level analysis of the other two phases was done in 1989.

It is this time consuming and rigorous analysis that distinguishes the case study method from methods which make more casual or anecdotal use of individual's comments or actions. While case study information does not lend itself to quantification (and this would be contrary to the method's assumptions and approach), it does provide data on community life and residents' attitudes available through no other method. The significance of these data lies in their exposure to this process of thoughtful analysis.

SURVEY DATA

All survey data were computerized and analyzed through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS - PC+). Computerization and the statistical capacities of SPSS allowed the data to be manipulated in a wide variety of ways. For all surveys, cross-tabulations were run by key categories. These varied with the survey's contents, but included demographic, attitudinal, and residency variables. Correlation co-efficients were applied to identify statistically significant differences. In all cases where significance is cited in the report, the correlation was at a level of .02 or better.

Differences between different administrations of the surveys were computed by direct comparison of results. The slight differences in the surveys in several cases, and the differences in samples in all cases, made more sophisticated statistical analysis beyond our capacity. In analyzing the import of any changes in frequency, the size of percentage differences was taken into account. Indicators of consistency across related areas also were taken into account.

EXISTING DATA

Existing data were handled in the same manner as survey data when data sets were large: information was computerized, cross-tabulated, and subjected to analysis of correlations where appropriate. When data sets were small, the information was simply tallied by hand, with the same analytical considerations as above.

OVERALL DATA ANALYSIS

The multiple sources used to assess prison impacts in Clallam Bay place particular demands on efforts to analyze the overall effects of the prison. Such linkage is essential for a coherent study, and this holistic analysis was guided in large part by the procedures outlined in Fielding and Fielding's Linking Data (1986). As the Fieldings argue, the point is not which type of method is "better" but rather what each can uniquely contribute to a fuller understanding of social reality. It is also the case that each method has its strengths and weaknesses; by combining methods, the researcher can better utilize each one. The end result is

"triangulation," identifying the impacts of the prison through the combined results of diverse methods of assessment.

In this project's analysis, case study, survey, and existing data were first grouped according to topical area. All information, regardless of source, was then reviewed together for each area. The aim was to identify a high degree of inter-method validity. In nearly all cases, the data were consistent across methodologies. The specifics compiled from existing data sources were substantiated and expanded on in the survey data, with case study material providing additional depth and substance for interpretation. Where data sources produced discrepant results, the case study material was used to explore possible explanations.

CHAPTER 4
THE COMMUNITY BEFORE THE PRISON

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

LOCATION

The unincorporated community of Clallam Bay is located on the northwestern side of Washington state's Olympic Peninsula. The peninsula itself is isolated from the state's population center by the presence of major water barriers, making Clallam Bay doubly remote. Figure 4 - 1 provides a map of Clallam Bay, Clallam County, and the peninsula. The entire area is economically dominated by logging and forest products, and secondarily by tourism associated with fishing, the ocean, and the mountains. Fifty-seven percent of the peninsula's land mass is either National Park or National and State Forest lands: private timber lands account for almost 1/3 of Clallam County's 1,752 square miles. The 1980 population of Clallam County was 52,900.

Clallam Bay is bounded on the north by the Strait of Juan de Fuca, separating the U.S. from Canada's Vancouver Island; to the south are low, forested hills, gradually rising to the towering mountains of the Olympics in the southeast; and to the west, just some 20 miles away, is the Pacific Ocean and the northwesternmost edge of the country.

The nearest city of any size to Clallam Bay is Port Angeles (1980 population 17,200), 50 miles east on a narrow, curvy, and frequently treacherous road. Port Angeles serves as the county seat and is the area's governmental, business, and service center. The town of Forks (1980 population 2,849) is 30 miles southwest on a somewhat better road, a portion of which serves as part of a lengthier alternative route to Port Angeles. Forks is the only incorporated west end community; it hosts the satellite offices of major governmental and social services and has a small hospital and mental health clinic. Neah Bay, an unincorporated community on the Makah Indian Reservation, lies 20 miles west of Clallam Bay, has an estimated 1,500 residents, and along with Clallam, is part of the Cape Flattery School District.

Clallam Bay is on the eastern side of the bay which gives the community its name; two miles away, on the bay's western and more sheltered side is the community of Sekiu. While the two towns have been fierce rivals in the past, and there remains some commitment to separate identities (evidenced by separate post offices), they effectively function as a single community with Clallam Bay as the commercial and service hub. In this report, the designation of "Clallam Bay" includes Sekiu, except where otherwise noted. Also included, with the same qualification, are all houses and housing clusters encompassed by the Clallam Bay Schools, an area extending over 20 square miles. This inclusion is based on participation by residents of these areas in Clallam Bay's community life, and their usual identification of themselves as Clallam Bay residents, albeit often after first stating their residence in more localized terms.

FIGURE 4 - 1
REGIONAL MAP OF CLALLAM BAY

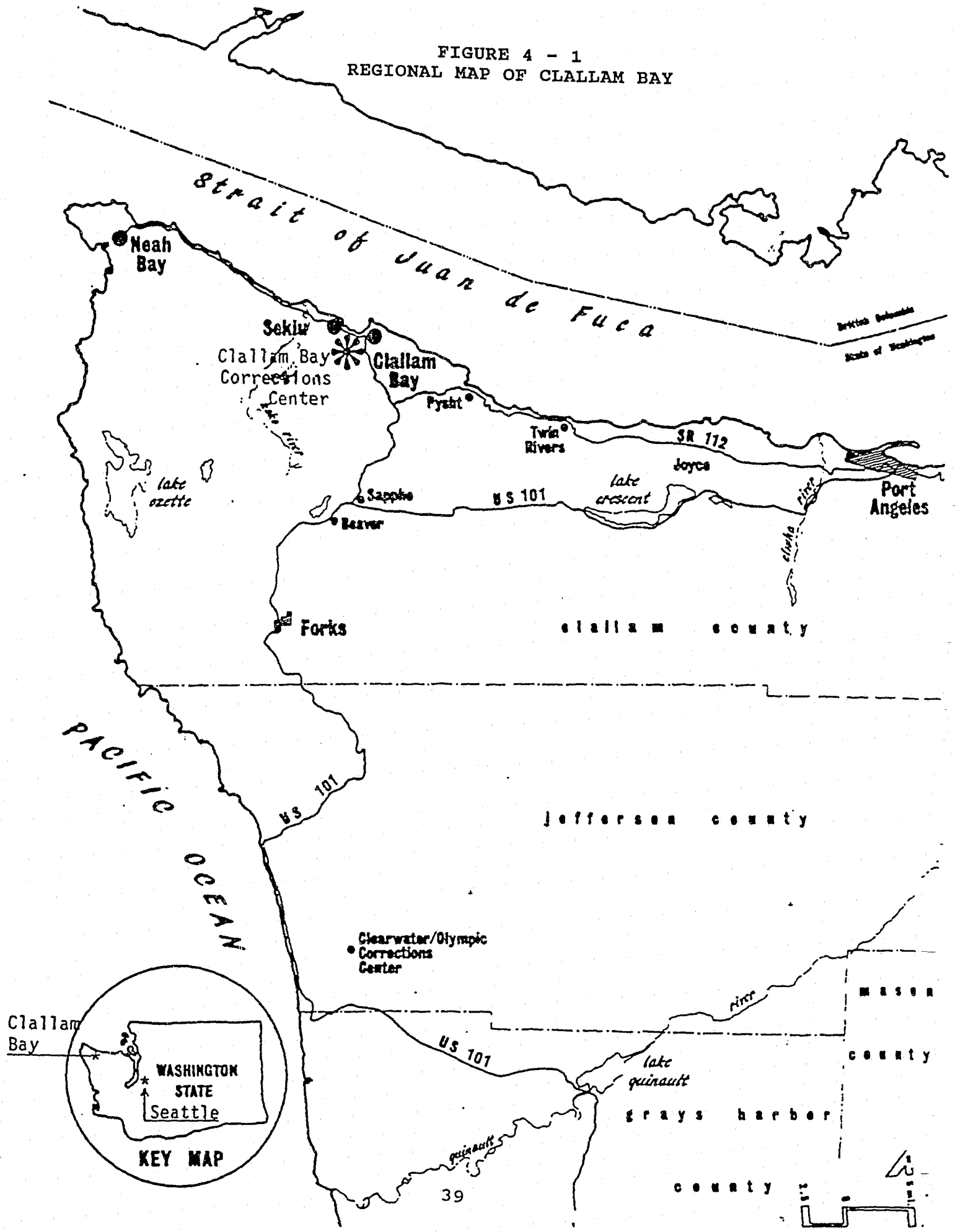


Figure 4 - 2 shows the area designated as "Clallam Bay" and its various parts.

Clallam Bay's close proximity to National Park and Forest lands and the Pacific ocean and its beaches makes it a transit point for people heading to the parks, trails, and other scenic locations beyond. Except for people who live there, Clallam Bay itself (excluding Sekiu) has been mainly a pass through to other destinations, a fact noted by one of the prison's proponents with the hope that, with the prison, "Clallam Bay will become a destination in its own right."

A BRIEF HISTORY

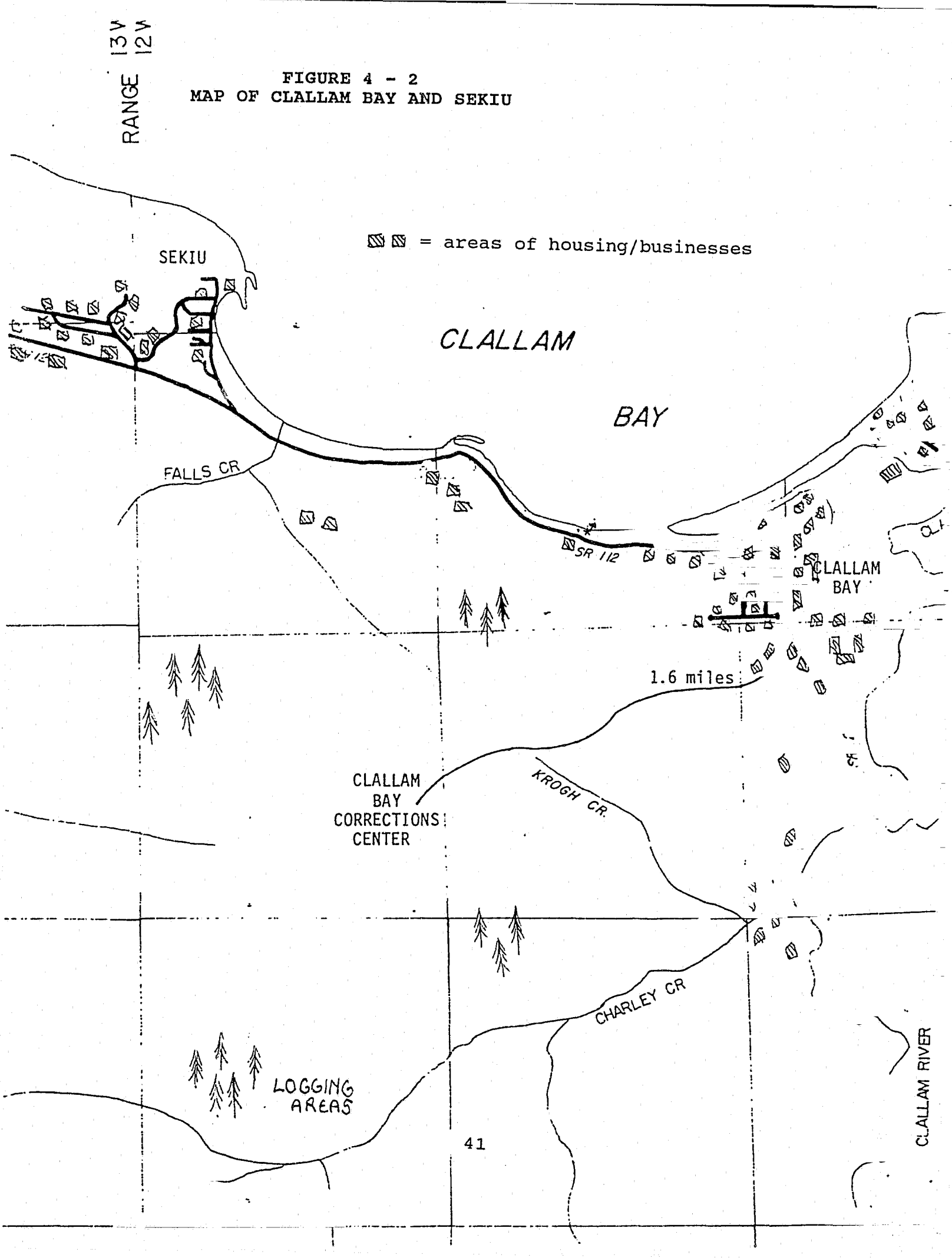
Founded in 1890 on the strengths of its fishing and timber, Clallam Bay's early history is one of cyclical growth and decline. Rapid change, both in the form of boom and of bust, is a common experience for communities in the western United States. In many such communities, periods of growth and decline have been directly related to their economic dependence on the exploitation of natural resources. As new resources are discovered, existing resources are expended, or as external markets contract and expand, these towns have grown, declined, and even disappeared. So it has been with Clallam Bay. After a number of starts and stops as commercial fishing, timber harvesting, and related manufacturing or processing industries opened and closed, the community settled into a role as a small but significant contributor to the peninsula's forest products industry.

During logging operations in the area prior to World War II, Clallam Bay provided recreational and community services to workers residing in nearby camps. With only a rudimentary road system in place for much of the region's west end, Clallam Bay also served as the area's major port for freight and supplies during this same period. The community's businesses reflected these roles: a dance hall, a hotel, and a freight dock were all located in town.

The end of the war brought community changes. The handling of freight had shifted to trucks with the advent of better roads. Most of Clallam Bay proper's business district was destroyed by fire in 1947, and while many businesses rebuilt, the focus was a little different. The rough spirits of the logging camps gradually gave way to a more stable workforce and their families.

Clallam Bay's most recent past has been one of steady and even significant growth. The community entered a period of expansion during the early 1960's with the relocation of a major timber operation to Clallam Bay by Crown Zellerbach. The activities of "Crown Zee" included construction of new houses for its employees and the community settled in to enjoy an era of ready and well-paying employment for its residents. The company's Clallam Bay operations reached their peak in the late '70's, spurred by the booming timber market of the entire area. In 1978, Clallam Bay was home for an estimated 1600 individuals. The community expressed its confidence in its future by investing in a new and larger school, medical facility, and sewage treatment system.

FIGURE 4 - 2
MAP OF CLALLAM BAY AND SEKIU



Within the next few years, a series of economic decisions and events occurring outside Clallam Bay radically changed this rosy picture. The erosion of western Washington's participation in the world timber market and a slump in new construction, combined with other factors more localized in origin, led to the decision by Crown Zellerbach to close its Clallam Bay operations in late 1979. Other smaller or subsidiary timber operations, most notably shake and shingle mills, also closed or cut back. Simultaneous problems in the sports fishing industry and tourist travel had their impacts as well. Even the eruption of Mt. St. Helens contributed to the area's economic decline by shifting much of the remaining timber harvesting to southwest Washington and recovery of timber felled by the volcano.

By 1985, Clallam Bay was a community in economic crisis. The closure of Crown Zee's Clallam Bay operations is estimated to have cost the community 300 jobs; some estimate an equivalent number were lost by the closure of other timber related concerns as well. Clallam Bay had been a one industry town in a dual sense: first there was the dominance of Crown Zellerbach as the single largest employer, and secondly there was the dominance of the logging industry itself. Clallam Bay's population had declined to 1398 for the 1980 U.S. census count, and continued to go down: 971 residents were enumerated for the project census in October, 1985.

CLALLAM BAY BEFORE THE PRISON

THE ECONOMY

Clallam Bay is arrayed on either side of state route 112, the highway that leads to and through it. The community is announced by a large and attractive sign erected by the local Lions Club: "Welcome to Clallam Bay - Vacationland." Clallam Bay's businesses either front or are immediately adjacent to the main road. In 1985, the community had no sidewalks (except in front of its only new business location) and no neatly aligned grid of shops and streets. All of the businesses were small ones, typically run and managed by their owners with none having more than a handful of regular employees. With the exception of a few summer resort operations, these owners lived in Clallam Bay year around. In the community's geographical center sat a large, vacant supermarket, its empty shelves visible through dusty windows. The market closed in 1982, a victim of the community's economic decline and a mute reminder that things were not always thus.

Logging continued to be the community's primary employment, albeit many Clallam Bay residents often traveled to Forks or further in order to find work in the timber industry. The woods also were an income source for those who worked more independently, cutting shake bolts from old logging sites or gathering ferns for sale to florists: one business extracted and packaged cedar oil and shavings for sale in urban markets and upscale catalogues.

The businesses that provided this most visible aspect of Clallam Bay's economy were only part of the total. Other, less obvious businesses - plumber, electrical repair, beauty and party

supplies, etc. - were revealed by signs outside houses and by cards or notices attached to bulletin boards and store windows. Like rural residents everywhere, the citizens of Clallam Bay are often self-employed or part-time workers at several jobs or occupational pursuits.

The Clallam Bay school is located on a slight rise just before the center of town. A reader board next to the road gives notice of coming events and proudly proclaimed: "Home of the Bruins - 1980 state B-8 football champs." With 30 employees, the school had become Clallam Bay's single largest employer. An annotated map of Clallam Bay, identifying major business and service locations, is found in Figure 4 - 3.

Tourism:

During the prime late summer salmon season, Clallam Bay would be transformed by visiting sports fishermen. Starting in March and concentrated in the period from approximately mid-July to mid-September, these visitors with their RV's and boats gave a significant boost to the local economy. Sekiu, a collection of docks and boat facilities, motel rooms, cabins, and RV spaces hugging the water's edge behind a breakwater, was the prime beneficiary of this influx. It was Sekiu, with its magnet of big fish, that was listed on the road signs leading to the Clallam Bay area.

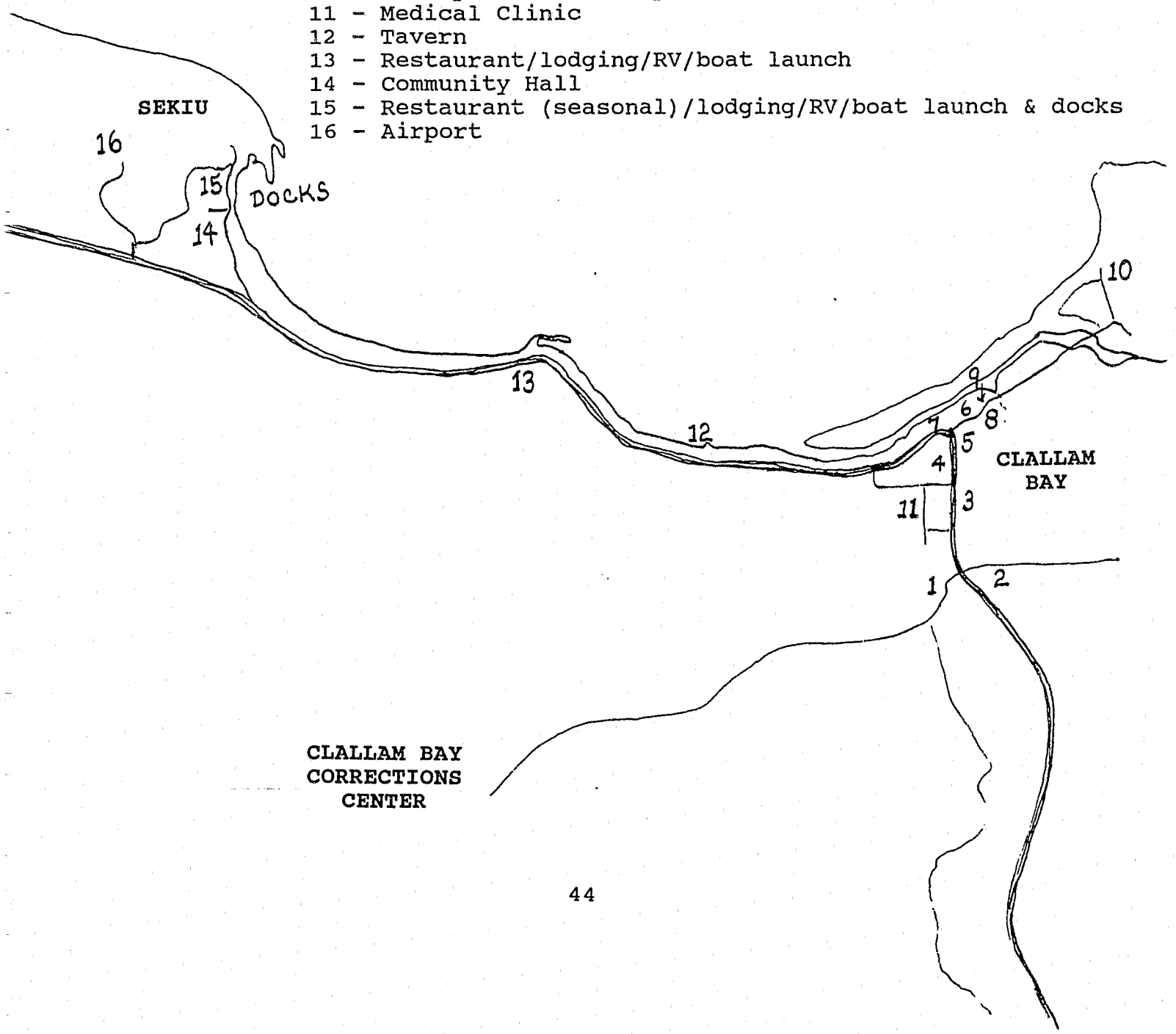
As a resort community, Sekiu offered few amenities beyond its access to fishing. It had none of those extras - golf course, swimming pools, gift shops, fine restaurants and the like - so often associated with resorts elsewhere. People came to Sekiu to fish: those who wanted to do other things went elsewhere. Sekiu pulled in its docks and closed most of its doors by the end of September. Few of its businesses were open year round. It was when the tourists are gone that Clallam Bay's claim to be <u>the</u> community is most apparent. Sekiu was almost a ghost town during the winter months.

Clallam Bay proper, without boat launching facilities, was more secondarily affected by the fishing season, good or bad. People did stay in the community's trailer court and the motel, but primarily when more desirable locations with better water access were full. For Clallam Bay, the fishing tourists had an impact on most businesses similar to that of other tourists: Clallam Bay was a place to pick up a soda or some last minute groceries, to get some gas, and perhaps to have a meal. A good fishing season meant an increase in this transient business and some spin off business from the good fortunes of those more directly affected.

The fishing and tourist season coincides with the height of logging activities. This combination made Clallam Bay a community with dramatic differences between seasons. Summer was a time of great activity and population increase; winter was a time of few jobs, little business, minimal visitors; spring and fall provided the transitions between the up and down times. The weather echoes the economy, with gray rainy days dominating the winter forecast.

FIGURE 4 - 3
ANNOTATED MAP OF CLALLAM BAY AND SEKIU:
MAJOR BUSINESSES AND SERVICES

LEGEND:
1 - Road to CBCC
2 - New apartment complex
3 - Clallam Bay Schools
4 - Supermarket/mini-mart/gas
5 - Restaurant/lodging
6 - Tavern
7 - Mini-mart/gas
8 - U.S. Post Office
9 - Public Library
10 - County Sheriff's Department sub-station
11 - Medical Clinic
12 - Tavern
13 - Restaurant/lodging/RV/boat launch
14 - Community Hall
15 - Restaurant (seasonal)/lodging/RV/boat launch & docks
16 - Airport



The community's fishing and tourism business, after declining along with timber, bounced back, and in the summer of 1985, reached what some claimed was a new high. Beneficiaries of this resurgence were limited, however, and except for resort owners, a new boom in fishing provided but a seasonal respite from the loss of the community's economic base. "Isn't this place beautiful?" asked one resident. "It has fishing and hunting and a lot of things, but you can't live here if you can't make a living. So people come and visit, but they can't afford to live here because they can't find jobs."

COMMUNITY LIFE

150 houses were clustered beside and behind Clallam Bay's businesses; another concentration of 40 homes was located to the east beyond the library and post office. Other houses were strung out along the highway or the few major side roads. The majority of these were located west of Clallam Bay. There were a few homes in Sekiu proper and most of the housing west of Sekiu had a zip code for that community. There was a small group of houses situated along a road below and closest to the site of the prison.

Most of these houses had no street addresses: Clallam Bay residents typically picked up their mail at the post office, a daily occasion for greetings and gossip. Specific house locations were characterized by description, former ownership, proximity to local landmarks, and only occasionally by street name. Housing concentrations had locally known names, seldom identified by sign posts, and several were once small communities in their own right.

Asking Clallam Bay's residents to characterize their community typically generated two kinds of responses. The most common view of the town focused on its situational characteristics: "rural" and "isolated." Indeed, that Clallam Bay is isolated is apparent to even the most casual observer. This is a place before and beyond which there are very few of civilization's offerings. This feature led one resident to describe Clallam Bay as "...a place that sort of has a fence around it. It's a natural barrier that's created by the mountains and the Strait...." He felt that some people came to Clallam Bay in fact simply because of "that isolation, that provincialism. There's a lure in the isolation...they want to escape the cares, the hustle, the whole lifestyle of other places."

For people who enjoyed and appreciated Clallam Bay, its rural character and setting was a major part of the community's appeal. Respondents to the 1986 community survey gave this feature the most significance in identifying their reasons for living in Clallam Bay: 67% said they "prefer rural lifestyle" and 64% listed "scenic beauty." (The 1986 community survey was administered six months after the prison began its interim operation. This had brought few changes to the community, a fact that was a source of much disappointment to many residents. This lack of change, however, also makes the responses useful for characterizing the community prior to prison impacts. They are used here for that purpose.)

Clallam Bay also was described in terms of the kind of place it was to live in, with phrases such as it is "warm and friendly" or "it's a marvelous place to raise children." Frequently people characterized Clallam Bay in both ways: "it's isolated, but in many ways, it's warm and friendly." Respondents to the 1986 community survey confirmed this view in their responses to a semantic differential scale on their feelings about the community: 78% felt the community was more friendly than unfriendly, 58% strongly so.

Survey respondents also were in agreement about the community's beauty: 83% found it more beautiful than ugly, 63% strongly so. Asked to select the single word from the scales that best fit their views about Clallam Bay, 82% of the survey respondents chose a word with positive meaning. The most frequently picked words were "friendly" (33%), "enjoyable" (20%), and "beautiful" (14%). The combination of beauty and friendliness seems to have been an appealing one for many residents: 81% of the 1986 community survey respondents said they were satisfied with Clallam Bay as a place to live; 78% said they would be sorry to leave the community.

Clallam Bay was a place where any stop or gathering could and usually did serve as a social outlet. Knowing people and being known were major aspects both of Clallam Bay's social life and the community's character and appeal. Residents talked about liking the community because "...you can go to the post office and know people; you can go anywhere in town and know people." The two coffee shops served as virtual clubhouses for many of the town's residents, and a stop before or after work or at some time during the day was a regular part of many individual's daily schedules. The taverns and bars similarly acted as social clubs for their regular clientele.

One person, a previous resident of several other larger communities, commented on how "Clallam Bay is like a family. It's almost an extended family...there's more connectedness here than you see in larger towns." Several people talked about the sense of safety and togetherness such a community gave them. There was felt to be an expanded network of guardians for their children, who, as one father pointed out, "...could do something in the morning and 15 people will tell you about it before lunch."

Most strongly, there was the security of knowing what others will do because you know them and have shared a multitude of other experiences with them. As one woman put it: "There might be people you don't like but at least in a town like Clallam Bay you get to know them better." She talked about how one has to be honest in Clallam Bay where everything is out in the open and "...everybody is so interrelated. You work with them, do things with them, are related to them: it's all connected."

COMMUNITY SERVICES

Recreation:

The community's remoteness was, in the words of a lifelong area resident, "...positive for people who like that kind of thing, like the out of doors, the lack of city life and negative for people who like cities and aren't interested in the outdoors." He suspected that having the negative perception was a more powerful detriment to living in Clallam Bay than the positive was an inducement. Another longtime resident came to a similar conclusion about the appeal of the area's physical beauty, finding that "...you need to want to do things associated with that beauty, outdoor things, recreation things, in order to enjoy living here."

For those who define a community's social resources in terms of commercial recreational options, Clallam Bay was sorely deficit. There was no movie theater, no skating rink, no fine restaurants, nightclubs, or big department stores. In a different vein, there also was no college, no symphony, and no community theater, and the list could go on. Looking at Clallam Bay in these terms, one can justifiably claim "there is nothing to do." For those who chose a different definition, however, as would the majority of Clallam Bay's longterm residents, the community offered a myriad of satisfying recreational options.

Principal among these were those involving outdoor resources, not surprising given the community's location. Hunting, saltwater and freshwater fishing, walks on the beach or in the woods, and simply enjoying the beauty of the sea and the forest were all readily and cheaply available and these activities were often valued more highly than those that would be found in a city or larger town. Sixty-two percent of the 1986 community survey respondents identified "outdoor recreation opportunities" as one of the reasons they lived in Clallam Bay. These opportunities were central to what made Clallam Bay, both despite and because of its isolation, a place many of its residents had deliberately selected and would be reluctant to leave.

Entertainment options other than those associated with the outdoors generally involved family and friends, and church, school,or community gatherings and activities. The school served as the community's major source and site of organized entertainment. School athletic events were attended by the entire community, as were student performances and various school-sponsored entertainments. With the only spaces large enough for a crowd, the school's cafeteria and gymnasiums also hosted public meetings and sporting events. The school in Sekiu, no longer used for students, was Clallam Bay's community hall, housing a pre-school program and meetings of organizations such as the senior citizens group.

Other opportunities for gathering were provided by the community's several churches and their various activities and associations. Like those of the school, church-sponsored events such as musical performances or special guests drew attendance well

beyond their congregations, and the church social halls were sites for parties and receptions involving the community at large. Two very social "TOPS" clubs, an art league, a Lions club, an orthopedic society (for fund raising for a Seattle children's hospital), and numerous other more transitory or specifically focused clubs rounded out the social calendar. The organizing and planning work necessary for an annual community mid-summer event - Clallam Bay/Sekiu Fun Days - was one of the most notable of these. Two taverns, two bars (a third opened in Sekiu in the summer), and a video arcade provided other sites for recreation and gathering.

The video arcade served as Clallam Bay's sole alternative for young people to the activities of school, home, or church. The school offered a wide range of opportunities for involvement, and Clallam Bay's students were more likely than their urban counterparts to be participants in school activities: the 1986 school survey found that 90% of the 5th - 12th grade students were involved in at least one school activity, with an average of three. These young people agreed with the adults that Clallam Bay was a beautiful and friendly place, but a majority also felt the community and the school were "boring." Such unfavorable perceptions generally increased with grade level.

Services:

Few of Clallam Bay's residents, including those who talked about "loving" the community and its lifestyle, did not also acknowledge its drawbacks. People living in Clallam Bay by choice, no less than those who would rather live elsewhere, experienced the disadvantages of the community's size and location. Citing the "need to go outside for everything" as the negative part of living in Clallam Bay, one resident complained how "...you're just very cut off. It 's just that you don't have a choice about whether or not you can do these things (e.g. see an attorney or doctor). They're not available to you."

People living in Clallam Bay were forced to adapt to the community's lack of what most of us would consider essential resources. Many services were simply not to be found in town but required a trip to Forks (30 miles) or Port Angeles (50 miles). There was no dentist or optometrist, no practicing attorney, no hospital. Limited medical care was available at a local medical clinic, staffed by a nurse practitioner and an R.N. An internist visited the clinic every other week, a mental health counselor weekly. There was a local pharmacy with a licensed pharmacist.

Law enforcement was provided by the county sheriff's department; the state highway patrol also had responsibility for the roads. Limited manpower and large geographical area led to both low visibility and sometimes slow response time. Complained one business owner: "There's no law enforcement, no visibility. You call the sheriff and they're in Forks, and it takes them an hour to get here if they come at all." The five sheriff's deputies assigned to Clallam County's west end, one of whom lived in Clallam Bay, were required to provide coverage for an area of several hundred square miles, over sometimes narrow and winding roads. With more people, the Forks area tended to have more calls. Under

such conditions, even emergency calls could receive a delayed response if the deputy on duty was at the wrong end of the county or involved in another equally urgent matter.

Emergency services were limited to an ambulance with a volunteer crew and a similarly staffed fire department. Clallam Bay is part of the county's "911" phone system, but the community's rural phones required a switching delay. This caused some confusion for callers, and some residents, despite accounting for the necessary switching, reported receiving no answer. Even with a connection to a dispatcher, long delays in getting the needed assistance may be inevitable, leading one resident to note: "I still hope nothing serious happens."

Transportation services were provided by the county bus system several times daily to both Forks and Port Angeles. The fare was 50 cents. A small local branch of the county library system was open two afternoons a week. Sewer services also were provided through the county. As a consequence of several decisions that seemed reasonable at the time, Clallam Bay had a sewer system built to support the expected population growth of the late 1970's. In addition to the higher rates such a too large system entailed, its quality and design continued to be the subject of community dissatisfaction and repeated community/county debate. It was, according to one person, "a very expensive system supported by very few users, and it still doesn't work right."

Some residents felt that the county was less than fair in the allocation of resources to their needs, one remarking that "Clallam County has done a miserable job of providing services to this area." Many residents perceived a lack of concern for the burden imposed by the high sewer rates, and inaction in improvements necessary for the system's adequate functioning. Law enforcement, emergency response, transit, road repairs, requirements for jury duty and other aspects of county bureaucratic functions came in for their share of criticism as well. As characterized by one individual, Clallam Bay residents were "People who are used to getting the short end of the stick."

Arguing that they paid the same taxes but received less, residents of Clallam Bay nonetheless did not expect the county to come to their aid. For some, this expectation produced complaints and a sense of powerlessness and neglect. For others, however, it was the price one paid for living in a rural area: "If I had a problem where I needed police assistance, I simply wouldn't expect to see anyone right away...I accept that. It's part of the trade off." And a few individuals found law enforcement's low visibility very much to their liking, a situation in accord with their desire for independence and autonomy. "People here have learned to be like boy scouts," joked one resident. "They have learned to be prepared."

Residents rated the quality of services available in Clallam Bay in the 1986 community survey. Their negative attitudes towards county government were quite apparent in these ratings: 86% evaluated it as poor (41%) or fair. Residents saved their greatest dissatisfaction for their town's provision of activities for youth,

suggesting that the attitudes of young people were well known to adults: 64% thought Clallam Bay's provision of activities for youth was poor, 25% fair. Out of 16 services, only the schools, the library, public transportation, and general health care (the medical clinic) were rated as good or excellent by a majority of respondents. Activities for youth also was the service rated as most in need of improvement, road maintenance ranked second, and law enforcement improvements ranked third.

Shopping:

The ability to purchase goods in Clallam Bay was as restricted as the availability of services. Shopping, as Clallam Bay's few and small stores attest, was limited both in number of alternatives and in selection. A hardware/supply store stocked necessities for home repair and making do, including some cookware, dry goods, and casual clothing: its small size allowed it to offer little variety, however, and the same can be said of the community's auto parts store and, other than for prescriptions, the pharmacy. Many items, such as lumber, were simply unavailable for purchase in Clallam Bay. With the closure of the supermarket in 1982, the purchase of groceries was added to the items people generally needed to buy or do elsewhere. Two mini-marts afforded a source of milk, soda, and other staple items, but selection and cost were identified as problems in using them for routine purchases.

The lack of a grocery store not only made living in Clallam Bay more difficult, it also affected the well being of the community's other businesses. A local businessman explained how, if there were a grocery store in town, more people would stay in town to do their shopping and it would generate more business for him. He saw "...a direct and definite relationship between people being able to shop locally and not making that weekly trip to Forks or Port Angeles where they do all their other shopping as well."

It was Port Angeles, despite its greater distance, which received the largest share of Clallam Bay's out of town shopping and service business. Traveling 50 miles for one thing, such as a doctor's appointment or to buy groceries, made it easier to also do other things during the same trip. The majority of the respondents to the 1986 community survey reported staying in Clallam Bay for their banking, library needs, gasoline purchases, and prescriptions; for other goods and services more typically traveled to Port Angeles; at best, their business was split between that city and Clallam Bay.

Forks, closer than Port Angeles by some 20 miles, was important only for the purchase of groceries, and even with these, residents were more likely to go to Port Angeles. This preference was noted even for medical services, despite the presence of a hospital in Forks and Clallam Bay's inclusion in the Forks Hospital District. Even Seattle was sometimes used for medical services, an option selected by 17% of the survey respondents for hospitalization and 11% for physician services. One individual described this in terms of a hierarchy of medical care: "If nothing's wrong with you, you'd go to Clallam Bay or Forks; if

there's something kind of wrong, you'd go to Port Angeles; and if there's something really wrong with you, you'd want to go to Seattle."

That residents were not satisfied with their need to travel was evidenced by their responses to a 1986 community survey question asking them to select a preference for new or expanded businesses or services in Clallam Bay. Given a list of 13 frequently mentioned "wants," respondents overwhelmingly chose a grocery store (80%) and a full-time physician (75%); 57% also identified "services for youth " as a desirable addition to Clallam Bay. These also were ranked first, second, and third in terms of their priority. One respondent explained this ranking thusly: "A grocery store will help keep residents in town and will help other area businesses. A physician is badly needed for health care and the security of the residents. The kids don't have enough to do, which results in the possibility of getting into trouble."

Leadership and Structure:

Despite its clear geographical center, the relative homogeneity of its population, and the ties and commitment many residents felt to Clallam Bay, the Clallam Bay community was not in itself a very functional entity. In large part, this was the product of its lack of formal political status: although Clallam Bay was a "town" to its residents, it was not incorporated as such and had no governmental structure of its own. The county commissioners served as its only official leaders.

Some informal leadership rights accrued to certain ascribed roles. Thus, individuals in these positions - businessman, minister, school administrator, and the like - had a certain status that extended beyond their immediate constituencies. Longterm residents, especially those whose families homesteaded or were early settlers in the area, also held a certain status. When such persons spoke of the "community" and its interests, they were seen to have a stronger claim to the spokesperson role than more recent arrivals. Of these potential leaders, the community's business people tended to be given and to exercise this leadership role most frequently.

Achieved leadership on any scale was limited to that held by members of the school board from the Clallam Bay area. This authority, confined as it was to school matters, was not very broad. Still, as Clallam Bay's only elected governing body over public affairs, the school board in some ways became the town's leadership focus, even when, according to one resident, "the business leaders aren't on it."

In Clallam Bay, except in the case of specific school or organizational affairs, no individual or group of individuals could speak for the community as a whole with complete legitimacy. While generalized leadership roles had tended to fall to those who were willing to assume them, such persons did not hold real leadership status because there was no such status for them to fill. Under these informal conditions, the purported leader was effective only so long as his or her followers were willing to allow it.

Clallam Bay residents tended not to come together for coherent action, one observed, "unless there is a crisis." People in Clallam Bay "avoid dealing with things," claimed another resident, adding that "the only time you get unity is when there's an outside threat." For some the prison was such a threat, and formal structures were established during the siting process for both opponents and proponents. Although their leaders were still recognized as such, and although residents continued to identify themselves and others in terms of their pro or con positions during that time, as functioning groups these organizations had effectively disappeared with the construction of the prison.

The majority of Clallam Bay's services therefore came to it through the county, where it was, in effect, just one of several unincorporated areas. Clallam Bay was represented in county affairs by individuals who had obligations, and typically stronger ties, to other west end communities. Most meetings were held in Port Angeles, and Clallam Bay residents seldom took or had the time to become actively involved in any of the advisory roles available to them because of the distance and its demands. Other services, such as the medical clinic and the ambulance service, were governed out of Forks. In all these, Clallam Bay's residents and their needs were but a minority, a situation that contributed and added a certain accuracy to residents' sense of being underserved and unconsidered.

Some residents of Clallam Bay had considered the potential of incorporation in order to free themselves from this dependence, but were stymied by questions of economics. The community's population may be too small to financially support local services, even at their modest level in 1985. A question about support for Clallam Bay incorporation received mixed responses in the 1986 community survey: 33% were positive or somewhat positive to incorporation; 36% were neutral; and 31% were negative or somewhat negative. Another potential solution that had been discussed was the formation of a separate county out of the west end: this too had been slowed if not stopped by questions of fiscal feasibility.

THE PEOPLE

Characteristics:

Asking residents to characterize the people of Clallam Bay elicited descriptions that would have fit equally well when the community was still part of the western frontier: individuals saw themselves and their neighbors as having the attributes of pioneers. Clallam Bay has a lot of "rugged individualists," observed one man, expanding to describe these persons as "self reliant," able to "...do what needs to be done without any frills, to make it despite everything, and to make it without the kind of benefits people in larger towns are used to." This is, he concluded, a "survivalist mentality."

Another person focused on residents' quality of "independence," asserting that one has to be independent to live in Clallam Bay, that "living in a rural, isolated community, there's

no other way to be." She echoed the comments of the man quoted above, describing the residents of Clallam Bay as "people who are not afraid of doing without the city stuff." This attitude underlies the answer of one 1986 community survey respondent to the question about Clallam Bay's needs. None were marked, accompanied by the following explanation: "If people want or need 'expanded services,' perhaps they shouldn't live in the country. Many people have moved away from areas with lots of conveniences to live in areas like Clallam Bay."

To some extent, these qualities had been demanded by the events of recent years. Without the jobs provided by the timber company, people had been forced to rely more on their own resources. They had taken on several different part-time jobs or skills; they commuted long distances and took lesser jobs in order to make a living. As business owners, they did the tasks previously done by employees; they utilized the resources of forest and sea to supplement their diet and sometimes their income. People who were unable or unwilling to do these things no longer lived in Clallam Bay. In the words of one such survivor, "The people here are place oriented, otherwise they would have left."

The decline in residents that the community experienced after Crown Zee left was not evenly distributed across all segments of the population. One observer explained that what the community had left was "retirees," that "the people who stayed here are the ones who didn't have to work." He noted that there were very few "...younger people: most of the people who are in their productive years left because they had to in order to find jobs." In his view, "The only ones like them that stayed are people who had obligations - businesses, houses, things they couldn't get rid of." Personal commitments also influenced who stayed in Clallam Bay. One such individual, a Clallam Bay native who lost his steady work in the timber industry, said he thought about leaving Clallam Bay to find work, "...but it didn't make economic sense." He owned a house, had low payments, and "...I like the town and want to stay here."

Demographics:

These characteristics fit those of the 1986 community survey population. The majority of the 237 respondents were employed: 44% full time, 17% part time; 37% of their spouses were employed full time, 19% part time. The usual occupation of the households' principal wage earners fell within seven categories: 34% were in labor or craft occupations, 20% in logging, 15% professional (a category including teachers and other positions requiring a college degree), 14% business owners or operators, 9% in service or clerical occupations, 5% government employees, and 3% (6 persons) worked at the prison. The total yearly household income reported by 61% of the respondents was under $25,000. Nearly three-quarters of the survey respondents were married, and three-quarters owned their own home. They had lived in Clallam Bay for an average of 21 years; half had been residents of the community for 15 years or more.

The October 1985 census of Clallam Bay gives further information about who had left Clallam Bay since 1980. The nearly 30% decline in the community's population in the five year period since the 1980 U.S. census - from 1398 to 971 - affected the population unevenly. The age distribution of the 1985 population of Clallam Bay was atypical for the county as a whole and for other communities in the county's west end.

Losses among the school-aged population were apparent in the changes in the enrollment in Clallam Bay's schools: enrollments had declined by almost 50% since the peak of the logging period in 1978. The proportion of persons aged 14 -18, those who would be in high school, was only 38% of what it was in 1980: a drop from 141 individuals to 56. The same decline was evident in the group aged 19 -24, a drop from 162 individuals in this age range to 61.

Clallam Bay's 1985 population is best described as being dominated by people who are middle aged: 44% were between 30 to 59 years old. County-wide, the percentage of the population in this age range was only 34%. Further, the proportion of individuals who fell within this age range was higher than that of the county as a whole for each five-year increment. Persons in this age group are those most likely to have made some sort of investment in the community that could not be readily recouped when the economy was poor. They would be the business owners and the property owners, people who had established enough equity in their homes or who had sufficient loan obligations to make walking away or taking a loss not feasible.

Compared to the majority of the county, an area known to attract retirees, Clallam Bay's 1985 population did not include a disproportionate number of older persons. With 10.7% of its population aged 65 and older, however, the percentage in this age group was higher than that for Forks, another west end community (1980: 4%). Clallam Bay's 1985 population included a greater proportion of the population aged 65 or more than in 1980, and this was the only age range in which the community's population had not declined.

To many, what Clallam Bay had lost was the majority of its middle class, described by one woman as "...most of the educated people in the community, the managers, the people who were really the doers and the leaders and were interested in helping." Another woman described the people who worked for Crown Zellerbach as "...good, serious, hardworking men, caring for the community." She lamented that most of these people, "the valuable people," were gone because the infrastructure of logging was gone. Such individuals were characterized by a third person as "civically involved people without vested interests."

GETTING THE PRISON

SITE SELECTION

So how did a correctional center come to be located in this tiny and remote community, a place characterized by one resident (and many others) as "a hell of a place to put a prison."

Residents and outside observers offer a variety of explanations, each of which was probably a contributor to the siting decision.

Of most significance, Clallam Bay got a prison because some of its residents identified a corrections center as a viable local industry and approached the Department of Corrections with the offer of their community for a prison site. Without this approach, it is unlikely that Clallam Bay would even have been considered: other Washington medium security institutions are located in communities which are larger and in closer proximity to other towns and services. While Clallam Bay appears to be not atypical for prison locales nationally, in this state, it is exceptionally small and isolated.

At the time Clallam Bay sought a prison, however, state Department of Corrections officials were experiencing the public outcry that usually accompanies prison siting in more populous areas. It was this uproar, presented in a news program, that purportedly gave Clallam Bay businessmen the idea to seek a prison in the first place. They presented their community as a place that wanted and welcomed a corrections center, an image that must have been very appealing to beleaguered state officials. When it was time to build the state's next 500 bed medium security prison, Clallam Bay was first on the list of potential sites. This alone took some adjustments in the selection criteria regarding proximity to a population center. These were modified to require a city of at least 10,000 within 50 miles of the site: by the shortest route, the Clallam Bay Corrections Center is 49 miles from Port Angeles.

For Clallam Bay's prison proponents, the corrections center seemed the best available option to save the community. The industry was not unknown to the community: from 1956 to 1969, Clallam Bay was home for a small honor camp (inmate population 64). Generally, the camp and its employees were well accepted by the town, and its jobs were a pleasant addition to the predominant businesses of logging and seasonal fishing.

Clallam Bay's past of short-lived industries and population exoduses did not appear to buffer it against the leaving of Crown Zellerbach. The consequent erosion of the community's employment prospects struck many residents as the town's death knell. Said a local resident: "I was seeing the town going down, dying. People's children had to leave because there were no jobs here." One man talked about how you could see the town just "disintegrating...we just had to have something to keep the town alive. It was losing so much of the population that there wasn't enough left to keep what was alive still going."

By 1985, many people had moved away and it seemed like many others who did not were held only by the suddenly worthless investments they had made in houses or businesses. Virtually everything in town was for sale, but no one was buying. And the local school, that symbol of community for rural towns everywhere, had suffered such a reduction in enrollment that questions of closure were being raised. The lack of jobs threatened not only individual economic well-being but the basis of the entire

community. Said one resident: "This town was dead. It was so depressing."

PRISON PROPONENTS VERSUS PRISON OPPONENTS

To say that Clallam Bay as a community wanted the correctional center implies a more positive emotion than was felt by even the facility's most ardent supporters. Recalled one: "We needed something, something had to be done. It's just too bad the something was a prison." Another concluded: "The prison isn't necessarily the best kind of business, but it's the one we had." It was not that residents wanted the prison; it was that they did not want the alternative, and they were prepared to accept the prison as way of avoiding this.

An advocate for the prison siting identified it as "...the only type of thing a community this far out is going to get." In his analysis, a place like Clallam Bay can say "we want this," where communities that have the capacity to attract another type of industry can be more selective. He calls this a "competitive advantage for Clallam Bay," an advantage because there is no competition. Although many did, and still do, argue that Clallam Bay could have found some alternative source of jobs, the options they mention - destination resort, winter tourism, new wood products - had no visible takers. The prison was there and ready to come to Clallam Bay.

With qualifications expressed even by prison supporters, it is not surprising that siting the prison in Clallam Bay generated a substantial opposition. The public meetings held during the environmental impact assessment process were heated and divisive, splitting the community into two parts. News accounts illustrate the community's division: "Clallam Bay torn by plan for prison" headlined the March 20, 1983 Seattle Post Intelligencer. The paper reported that "Boycotts have been organized, neighbor has turned against neighbor, and angry words have been said that cannot be unsaid."

Despite their differences, opponents and proponents of the prison generally were in agreement about the community's need to "do something." The town's decline was evident, and undesirable to all but a very few. The major point of conflict was not the need for jobs and economic improvement; it was about whether the prison would produce these, and, whether or not it would bring other, unwanted changes as well.

Opponents objected to the prison siting primarily because they believed the prison would qualitatively change Clallam Bay. The changes these people objected to had less to do with prisoners and escape risks or negative effects on the local economy than with their own values and lifestyle. The prison was seen as "inappropriate" for Clallam Bay. Wrote one person in response to the draft environmental impact statement: "People live here because of the remoteness and relative freedom from bureaucracy and the outdoor activity that goes with a wild area. A prison right in the middle of us destroys that."

Prison opponents included a number of families that had come to Clallam Bay to get away from civilization, as it were, but these were not the only objectors: opposition also was voiced by business people, teachers, long term residents - the same mixture of people that made up the prison supporters. The 1986 community survey found a significant correlation between expectations of negative prison effects and residence in Clallam Bay for its rural character and lifestyle. Opponents of the prison were concerned that what they cared for and found desirable about Clallam Bay as a place to live and raise their families would be lost with a prison.

In the perspective of opponents, the consequences they believed the prison would have mattered more than any benefits they might see from its development. The potential effects of service demands, population changes, and an altered, less secure lifestyle were seen separately and together as detrimental to the community's present character. As one man testified at the siting hearings: "The massive impact on our small population can easily make Clallam Bay not a town with a prison but a prison with a town. The institution will envelop and dwarf us."

It is unclear to what extent Clallam Bay residents actually did support or oppose the prison being located in their community. Purported "polls" taken during the period were unscientific and unavailable; accounts of their results seemed contingent on the presenter's attitudes, producing a kind of dueling statistics. Supporters discounted the numbers, civic status and motives of the opposition; those who were opposed granted similar attributes to supporters; all remembered the harsh rhetoric of the public meetings.

Evidence of the town's division continued to be readily apparent in 1985, more than 3 years and a 50 million dollar building project later. A boycott of the business owned by one of the prison's most prominent advocates persisted, surviving through the closure of the store that was the original target. Residents still prefaced their commentary about others in the community in terms of their support for or opposition to the prison: few persons were seen or saw themselves as neutral.

Eighty-five percent of the respondents to the 1986 community survey lived in Clallam Bay during the siting process: 33% claimed they were very or somewhat supportive of the prison at that time; 17% maintained neutrality; and 50% reported themselves to have been very or somewhat opposed. This is probably an indication of a negative skew in the survey respondents rather than a reflection of overall community attitudes. While opposition was certainly widespread, in retrospect, most opponents acknowledge they were outnumbered by supporters.

Many survey respondents (64%) felt the community really did not have a choice in whether or not the prison came to Clallam Bay, the decision having been made before the apparent "site selection" process occurred. Given the outcome of this process, it is not surprising to find that persons opposed to the prison were

significantly more likely than supporters to see themselves as powerless. One such individual added this comment:

> A poll of registered voters showed an approximately 60-40% split in favor of building here. I believe that even if the vote had been 60-40 against building, the 'Corrections Center' would have been placed here anyway because of the time and energy and bucks of a few vocal locals who were used by 'the state' which was in 'need' of a location and followed the path of least resistance.

For those who supported the prison, or those who accepted it as the town's only option, the prison effects that concerned opponents were viewed as improbable or, as less significant than the kinds of negative changes the town was already experiencing. With little factual information on which to formulate what might have been more realistic expectations, the majority of residents tended to act in accord with their hopes for the community, and thus became supporters to one degree or another.

An individual who is a self-described "outsider" in Clallam Bay, although a resident for some years, offered this analysis of why the community largely supported the prison. She felt that prison proponents were pushing for an "ideal," and "didn't want to listen to any of the negatives." In her view "they just wanted to believe" that the prison would bring money into town, that everyone would have jobs, and whatever their skills, the prison would provide them with a livelihood. That it might also provide them with a set of unwanted consequences was "something they wouldn't listen to." She could understand: "People were scared. They were afraid that the town was dying."

What the residents of Clallam Bay expected the prison to bring to themselves and their community was tied to their reasons for wanting or not wanting the prison: these became their hopes or their fears. The ambivalence that characterized attitudes during the siting process also was part of people's expectations, and most Clallam Bay residents approached the beginning of prison operations with a mixture of dreams and nightmares.

EXPECTED PRISON BENEFITS

Residents' positive prison expectations derived from their sense of what the town had lost. The timber industry pullouts had brought two major community changes: first, the lost job opportunities and their importance for individual employment and for the overall community economy through the purchasing power of employees; secondly, the population exodus that followed the logging pullout and its consequences for the school, businesses, and community life. New jobs and new people were the essence of community hopes about the prison.

Some residents were planning to apply for prison jobs themselves, but most employment related expectations concerned not jobs for oneself or one's family members but for others. Some such "others" were local residents, and everyone knew someone who was at least thinking of working at the prison. The prison also was expected to provide jobs for new residents, some returnees, coming

back now that there was employment, and others newcomers. As one supporter pointed out, a lot of the people who were for the prison were not really interested in working there but were "...interested in benefitting from what it brings in the way of employment and more employed people." He acknowledged as well "...a number who supported the prison because it gave them an opportunity to move away. Their only chance to sell and get out would be to get something new in."

Residents wanted to see the prison bring back the numbers and the characteristics of the community's population during the best of the logging years. One man talked about how he expected there to be "a lot more families in town; more younger, productive people; the people who left when Crown Zee did." In the same vein, another resident cited the potential of "more professional people" coming to Clallam Bay, the kind who get involved in community affairs. Referencing the old honor camp as a harbinger, one resident recalled how during its tenure, "our community was greatly strengthened" by the addition of new people to the Lions club, the churches, the schools, "the kind of people we wanted."

The community's new residents were expected to be assets in other ways as well. "It's going to bring in people who work," explained one woman, "and who have insurance, and can pay for services. People who come here because of the prison will be people who are employed and can contribute to the town economically." Another resident cited growth in the school, and how "that will mean more opportunities for kids." Yet another talked about changes in housing, with the potential for apartments and new building; law enforcement services will be expanded, believes one more - "Anything will be an improvement."

The town's two churches with resident ministers had been subsidized by their denominations. They were anticipating new members, individuals and families who would help share the workload of current members and give financial solvency to the congregations. They also saw the prison's inmates and their visitors as presenting opportunities for Christian volunteerism and service. Other organizations looked forward to increasing their memberships as well, and the community's volunteer services, especially the ambulance corps, were expecting new residents to ease the workload of the few local volunteers.

Business growth was perhaps the dominant topic of discussion and hope. The reopening of the grocery store was greatly desired: its closure signaled Clallam Bay's economic depression; its reopening would not only return shopping convenience, it also would symbolize community vitality and viability. In their wish lists, residents wondered if perhaps a department or clothing store, an office building, a skating rink or bowling alley might not also follow. Perhaps a local physician could be supported by the larger population, an addition that like the grocery store, would make Clallam Bay a more complete and comfortable community. Sekiu business owners pondered the potential of staying open through the winter to serve the prison visitors.

EXPECTED PRISON DEFICITS

Turn these hopes around and they become the potential negatives residents feared and prison opponents predicted. Clallam Bay had been a place of familiar faces, a place where everyone knew everyone else: any significant number of newcomers would be bound to change this. "Clallam Bay can handle a few families, but it's a small town," said one woman. Describing the advantages of knowing people she concluded "...it's very different with strangers."

Some people were concerned that these strangers may not just be prison employees and their families, but those of prisoners as well, creating worries about "the element that will come with the prison." There was worry that with such "undesirables," houses and cars might need to be watched and locked, welfare and social service needs might overwhelm local resources, and the use and sales of drugs might increase. One person related how a friend, trying to reassure her, told of his experiences in an Idaho prison town where all the prisoners' relatives lived on a single street, and thus were easy to avoid. "But Clallam Bay only <u>has</u> one street," she said, "so if anybody comes, they'll be very visible." Nor did the character of prison employees go unquestioned. "It's a known fact that guards and their families are lower class, do drugs, are more trouble," stated the teenaged child of one opponent. "It'll just get heavy - they're heavy people."

Service providers to the community also worried about such issues. The limited availability of services led to questions about response capacity if there were any increase in service demands. With people moving to Clallam Bay from more urban and better served areas, some providers expected more problems with alcoholism, family disruption and violence, juvenile delinquency, and the like - stress reactions from people who "just can't handle the isolation."

ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS

The 1986 community survey presented residents with a list of 15 possible prison effects drawn from expectations stated in interviews and during siting. Eight of these potential effects were positive and 7 were negative. Respondents checked all of those they expected to occur as a result of the prison operating in Clallam Bay. While the timing of the survey meant that residents had had a few months experience with the prison's interim operation, their responses do support the expectations collected through earlier interviews. Survey responses are shown in Table 4 - 1.

Not surprisingly, those who identified themselves as prison opponents were significantly more likely to expect negative prison effects and not to anticipate positive ones than proponents. Nonetheless, the two effects expected by the majority of all respondents, whatever their attitude, concerned increased needs for law enforcement and social services: 70% of the survey's respondents expected the prison to bring more demands on law

TABLE 4 - 1
RESIDENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF PRISON IMPACTS
ON CLALLAM BAY

EXPECTED PRISON IMPACTS	%	(N)
MORE DEMANDS ON LAW ENFORCEMENT	70	(165)
MORE DEMANDS ON SOCIAL SERVICES	61	(145)
MANY NEW RESIDENTS IN CLALLAM BAY	50	(118)
MORE DRUGS AND DRUG USERS	46	(109)
INCREASED CRIME	45	(106)
NEW BUSINESSES IN CLALLAM BAY	43	(101)
MORE JOBS IN THE COMMUNITY	42	(99)
AN IMPROVED COMMUNITY ECONOMY	41	(96)
A NEGATIVE COMMUNITY IMAGE	39	(92)
RISKS FROM ESCAPED PRISONERS	38	(89)
A LESS DESIRABLE LIFESTYLE	33	(79)
JOBS AT THE PRISON FOR CURRENT RESIDENTS	33	(78)
A REVITALIZED COMMUNITY	32	(75)
INCREASED PROFESSIONAL/"MIDDLE CLASS" POPULATION	30	(72)
IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SCHOOL	27	(65)

TOTAL N = 237

Source: 1986 Clallam Bay Community Survey

enforcement; 61% expected more demands on social services; and 50% expected many new residents in Clallam Bay.

Few Clallam Bay residents expected these new residents to include many prisoners' families, and could not "imagine the town filling up with just awful people." While acknowledging that some inmate families might move to the area, Clallam Bay was viewed as an unlikely residence choice among alternatives such as Forks and Port Angeles. The principal concern of most residents was not that the wrong people or unknown people would move in, but that no one would move to Clallam Bay at all. Clallam Bay citizens were aware of their community's weaknesses: Forks and Port Angeles, by having more of what Clallam Bay lacked, took on the status of competitors for the potentially scarce resources brought by the prison. Forks, a traditional rival also adversely affected by recent economic events, was viewed as particularly threatening.

Suggestions that the distance and time needed for commuting and that the quality of the roads would discourage people from living elsewhere were eagerly seized upon. Residents reminded each other of Clallam Bay's friendliness and "people" advantages, attesting to these as draws for new residents. They knew that without new residents, their expectations for an improved and enriched and economically viable community were unlikely to be realized. "Some of those 306 jobs will be held by people who live in Clallam Bay," insisted one man, but then acknowledged that not all of them would "because Clallam Bay is a hard place to live." One resident concluded: "People won't live in Clallam Bay. What is there here? There's nothing." For many Clallam Bay residents, the likelihood of few or negligible effects from the prison were perhaps the most negative prison impact expectations of all.

CHAPTER 5
CONSTRUCTION & THE INTERIM OPERATION

Following the siting decision there are typically two phases of impact associated with the opening of a new prison. First, there is the period when the facility is under construction. Depending on the requirements of building and the timing of different stages, the construction period may have considerable impact on the local community. This was the case in the energy boom towns of the mountain west and it was during construction of these projects that population, social service needs, and crime rates purportedly increased dramatically. Whatever the extent of impacts from construction, however, their impetus will be temporary, ending with the completion of the project. In situations where construction impacts have been particularly large, the conclusion of the building period may even produce a bust for the local community as the associated population and its economic contributions leave town (Smith, Hogg & Reagan 1971).

After this period of transitional impacts comes the operation of the institution itself. It is the impacts of this phase which are expected to have long term and far reaching consequences for the host community. A new facility can gradually phase up to full operations, thereby extending the brunt of some effects over a period of time and possible delaying others; or it can nearly immediately move to fully operational capacity. The end result is what impact assessments are trying to predict.

The Clallam Bay community experienced yet another stage between these usual two during the time the institution served as a minimum security facility. This period, labeled as the "interim operation," lasted for 13 months, from January 1986 to February 1987. During it the facility housed a maximum of 99 inmates in minimum custody status. Work crews comprised of these inmates did various jobs in and around the facility: some helped run the institution by serving in the kitchen, laundry, etc.; others did less traditional inmate labor and completed installation of cell furnishings throughout the institution and landscaped and cleared its grounds.

This stage had some similarities to the construction phase in its impermanence. The operation of CBCC as a minimum security institution was known to all but the most pessimistic observers as a temporary situation. The facility was not designed to house minimum security prisoners and was clearly ill-suited for doing so. Further, institutional operations continued to be geared towards implementation of the medium security facility throughout its tenure.

CONSTRUCTION

Prison construction began in 1983; it was largely completed by the start of research in August of 1985. Information on the effects of construction was collected through retrospective interviews with residents and from responses to questions on the

1986 survey about that period. A representative of the contractor was interviewed over the phone about the construction workforce.

The firm contracted to construct the prison was a major Seattle builder, employing union laborers. The schedule followed for construction was such that the work was staggered according to various specific building tasks, thereby reducing the size of the workforce required on site at any one time. The weather cooperated with this schedule: the winter of 1984 was unusually mild and dry, allowing construction to proceed at a measured rate, without major seasonal fluctuations. Except for tasks requiring specialized skills not available locally and requiring the temporary relocation of workers from more urban areas, the majority of the labor force commuted from Port Angeles and other peninsula communities. Few Clallam Bay residents worked on the prison's construction.

Because most workers came from within commuting distance, there was no need or reason to move closer to the building site. One resident expressed her surprise at "how few construction workers actually stayed in Clallam Bay and had children and sent them to school here." Of the few new residents, many were younger, single men without families, and those with families commuted home on weekends. According to another resident, when wives of workers did move to Clallam Bay, "they stayed here for a few months and then they couldn't stand it anymore and went back to Renton or Seattle...they couldn't tolerate the isolation." Those who did live in town, observed a female resident, "never really became part of the community."

With so few workers actually living in Clallam Bay, their contributions to the community's economy were not evenly distributed across local businesses. "The taverns boomed," observed one man, citing how when shifts were over, the vehicles would appear outside the taverns and people would joke, "the prison workers are off." A tavern owner confirms that the construction workers spent a lot of money drinking, noting that "It made all the difference in our business." Workers also patronized the local restaurants, and purchases of occasional supplies needed on the site helped the hardware store: "We'll miss that," acknowledged its owner.

Overall, the effects of the prison's construction on local businesses were modest but nonetheless significant. "The construction workers saved us," said one business owner, "It was their business that got us through last year. Without them, it would have been pretty disastrous." The words of another business person indicate the importance of this business: "I'm not making money yet but I'm not losing it anymore. We would have been boarded up if the prison hadn't come and brought even the business it has so far."

The same features of the construction phase which meant that its building had little positive effect on Clallam Bay also made for few negatives. None of the "boomtown" effects associated with major construction efforts in other rural areas seem to have occurred, nor apparently did any of the other negative effects posited for this phase in the environmental impact statement. Some

residents maintained there was an increase in drugs and their use in the community, but if this was the case, it resulted in no documented upsurge in either requests for drug treatment or demands on law enforcement. There were no new mobile home or trailer parks, no overcrowded conditions in the schools or other local services, and no major problems associated with the few new residents.

RESIDENT ATTITUDES

Ninety percent of the 237 respondents to the 1986 community survey lived in Clallam Bay when the prison was being built. These individuals were asked to evaluate the effects of the construction on the community: 14% rated the impacts of prison construction as very beneficial; 45% as somewhat beneficial; 18% as neutral; 10% as somewhat negative; and 14% as very negative. These answers reveal their judgement of construction to be on the whole modestly favorable. The same cannot be said for residents' opinions about construction employment.

In their comments on this issue, most community residents viewed the impacts of prison construction primarily in terms of what it did not do for their town in the way of local jobs. Many residents had expected there to be more employment of local workers, and even the skeptics felt that numerous construction jobs were part of what the community was promised during siting.

One Clallam Bay man who did work on the prison throughout its construction estimated that, at most, 20 to 25 local people worked regularly on its building. "It was the union thing," he explained, "You can't get into a union when there are 50 people already in ahead of you applying for the job." The need for union membership and specific skills was not something taken into account by those in Clallam Bay anticipating prison construction jobs. One commentator characterized the attitude of residents as: "you've got to give us a job; we live here." When few residents met the qualifications for employment, "there was a lot of anger, and lot of resentment, and the feeling that they weren't following through on their promises."

The following discussion between two local residents, one a relative newcomer to the community and the other a long-term resident, illustrates this sense of broken promises. The newcomer maintained that hiring was fair, but that "people weren't qualified for the jobs; they didn't have the right skills, the right background. The people who were qualified found jobs." The rebuttal of the oldtimer: "People in Clallam Bay are loggers, not members of unions. Of course they didn't have qualifications, and everybody should have known that and never said the prison construction would bring jobs."

Many residents acknowledged that their expectations for construction jobs were inappropriate and even naive, but this did not assuage their sense that false promises were made, and thus the community was mis-led about prison benefits. "They betrayed the town," stated one man in reference to Department of Corrections

personnel. "They lied. They told us there would be jobs during the construction and there weren't."

Eleven percent of the 1986 community survey respondents who lived in Clallam Bay during construction reported that they or a member of their immediate family had worked on the prison's construction; another 12% applied but were not hired. Lack of local employment was the dominant construction-related complaint in survey comments. Wrote one respondent:

> I have been completely disappointed in the prison as far as work. I was turned down as a laborer and on other jobs during construction, because I was not in a union. I applied for other jobs, but not enough experience or not qualified for the job. In all it was like a bunch of promises during a campaign or election - none of them kept.

This disappointment and disillusionment over construction jobs was generalized to the forthcoming prison operation itself. One man explained how, although he was more or less neutral about the prison coming, he supported it because he thought it would bring jobs. "That was the whole point," he explained, "that's what they sold it on and then look what happened when the construction started: nobody was hired." In his view, people were thus "pretty much burned out" on the prison as a potential source of jobs.

A CHANGE IN PLANS

In mid-summer of 1985, the Department of Corrections announced a modification in the speed with which the Clallam Bay Corrections facility would reach full capacity, extending the phase up to this point over the first 12 months of operations. The prison would open in January, 1986 for 250 inmates, increasing to full capacity only by the end of the year. This decision meant there would be fewer immediate prison jobs, but, with over 150 persons still expected to be employed by January of 1986 and employment of the remaining 150 spread throughout the year, residents were not particularly troubled by the slow down. It still seemed that the community would soon begin to realize prison benefits.

These benefits were needed. The modest returns from construction had done little to restore economic stability to the community but had allowed local businesses to survive until the prison would open. Even this support disappeared as the last of the construction work was concluded. Businesses that had been frequented by construction employees saw their revenues decline; houses that had been rented by workers were again vacant. One observer remarked how he thought that "people in the community didn't realize how gradually, over time, a bit here and a bit there, people involved in construction were living in and contributing to the community. Now they're gone and there's a lot of holes." The slowdown led one business owner to comment: "We're just dying. The town is so dead, it has to get better. We're just holding one."

Throughout the late summer and early fall recruitment of staff continued, with public meetings held throughout the county to

inform people of employment opportunities to come. In early November of 1985 rumors began to circulate in the county that there might be some further changes in the immediate plans for the operation of the CBCC. Within a week the rumors were confirmed by a series of official announcements and news reports outlining a very different scenario for the county's new prison than had been thus far intended.

The new medium security facility at Clallam Bay was to spend its first year housing 99 minimum security inmates. A presently operating minimum security facility located some 60 miles south of Clallam Bay near the town of Forks would be temporarily closed, and its inmates together with associated custody staff would be transferred to the Clallam Bay site. Medium security prisoners to fill the institution's 500 beds would not begin arriving until March of 1987. Staffing the facility would be correspondingly delayed.

Both scenarios for delay, with the one actually implemented much more consequential for Clallam Bay, were the result of budget shortfalls within the Department of Corrections and a simultaneous reduction in demand for additional prison space. Washington's prison population was being affected by state's new uniform sentencing law, with a temporary reduction in new entrants caused by its provisions for accumulation of sufficient past history prior to prison sentencing. A successful lawsuit forcing the earlier release of offenders whose sentences exceeded the new uniform guidelines further curtailed the inmate population.

The Department needed to reduce its expenditures, and not spending money to operate a prison it did not need was a natural solution to this problem. At the same time, the siting of the new prison at Clallam Bay had been sufficiently controversial and sufficiently costly that it seemed politically unwise to actually mothball the facility. Some legislators had argued during site selection that costs to build and operate an institution at the Clallam Bay locale would be higher than elsewhere, and cost overruns during construction threatened a scandal before operation even started. Effectively trading the Clallam Bay space for that of another area institution gave CBCC a reason to operate, and thus to become part of the existing system. It also avoided any labor problems which might have come from employee lay offs.

As further incentive to house minimum security inmates in Clallam Bay there was the prospect of an inmate workforce to complete the institution's finishing work and landscaping at no further cost to the state. With the facility already nearly 6 million dollars over budget, this was a welcome economy. It was further argued that the housing of minimum security inmates would provide a comparatively low risk opportunity for "shaking down" the as yet untried facility. In the same vein, it was suggested that it might be better for the largely inexperienced staff to start out with inmates whose security risks were felt to be lower.

Clallam Bay residents had no earlier or more direct message from the Department than what they learned through word of mouth or the local papers. One resident observed how, even as the community

residents were split about the prison coming, they also were split in regard to its altered opening. "Some people were relieved," she stated, counting herself among them. "It was like a reprieve. One more year before they would have to think about whether they still liked living in Clallam Bay." For others, like the community's businessmen, she felt "it's different; it's a problem that there's a delay."

The split that had cut through the community during the siting of the facility had not exactly healed but its issues had become resolved for many by the decision and the construction. However one felt about it, the prison was going to become a reality. Having the prison was not a black or white issue for most residents. The mixture of benefits and deficits that led the majority of the community's residents to ultimately support siting the facility had a substantial portion of negative expectations in it. The decision was made acceptable by the greater number of positive changes many believed would be the result of the prison.

As residents adjusted their attitudes to the prospects of having an operating prison in Clallam Bay, these positive expectations became important as well to those who were initially unsupportive. It was not that these former opponents necessarily became supporters, but rather, since it had to be, they too began to look for the bright side of the prison's coming. The loss associated with the delay in full operations was felt by the entire community.

The reactions of those Clallam Bay residents who had been anticipating the prison opening included disappointment, frustration, and something rather like acceptance. There seemed little anger or outrage, a response explained by a former resident as being "because they knew it all along: they knew that as Clallam Bay residents they were going to get screwed."

An individual who had taken a leading role in seeking the prison expanded on the above theme:

> There is no reason why we shouldn't have expected this. This has been happening ever since the beginning. First they were going to consider Clallam Bay; then they weren't. Then they were going to build a prison here; then they weren't. Then it was approved; then it wasn't. It's been off and on and up and down ever since we got started, and we're just waiting around to see what happens.

Business owners and operators, experiencing what one called "the worst time in five years," saw the change in operating plans as most difficult to deal with. "Oh, it's just awful, " said one. "It's so difficult for us just to make it. We just feel really betrayed." Another talked about how he thought that the period after Crown Zellerbach left was as bad as it was going to get, "and it has been getting worse ever since." He said that in the past few months he had been thinking, "Okay, this is it, this is the bottom, but I can hold on because it's going to turn around soon." But now his reaction is uncertainty: "I don't know. I don't know if I'll hold on, if I'll make it."

"Prison holdup hurts" headlined a local newspaper article on perceived consequences of the delayed operation (The Daily News, December 5, 1985). "It is a trauma on top of a trauma" reads a quote from a Clallam Bay businessman, who asks like the one above whether or not he is going to be able to sustain another deferral of prison benefits. Other plans associated with the prison opening also were put on hold. It seemed there would be no new students in the schools, no new customers for local businesses, and no purchasers for the community's vacant housing. The county, which had been negotiating for payment of one-time prison impact funds would apparently have to delay any receipt of these until the prison began full operations, and delay as well any further expenditures in anticipation of their coming.

There was some attempt to get the decision changed but even those who participated in it were not optimistic. Political representatives for the area at both the state and county level, along with a Clallam Bay businessman, arranged for a meeting with an aide to the Governor to discuss the delay and seek support for its set aside. In a letter written to the Governor, the businessman characterized the minimum security operation of the Clallam Bay facility as one which "...breaks faith with a community which continues to be in desperate economic condition."

The claim by a former leader of the local siting group that "We did it before and we can do it again" rang hollow, and was backed up with little action and no effect. It was as if the energy necessary to site the prison had exhausted the community's store of activism, and there was a pervasive sense that Clallam Bay could do little to influence these external decisions about the community's future. The community's attitude was summed up in the words of this business owner, who explained that "I've given up trying to figure out what's happening. I'm just rolling with it; taking it as it comes."

There was, in any event, little opportunity for anyone to alter the course set for Clallam Bay Corrections Center's immediate future: shortly after the planned interim operation was announced, corrections center administrative staff began to operate accordingly. Staff at the facility to be closed were given notice of the change in job locations (along with an option to refuse the transfer, based on seniority), those positions needing to be filled were hired for and all other hiring lists put on hold, and attention was turned to getting ready to operate the new facility in its new capacity. Just over a month after the amended plan was formally announced, the Clallam Bay prison received its first group of inmates.

It was thus a climate of disappointment, resignation, and powerlessness which greeted the opening of the prison at Clallam Bay. These feelings did not begin with the changes in operational plans. They began with siting and were further fed by the perceived lack of benefits from prison construction. The planned curtailments in the initial operation of CBCC reinforced this pre-existing concern that perhaps the prison proponents had been wrong about what the facility would bring to the town. The community was

waiting still for the prison boom, but waiting with a strong suspicion that it would not occur.

THE INTERIM OPERATION

The Clallam Bay Corrections Center began operation as a minimum security facility the first Monday in January, 1985. The previous Saturday, with invitations extended solely through the community grapevine the day before, the facility hosted an open house and tour for an estimated 200 to 400 area residents. Many residents were eager to see inside the facility, and those who missed this opportunity lamented the other business or lack of knowledge that led to their exclusion. In the words of the prison's superintendent about the reactions of those touring the prison: "They were just in awe." While negative reactions fought with positive ones for most of those visiting the facility, few were not impressed with its electronics and advanced security features. For some, actual exposure to the mechanisms for inmate control and retention calmed their lingering concerns about community and personal safety.

The running of a minimum security institution was at no time the primary focus of operations at CBCC. Even during the tour, the institution's features were pointed out not in regard to how they would be used over the next several months but in terms of their medium security functions. The prison's staff and inmates alike carried out their activities in the interests of what would be, not what was. This attitude of transition was facilitated by ambiguous messages from the Department of Corrections concerning CBCC's actual minimum security tenure. Even before opening, the prison's administrative staff had prepared, at the request of the department, what was to be the first of many scenarios outlining steps for immediate conversion to medium security.

It is only to be expected that residents of Clallam Bay were similarly uncertain about the status of their prison. It was more than wishful thinking that led residents to share expectations and spread rumors that the institution would open "in the spring," or in "mid-summer," or "September," or "by December 1." The good authority cited as the origin for such news was indeed just that. The reality was that no one was absolutely certain how long CBCC would remain in its interim mode, and as a consequence, all projections as to when it would become fully operational seemed equally plausible until the passage of time proved them wrong.

In some ways, the effects of this stage may be viewed simply as a unique extension of a more normal phased opening. For the most part, this is accurate, with the interim operation doing no more than prolonging the period between the end of construction and full operation. The time spent as a minimum security prison was the way in which CBCC made the transition to medium, and it had little or no effect on the extent or shape of the eventual impacts of the medium security operation. Accordingly, this report is written to look at CBCC's impacts by distinguishing between the period before any prison and that after the prison was fully

operational. The time in the middle of these points, whether it was during interim operations or actual phase up to full staffing and the housing of medium security inmates, is treated as forming a relatively smooth transition between the two.

In other ways, the interim operation of CBCC was another distinct phase in the prison's history and had specific effects of its own. These effects have three components. The first and perhaps most important is attitudinal. The events of the interim operation, for all their smooth flow into future impacts, created some particular circumstances for the interpretation and evaluation of these subsequent impacts. Secondly, certain things occurred because of or during the interim operation that would not otherwise have happened in Clallam Bay, or would have happened very differently. These too affected the attitudes of local residents. Finally, the interim operation had consequences for the institution itself and through these for the community.

EXPECTATIONS & JUDGEMENTS

Clallam Bay residents had few expectations specifically for CBCC's minimum security operations. Rather, they took those they held for the forthcoming medium security facility and used them as a standard against which to evaluate any prison impacts on their community. In doing this they were thinking not of the prison as it was but as it would be, and thus the effects of the interim operation were seen as auguries or harbingers of what would eventually happen. While the differences thought to be associated with a minimum rather than a medium security prison were often used to qualify early conclusions about prison impacts, they did not stop people from trying to draw such inferences as they could from the data at hand.

Local residents were ready to see prison effects. They had been waiting for years, holding on for years, for these effects. Having an operating prison, even one operating at very much less than its intended level, meant they could finally begin to identify some of what this new industry was going to mean to their community and their daily lives. The scrutiny accompanying the preparatory steps of initial hiring and other necessary preliminaries was intensified once the facility actually opened. Every new hire, every purchase, every new resident, along with each incident of friendliness or snobbery, disdain or acceptance became emblematic of what the prison would mean. The opening for residents of a new apartment complex in town, for example, led one resident to point to it as a sign that "there must be something happening."

For its part, the very nature of how the facility was run during the interim operation generally limited any community impacts, and certainly resulted in reductions in those which could occur. The smaller inmate capacity of the facility (100 rather than 500), together with the use of many pre-existing local-area corrections employees to staff it, significantly restricted the degree of potential economic, employment, and population impacts. The status of the inmates discouraged visiting and family re-settlement due to the brevity of their sentence. Here was thus a

situation where residents were looking for impacts, and trying to generalize from those they found, from a prison operation which would tend to limit the occurrence of any prison effects.

Attitudes:

The first community survey was taken 6 months after the prison opened. Sixty percent of the 237 respondents evaluated the effects of the prison's then minimum security operation as neutral; 20% found it very or somewhat beneficial; 20% found it very or somewhat negative. These more polarized views correlated with siting attitudes, and reflect the continuance of the debate over whether the prison would help or hurt Clallam Bay.

Community residents who had been more worried than hopeful about prison impacts on Clallam Bay found little on which to base their concerns. "Prior to the prison's coming," writes a 1986 community survey respondent, "I was convinced it would bring with it a number of harmful effects to the community. So far, it has made no difference that I can tell. I can't even tell it's there." Other opponents noted the lack of positive effects as well, and took the opportunity to say "I told you so."

That the interim operation did not do much for Clallam Bay contributed to a sense of disappointment and disillusionment among many community residents. Wrote a 1986 community survey respondent:

> The delay of opening the prison to full use has caused a rather negative change of attitude by some of the people who were in favor of it. Quite a let down to people who had gone ahead and made plans and in some cases carried them out, depending on the increased population to bring them business. This hasn't helped the prison cause any.

Community residents began to express doubts that their town would get any prison impacts and even that the prison itself would become fully operational. "I'll believe it when it happens" became a common resident response to the claims of others about the dates of the shift to medium security or the hiring of more local residents. One resident, responding to a new rumor that the prison was not going to expand its capacity, declared "This is it. The town's gone. There's going to be nothing left here in a few years." The prevailing mode was a rather negative skepticism. "What prison?" responded one resident to a question about prison effects; another replied: " I'll tell you what the effects are - it's nothing! It's disgusting." "This community worked hard to get that prison," pointed out one former prison booster, "and for what? It's not going to do us any good at all."

The 1986 community survey included a set of semantic differential scales for residents to characterize their feelings about having the prison in Clallam Bay. Despite the readiness of most respondents to evaluate the prison's overall effects on the community as neutral, their feelings about the facility itself remained largely positive and optimistic. Respondents found the prison to be more important than unimportant, more beneficial than harmful, and more hopeful than discouraging. They were evenly

split as to whether the prison was appropriate or inappropriate, but found it to be more disappointing than rewarding. "Disappointment" is the emotion which best exemplifies the views toward the interim operation of those who had been looking forward to prison benefits. Because some degree of anticipation was felt by nearly all the community's residents, the feeling was widespread.

Disappointment in the prison's immediate returns fed a growing disillusionment about more long term contributions. People appeared to begin to lose faith, only to regain it with the smallest sign that the community was beginning to benefit. A new prison employee would move with his family to Clallam Bay, for example, and once again this would be taken as a sign of the impending growth in population and prosperity the community would enjoy under the prison.

This continual reservoir of hope can be accounted for by the pragmatism of Clallam Bay's remaining residents. While not quite ready to put the debate over positive or negative impacts behind them, they also could recognize that the outcome had been rendered moot by the facility's opening. Writes a 1986 community survey respondent:

> I have been anti-prison since its proposal. However, since it is here, it's permanent (at least until the state decides differently and shuts it down) probably for at least 20 to 30 years. I accept that fact and feel that maybe by the time it's fully staffed Clallam Bay/Sekiu will gain some in population. Therefore, services and businesses might pick up.

Promises Unkept:

These same persons found the interim operation to be a period in which their confidence in such benefits and those who promised them was severely undermined. Along with disappointment there was a sense of betrayal. "So they just flat out lied to us," pointed out a community resident. "They lied about all kinds of things." As one man cynically observed on the 1986 community survey, "...it was like a bunch of promises during a campaign or election - none of them kept." A Puget Sound area daily newspaper did a feature story on Clallam Bay and its prison in early 1986 (The News Tribune, Tacoma, February 9). "Boom Gone Bust" read the headline for the article which detailed the disappointment and continued economic hardships for prison proponents. The aura created in Clallam Bay's nighttime sky by the prison lights was described as a "reminder of promises unkept and a dream unfulfilled."

Indeed, there did seem to be no necessary connection between what had been included as assurances in siting documents and eventual actions. The division of the Department of Corrections responsible for siting is separate from that handling actual operations. The proposed accommodations to resident concerns included in the final environmental impact statement on the Clallam Bay prison carry no force of law. The "promises" heard by community members were simply words on paper, words that those now

responsible for the prison apparently had not read and felt no particular obligation to follow.

The sign that marks the road leading to the prison reads: "Clallam Bay Corrections Center." Its erection in September of 1985 gave residents a visible indicator of how significant the impact statement accommodations were likely to be. One of the issues raised against the prison during the siting hearings was that of the facility's name. Many people believed that so long as the town and the prison were not synonymous, Clallam Bay could remain somehow separate from its industry. It could host a prison but not be known as a prison town.

Most residents, regardless of their perspectives on the matter, saw the issue as having been resolved as printed in both the draft and final versions of the environmental impact statement: "In order to avoid any impact on tourism and reduce the association of Clallam Bay as a "prison town," the corrections center could be named without reference to any local community. The name "Peninsula Corrections Center" is being considered by the Department of Corrections."

Such ambiguity in designation is the most common pattern in the names assigned to other Washington correctional institutions. Only three out of the existing 14 facilities include a specific locale name: the others use the name of the state itself or some geographic feature similar to that proposed for Clallam Bay. Few residents of the community knew that the prison would share the town's name until the sign was installed. Their initial reaction was one of surprise: "Why is it named after Clallam Bay?" asked one woman, "I thought they were going to call it something else."

For others, to whom the name of the prison was an important symbol of the community's autonomy, the reaction was one of considerable anger. One resident, upset that the community had been, in her perception, misled, approached a Department of Corrections car parked outside Clallam Bay's post office to complain. The car was occupied by the prison's superintendent. When she asked for an explanation, she reported that she was told "because the leaders of the community wanted it to have that name."

The prison's new superintendent had come to Clallam Bay believing that it was a community that wanted a prison. In his contacts with local business owners, he had heard little to disabuse himself of the uniformity of this view. Asked by the headquarters office to select a name for the new prison, he asked the preferences of a prominent prison proponent. As this individual later put it, having the prison named after the community helped "put Clallam Bay on the map." A contrasting view is provided by this respondent to the 1986 community survey who wrote "Thank you for our new negative image."

Today, entering Clallam Bay from points east, one first meets a sign put up by the local Lions Club featuring a jumping salmon and reading "Welcome to Clallam Bay - Vacationland." The sign announcing the road to the prison stands scarcely 100 yards further along the road, a juxtaposition that has struck more than one observer as ironic.

EFFECTS ON THE COMMUNITY

The effects of the interim operation of CBCC, as noted above, generally were those of an extended transition to full operations. There were exceptions to this in which the characteristics of the operation, or the fact that it occurred at all, had some impact of their own. These are highlighted here.

Employment:

There were about 80 people who worked at CBCC during the interim operation, with numbers increasing as the facility approached the time of its conversion to medium security. More than half of these employees were correctional officers, only 12 of whom were newly hired for the Clallam Bay facility. Most positions other than correctional officer required advanced skills or experiences which most local job seekers lacked. There were few new jobs available, and few of these went to Clallam Bay residents. The effect on the community was a reinforcement and continuation of the attitude that developed when there were not many local workers hired during construction: "The one word that best describes this area is depressed," wrote a 1986 community survey respondent. "People are very pessimistic about the future and unhappy that there aren't more or better jobs for them in the prison."

Some people had made considerable investment in these potential jobs. The local office of the Job Services Center (part of the state's Department of Employment Security) had obtained grant funding to provide training as corrections officers to displaced workers. The implication was that those who completed the class would then be hired by the new prison. The first class was held in Port Angeles and included at least one eager Clallam Bay resident who commuted. A second class was held in Clallam Bay itself, with some students this time commuting from Port Angeles. Both classes concluded some months before the prison even started recruiting staff. The plan was that graduates would find temporary employment at other institutions where they would effectively complete their training and then transfer to CBCC when it opened.

Little went as intended. First, other institutions did not want to hire new staff, bear the costs of their training, and then lose them to another facility. Although a few graduates were eventually hired elsewhere, it was without the transfer intention. Secondly, when the Clallam Bay facility reduced its initial hiring for the interim operation, it did not need to hire all the individuals (estimated to be 25 - 30) who had completed the Job Service Center's course. Finally, although those who took and those who offered the course felt that some assurances of employment had been made, this view was not shared by the personnel department at CBCC. They had never seen these people and none had passed through their routine screening procedures. None of the class graduates were hired for the prison's opening; those who were considered "acceptable" by the prison's hiring criteria were given some priority in subsequent hirings.

The failure of these classes to lead to prison jobs for local people was read by community residents as another illustration of

the prison system's broken promises to the community. It was frequently referenced as an example of how one could not trust the state, and also added to the litany of job-related disappointments. If more jobs had been initially available at the prison, not only would some class graduates have been immediately hired, the fact that all of them would not be would have had much less significance. With so few positions open, every hire, and every non-hire, took on heightened importance.

Economy:

With a small workforce, many of whom lived outside of Clallam Bay, the economic impacts of the interim operation were similarly modest. Local storekeepers did benefit from the partial staffing and the related partial stocking of the institution, especially initially by selling small items needed immediately and not yet available through the bigger state suppliers. There were a few new residents who made some local purchases, and in combination with direct prison purchases, Clallam Bay undoubtedly benefitted economically from the interim operation.

But these benefits were of little account compared to the much greater benefits they had expected from the prison. Each small gain was discounted because it was so much below what had been anticipated. A Clallam Bay professional described people in the community as being "darn angry." People had worked hard to get the prison, he explained, and there had been a lot of promises made with nothing happening - "just a big letdown." He and others were particularly critical about the continued closure of the grocery store. "It would have opened in the spring" he claimed, "and we would have had our store back. Now that's not going to happen."

With the closed grocery store as a silent symbol of the community's still unresolved economic difficulties, the partially operating prison had to do more than it was doing to overcome the sense of disappointment residents experienced from its benefits. It is likely that, within the capacity of that operation, the prison was incapable of meeting these expectations even under the most optimistic of circumstances.

Services:

In addition to anticipation of business improvements, some residents had taken steps to deal with expected human needs. A group of women from a local church had put together a welcoming program of visits and introductory coupons from local businesses, but with few new residents it had few takers. By the time newcomers began to move into the community in more substantial numbers, the coupons were out of date and the enthusiasm of the group's members had faded. Similarly, a church-sponsored training session for prison volunteers was attended by a number of interested residents, only to be met with no immediate need for their services by the prison because a volunteer program had not yet been organized.

Plans by other organizations and area agencies also found no application. These plans were to deal with the diverse effects the

prison had been expected to bring - social service needs, more students in the school, more criminal behavior, etcetera. All were left hanging, and, although in theory it was simply a matter of waiting for a year until full operations commenced, in practice, something quite different occurred. The plans were not just put on hold, pending the outcomes of full operation, but lost somehow in transition. The agency attention that accompanied the planning for the facility did not fully survive the interim operation. Although these same agencies were there to respond to the needs created by the facility, their focus on these was less sharp. By spending a year in transition, the prison in Clallam Bay and its effects had lost their priority claim to attention. Other events and other needs came up while CBCC was busy being a minimum security institution, and its impacts did not regain their former hold on agency attentions.

EFFECTS ON AND FROM THE INSTITUTION

There was a very similar mixture of pluses and minuses associated with the interim operation for the facility itself. The advantages that may have been associated with having more time to get ready for full operations were somewhat lost by the uncertainty of when that operation would commence. Prison administrative staff were continually poised on the brink of gearing up for medium security: they had little opportunity to take advantage of the year's delay. For those in the administration, the interim operation took away from what they had come to Clallam Bay to do.

When the transition finally came, the superintendent described it as "anticlimactic." He felt the long term staff had lost their enthusiasm, a loss he characterized as "the cost of delays." He continued: "This loss is made worse by Clallam Bay itself. It was the job that brought us here and not being able to do the job has made it even harder to be in this place - this negative place." By the end of the first year, he was under no illusions about the community's support for the prison. He knew there had been opposition to its siting and he knew there was resentment that the prison had not yet benefitted the community as expected. "I feel caught in the middle," he said, "coming into a town where people made promises they probably shouldn't, and the Department taking things away that I can do."

Operations:

Operating the prison was also difficult in its own right. The Clallam Bay facility was designed to work well as a secure institution, fully staffed. Anything less than this, and the design did not work very well. Staffing levels were higher than the numbers of inmates would normally require simply to operate the electronics of the institution. Even at this, there were difficulties.

Without full staffing, some adjustments were needed to make the mechanics of the institution functional. Keys had to used to open doors intended to be operated from unmanned control booths: these were sometimes misplaced, sometimes bypassed by leaving doors

open. The front gate, for example, could only be operated from one tower. During the day, when inmates were out and people came and went from the facility, the tower was staffed. At night, the gate was left open and the tower unmanned. This was not a security issue with minimum security inmates, but it was, the superintendent acknowledged, "an appearance one. It looks careless."

With a minimum security operation, even one in a facility that did not lend itself to a reduction of security, inmate escapes are inevitable. When CBCC had its first one in July of 1986, no one was particularly outraged, knowing from experience that minimum security institutions have such events. Still, Clallam Bay Corrections Center was not <u>really</u> a minimum security institution, and so together with understanding there was uneasiness. Was this, like hiring and the local economy, an indicator of things to come?

Because of the interim operation, community residents came face to face with issues of inmate security and institutional response repeatedly during the first year (there were five reported escape events during this time). This would not normally have happened with a new, medium security facility. And residents reacted to the escapes in terms of their eventual implications, not their immediate meaning or consequences. Several lobbied hard for some improvements in community notification. In this case, the experiences of the interim operation <u>did</u> lead to improved preparations for the full operation, but the action required was done by the prison, not by the community itself.

In other aspects of institutional operations, the differences between the present and the future were sometimes perceived as presenting difficulties in preparation. Representatives of county-level service agencies complained that the statement "it'll be different under medium security" often served as an excuse for delaying action. In their view, prison staff felt that such things would not happen again, and so did not need to be dealt with in terms of planning. The interim operation was not used as a model to develop and get ready for full operations, they felt, but simply to avoid such preparation.

There also were those who felt that the interim operation was inappropriately used as a model for the future. One CBCC supervisory staff person expressed the view that staff accustomed to working with minimum security inmates were ill-prepared for medium security operations, and he was concerned because they believed otherwise. There were a number of people in the community who agreed, pointing to difficulties in prison operations and security during the interim period and asking, "what are they going to do when they get the <u>really</u> bad guys?"

OVERALL INTERIM EFFECTS

If it had not come as a change in plans and as a delay of implementation, it is likely that the prolonged phase-in experienced in Clallam Bay would have been largely to the community's advantage. The interim operation gave community residents an incremental version of what full operations would mean. It exposed some shortcomings in the community's preparation

that, if heeded, could possibly have been rectified for the full operation. The interim operation may have led to some modifying of expectations to more realistic levels, and thus perhaps reduced the future disappointment of those who were looking for prison benefits.

Emotionally, the year of partial operations gave people time to experience change on a scale more modest than that which would follow, and potentially to begin to adjust to these differences. The prison's superintendent concluded in December of 1986 that "probably the long term phase in was a good thing for the community. It was much less shocking for them," he said, "but it's going to get more severe as it goes along. More and more, prison staff will begin to dominate the community."

Because of the circumstances preceding the interim operation, however, it was difficult for community residents to see it as an opportunity for adjustment and learning. It was an unwanted delay for most; and since it was transitory, gave no particular relief even to opponents. The year that could have been spent by preparing to better respond to and handle prison impacts was instead spent in a kind of limbo. People in Clallam Bay watched and waited, drawing conclusions but seldom taking action since, after all, one could not be sure what was going to happen next or when it would happen. In the meantime, the residents of Clallam Bay found there was little they could do. The momentum that may have been generated during siting had dissipated by the passage of time and the disappointments of construction. The interim operation sapped what little was left.

The date for the shift to medium security operations was finally established as the first Monday in February of 1987. After a year of uncertainty about the prison's future, and associated uncertainty about that of the community, Clallam Bay residents once again could prepare themselves for prison impacts. Having already experienced some of these impacts and failing to experience others, residents faced the prison's opening with more information than they had a year previously. Expectations had not changed exactly, but they were more tentative and more temperate. Both the optimists and pessimists about the prison had found its interim operation to be less than hoped for or feared. While some of this could be explained away by features of the interim operation that would be different under medium security, there was nonetheless a suspicion that the first year may have laid down a pattern that would persist.

CHAPTER 6
EMPLOYMENT IMPACTS

When community leaders consider the pluses and minuses associated with a potential new industry, the pre-eminent pluses are the likely direct and indirect economic benefits - jobs and local purchases. This orientation and evaluation are the dominant themes reported in the extant literature on economic development, and are reflected in the statements and publications of local and regional economic development organizations. News accounts of industry location and expansion similarly pay particular attention to any increases in employment and the likely spin-offs these employees will have for the area's other businesses and their well-being. Clallam Bay is no different.

For Clallam Bay's prison proponents, it was to be these consequences of prison location that would make getting CBCC a good choice. The community needed jobs to replace those it had lost, and it needed a boost for its depressed economy. The new prison seemed to promise both. Not surprisingly, prison opponents responded differently to the potential for these employment and economic benefits. Residents who objected to the prison coming to Clallam Bay questioned the validity of supporters' projections, doubting the magnitude and the distribution of such purported benefits. Prison opponents further questioned whether <u>any</u> benefits, even those as great as proponents hoped for, would be worth what they believed the institution would also cost the community in terms of deficits and lifestyle changes. These also are very familiar arguments and not unique to Clallam Bay.

It is for these reasons that the most common focus of the previous research on prison impacts has been these economic factors. The most consistent finding of this rather diverse group of research results has been that prisons do indeed provide significant economic benefits to their host locales. In this regard, advocates of prison siting would appear to be correct in their claims. Less well answered, however, are questions about how far beyond the actual prison locale these benefits are distributed, how they are dispersed and to whom, and what is the local reaction to such benefits and their features. In short, has the prison been worth it to the community?

EMPLOYMENT

As of October 1, 1988, CBCC had 285 authorized staff positions; 276 of these were filled. Slightly more than half these positions are for correctional officers; about another 10 to 15 positions are held by intermittent or part-time employees also working as corrections officers. Also working at the prison but employed through Peninsula college are the 15 persons who staff the institution's educational program.

LOCAL HIRING

The previous chapter on initial prison impacts discussed the effects of low levels of local hiring during the prison's construction and interim operation. With these first indicators

showing little employment of persons from Clallam Bay, many residents began to question whether future hiring would have any different results. This disappointment and disillusionment were all the more significant because of the pre-prison expectations regarding employment. The specifics of these expectations, and how prison hiring was judged by community residents, became apparent as CBCC acquired its full complement of staff for medium security operations.

Efforts to identify precisely how many of these employees were prior residents of Clallam Bay before the prison opened have been unsatisfactory. It is known that out of the 73 initial staff when the prison opened in 1986, only 4 were living in the community before they were hired - 3 of the 4 were females in support positions and one was a male who had moved back to Clallam Bay shortly before the prison opened.

The project staff reviewed the employment applications of CBCC employees in September of 1987. Clallam Bay was listed as the application address of 49 persons who were subsequently hired for prison jobs. This number is an inflated one since we were unable to separate prior from current residence status: some employees had promoted or changed positions since initially hired; others had established Clallam Bay residency through rental of a post office box during the application process. In the later case, this was rumored to be in response to assumptions of prison hiring practices which presumably favored Clallam Bay residents. Using information from local residents and their knowledge of persons working for the prison, it seems that around 20 previous Clallam Bay residents have been employed by the corrections center since it opened. This makes for a percentage of less than 7% of the prison's employees.

Community residents were told both publicly and privately that having the prison in Clallam Bay would yield jobs and other local economic benefits. While no precise number of jobs was ever promised to local residents, the community was repeatedly reminded of how many employees CBCC would hire, what proportion of these jobs would be entry level positions, and what would be the dollar amount of the payroll and likely expenditures. Similar figures accompanied discussions of the institution's construction. It took no great effort of imagination for residents to assume that at least a substantial portion of these jobs and benefits would come to Clallam Bay and the people who lived there.

The most important aspect of the expectations about prison jobs concerned the hiring of local people. In their public pronouncements on the origins of those hired, CBCC has used "local" as a term which encompasses the entire county. County-level politicians and county-wide agencies, most of whom had supported the location of the prison in Clallam Bay, also use this expansive definition of residence. In Clallam Bay itself, however, local hiring has a much more restricted meaning. In the view of community residents, an individual should be counted as a local hire <u>only</u> if they are a resident of Clallam Bay. "Please hire more local people," wrote a respondent to the 1986 community survey. "That was the main purpose of wanting the prison here in the first

place. That means: Clallam Bay/Sekiu people - not Forks and Port Angeles."

Longevity and Purpose:

The geographical origin of CBCC employees is only the first and most significant of several criteria applied to assessments of prison employment and its benefits. Like many rural communities, Clallam Bay is a place where longevity in residence is used to differentiate among citizens. Recent residents of Clallam Bay, with recency extending back several years, are not considered truly "local." Prison hiring of these individuals, and there were a few included among the first CBCC employees, thus did not really count.

Residency also is judged by its purpose: people who live in Clallam Bay because of a job requirement (such as that of Sheriff's deputy) or because they have moved to the community for a job, are denied true local resident status. This judgement presumes transiency: if such persons do not transfer out of the community within several years, the community's view of their residency status may be altered. One resident of some 15 years, who came to the area to take a professional position, reported how his status in town was seen as a temporary one until he had lived in the community for more than 7 years.

These judgements are based on experience. The community has watched the comings and goings, and the brief residencies, of teachers, school administrators, deputies, and other professionals for many years. They have learned to withhold award of citizenship until such persons prove by their behavior that they will remain. This attitude towards residency and transiency has important consequences for community reactions to new residents and for employee turnover as well, an issue to be discussed in some depth in a later section.

Personal Characteristics:

Many Clallam Bay citizens further judge prison hiring according to the characteristics of the individuals employed. Age, sex, family status, previous work history, and economic status are among the several characteristics included here. Younger residents without a family to support, for example, are viewed as less deserving of prison employment than those older, with more responsibilities. Shortage of other options also plays a part here: younger people are felt to be potentially more mobile, and with fewer obligations, better able to act on this mobility. This viewpoint is described by a respondent to the 1986 community survey, who labeled CBCC hiring practices as "unfair and inconsistent." The respondent complained: "There has been discrimination against the older people in the community who have been out of work for many reasons, yet the jobs go to young people who are far from retiring."

It is notable that in the rhetoric accompanying prison siting, jobs for young people, to allow them to remain in the community, were an important emotional selling point. There is not necessarily a contradiction here. The valuation of older over

younger is not an exclusionary one, but rather a matter of priorities. Clallam Bay residents are looking at prison hiring in the context of few jobs for local citizens, a message learned from construction and the interim operation. If there are to be limits on the number of jobs, therefore, certain residents should have prior claim.

The same mentality applies to local jobs being given to residents who are females and/or on welfare or long term unemployed. For CBCC's hiring of women, these attitudes follow the community's general values of the appropriate role of women. While many of the women who lived in Clallam Bay prior to the prison worked, the great majority were employed in traditional women's jobs. The community's work image was centered around logging and related jobs - and with very few exceptions, these were jobs for men. Some residents resent the hiring of women as correctional officers and in other jobs typically held by men, viewing these as taking away jobs from local males. "I don't like the idea of hiring all the minorities (i.e., women, etc.) at the prison right off," wrote a 1986 community survey respondent, "More local people should have gotten first choice." Thus far, no local Clallam Bay females have been hired in such positions.

Local women hired at CBCC in positions that fit the traditional image of women's work are not resented: they are simply seldom taken into account when residents count up prison jobs for Clallam Bay residents. Several local women, along with a few men who did not qualify as "local" despite their Clallam Bay residence, had been working at CBCC for several months. Still, the reaction of more than one resident to the hiring of a (by the community's standards) legitimate Clallam Bay man was that it constituted "a first!." More than a year later, one local CBCC employee, tallying up those from Clallam Bay who worked at the prison, mentioned only the males.

Targeted Hiring:

Shortly before shifting to medium security and hiring more than 75 additional correctional officers, the administration at CBCC took steps intended to improve its record of hiring Clallam Bay residents. The administration entered into an agreement with the Port Angeles Job Services Center, an arm of the state's Employment Security Department whose responsibilities include assisting those considered difficult to employ find jobs. The agreement was that the Center would offer a pre-corrections class, comparable to those done in 1985, for which CBCC's personnel department would pre-screen potential enrollees. With prison approval of their participation in the course, all class completers would be guaranteed the offer of a CBCC position. This was expected to attract a number of Clallam Bay residents; it also was expected to diffuse the community's anger and sense of betrayal over the lack of hiring from the previous classes.

The criteria for admission to the class was set by the Job Services Center's funding and focus: all those enrolled were required to fit the criteria of being welfare recipients, long-term

unemployed, or displaced workers (for example, former workers in the depressed timber industry). Out of 25 students enrolled in the course, 8 were residents of Clallam Bay. Nonetheless, by the standards of at least some Clallam Bay residents, the very qualifications to be in the class should have disqualified these individuals as appropriate prison employees. In the words of a women lamenting the quality of prison employees, "Even the local people they hired were no good kinds of people, They were the ones nobody else would have hired anyway." Another man described these hires as "culls."

For the community, the class did little to restore confidence in prison hiring. By definition of many residents, those hired did not meet the standards of the "good workers with good records" who were passed over. For the prison, the community's reaction to the class confirmed a sense that Clallam Bay citizens were unreasonable and unpleasable. "You just can't win," confided CBCC's personnel director, "We thought we were doing something really good and really right, and we still made people mad." Not only were residents angry about the characteristics of those selected for the class, they also criticized the advantage given to some and not all by virtue of the class being held at all.

Attitudes toward Prison Siting:

Finally, the intensity of feelings accompanying siting have left their mark in how residents look at prison benefits and who receives them. Those who were opposed to the prison coming to Clallam Bay cite hiring and a poor record of local employment as evidence that prison supporters were wrong in their assumptions about benefits, and further, that the institution and its promises cannot be relied upon. Proponents feel strongly that those opposed to the prison should not benefit from it, and certainly that opponents should not be hired before people who worked to bring the prison to Clallam Bay. That this in fact happened gives substantiation to the feeling of many that the institution and its administration do not care what residents of the community think. As for individuals who were against the prison but who now work there, their reasoning is quite pragmatic: "A year ago," says one, "I swore I never would work there, but it's gotten to the point where there's not very many choices, and the prison is a job."

APPLICATIONS FOR PRISON JOBS

It also is the case, however, that comparatively few Clallam Bay residents have even applied for prison jobs. Looked at in terms of the ratio of applicants to hires, prison employment of prior community residents has been quite high.

The procedures for becoming employed at CBCC are split between so-called "local list" jobs handled entirely through CBCC's personnel department, and jobs applied for through the state personnel system. For those jobs handled through the state, qualified applicants are placed on a ranked register. The first 5 names on the register are sent to the facility for hiring selection. Additional names are sent, in order, if these 5 are not

sufficient to find someone for the position, if there are multiple jobs in that position, or if needed to meet affirmative action goals. Local list applicants also are placed on a ranked register, but the institution's personnel department has access to the entire list for hiring purposes, within justifiable limits.

Generally, the state handles those job classes with numerous other state employees (e.g. administrative and secretarial), and promotional positions, including those within the Department of Corrections. The local facility handles positions likely to be more unique or specific to its operation (e.g. physician's assistant, plant mechanic supervisor), and all correctional officers. Of the total employees designated for CBCC, about two-thirds are hired through the local list process, with corrections officers accounting for about three-quarters of these.

In September 1985, just prior to plans to hire about one half of the facility's eventual staff, and before staffing was reduced for the interim operation, local list applications were reviewed as to applicant's address. The 11 positions available on the local list included corrections officer, with 72 openings projected, and a variety of skilled and semi-skilled medical and operational jobs with from a single to a maximum of 6 openings available. All positions had been open for application for some time and were either closed to further applicants or were receiving few new applications.

Applications for the corrections officer positions numbered 359 out of the 442 received, accounting for 81% of the total. Only 8 of the applications for this position, 2% of the total, were from Clallam Bay residents. Applications from residents elsewhere in the county were much more numerous, numbering 131, or 36% of the total for corrections officer.

This low application rate is particularly significant since it is these correctional officer positions that Clallam Bay residents were thought to be best qualified for. At that time, job requirements for this position demanded no prior experience and only minimal qualifications (high school graduation or equivalent and no recent felony convictions). Since the initial hire, requirements for corrections officer have been up-graded to require as well at least one year of postsecondary education or relevant occupational experience. These enhanced job qualifications would now exclude a good proportion of Clallam Bay's traditional workforce.

As for the other positions available directly through CBCC's personnel department, Clallam Bay residents accounted for 7 out of 93, or 7.5%; 39 of the applicants (42%) were residents of other Clallam County communities. The number of acceptable applications in some categories of jobs gave an early indicator of what has become a persistent hiring problem: only three applications had been filed for 8 registered nurse positions; 2 applicants for 4 physician assistant jobs. In other job classes, the number of applicants, while exceeding the number of position openings, was so low as to severely limit hiring choices.

Information on CBCC applications handled by the state was obtained from the registers still extant in the Department of Personnel's office as of May 1, 1986. Registers more than a year old are generally purged from the records, and information on an unknown number of early CBCC applicants is thus not available. These registers all were for positions opened in 1985 - all were closed to further applicants. These positions had even fewer Clallam Bay applicants than those on the local list, with local residents numbering 4 out of 544 total applicants. Applicants from elsewhere in the county were more numerous, with 81 or 15%. The proportions of local and area residents did not change when promotional positions were excluded from the analysis.

Hiring Problems:

The prison has had some difficulties filling certain positions or identifying an appropriate applicant pool from which to make a selection. The state registers, for example, frequently include the names of people who do not really wish to move to the area but who, in order to become part of the state's personnel pool, have applied for whatever available job openings exist. The staff of CBCC's personnel department has had to repeatedly request additional applicant names from the state because those they received were not available to be interviewed. Where the applicant pool is not deep, as is often the case, the available register may be exhausted without finding a suitable employee. Further problems result from the fact that the state list positions frequently required specialized training, education, and/or experience. Of these, secretarial positions have proven hardest to fill from the very beginning of CBCC hiring to the present.

In some cases for positions hired through both state and local list procedures, job descriptions and staffing plans have been revised to allow hiring of persons with less restrictive qualifications. For example, some of the originally planned positions for registered nurses are now for individuals with lower level nursing credentials. Secretarial positions have undergone similar re-consideration. The institution itself also has liberalized some of its policies on hiring, including permitting the employment of married couples. Originally, this was seen as undesirable, a position that was quickly changed as the paucity of local jobs for the non-employed spouse was recognized. Even with these adjustments, certain authorized positions have gone unfilled.

Promotional applications from other Department of Corrections facilities also have lagged below expectations, and in some cases below need. The Department's survey of interest among current employees prior to CBCC's opening identified over 400 individuals interested in promoting or laterally transferring to the new facility. By the time CBCC was actually seeking these candidates, however, those for some positions were difficult to identify.

For the institution, a shortage of qualified applicants for supervisory positions has led to numerous difficulties: extended "acting" appointments by persons who do not meet position qualifications; in some cases, prolonged periods when positions are

unfilled; and, purportedly, hiring of candidates who, while less than desired, are at least available. The facility's remote location and rural setting are the most frequently cited reasons for difficulties in attracting promotional job applicants. A commentator who has contacts within the Department of Corrections reported in late 1986 that CBCC was not getting promotional applicants because it was seen as "definitely the end of the world." His view: "the message from the Department is 'if you want a career in corrections, don't go to CBCC.'"

Despite such attitudes, the prison has attracted a number of the individuals needed for supervisory positions because of the promotional opportunities present in staffing Clallam Bay. Taking a job at CBCC is a career move. Such persons are frequently in the area temporarily, doing time, as it were, until they can transfer to a more desirable position (at the same or higher status) elsewhere in the state's prison system.

EXPECTATIONS AND JUDGEMENTS

The expectations of the Clallam Bay community about employment from the prison for local residents were very high. During siting, easy promises were made and implied that such jobs would be forthcoming. And at that time, residents could readily see prospective prison employees among those who were unemployed because of the timber shut-down. That the most employable of these persons would either find other jobs or would not stay and wait for the prison opening has never been taken into account. In this perspective, the jobs needed by local residents in 1982 also are needed in 1986 and 1987. In the minds of many residents, even though they had plenty of information to the contrary available, the labor pool that was in the community when Crown Zellerbach left was still there when the prison opened. When local people were not hired in large numbers, and when those hired were seldom the ones residents had envisaged, the gap between expectations and reality was wide indeed.

The 1986 community survey was administered six months after the prison's opening and the start of the interim operation. Respondents were given a list of commonly anticipated prison effects and asked to select all those they <u>expected to occur</u> in the community due to the prison: only 33% selected jobs for current Clallam Bay residents, an indication of how low expectations had fallen with the initial hiring. By 1988, 56% of the community survey respondents selected local prison jobs as something they believed <u>had occurred</u> because of CBCC's operations. This improved perspective is a response not only to the eventual hiring of more Clallam Bay residents. It reflects as well respondents' awareness of the residence in their community of many CBCC employees, and some willingness to accept these persons as one of them - as residents themselves, working people who are an asset to the town and a benefit of the prison.

There were a number of Clallam Bay residents who expressed little surprise at CBCC's hiring difficulties. Some had predicted problems attracting employees from elsewhere; others had projected

the lack of local prison hiring. "They're not going to get local people hired up there," observed a resident when the institution increased its staffing for medium security. "They aren't going to like working up there. The guys who work here are loggers. They're not used to that kind of work; they're used to being outside in the woods." In truth, "that kind of work" was of little interest even to some local residents who considered taking prison jobs. Their interest was frequently qualified: they did not want to have contact with inmates, maybe the tower or the doors would be alright. One Clallam Bay woods worker, on being told I did not work for the prison, replied: "I don't blame you; I wouldn't want to work for the prison either."

Paradoxically, although timber harvesting is still widely viewed as a declining (and dying) area industry, there was an upsurge in timber-related jobs coincident with prison hiring. These jobs are felt by nearly all to be temporary, but they allow people to continue in the type of work that is familiar to them and valued by the community. The resurgence of such jobs permits the postponement of a choice about corrections work a bit longer for those who take them and may account for some reductions in the prison's applicant pool.

Nonetheless, most residents know someone who has applied for a prison position and has not been not hired, as did this 1986 community survey respondent: "Lots of residents and friends have applied for work, but no results." Thirty-three (14%) of the respondents to the 1986 survey reported that they or a member of their family had applied for work at CBCC but not been hired; in 1988, 20 respondents reported that they or a family member had sought but not received a prison job.

Most Clallam Bay residents have heard stories of lost applications, unreturned phone calls, and rejected applications despite what residents feel was relevant experience. In the small community that is Clallam Bay, this knowledge about actual, individual experiences further confirms the community's sense of injustice. Writing on the 1986 community survey, one unsuccessful applicant detailed his efforts to gain the needed qualifications and his frustration at being passed over for "women, blacks, in general minorities instead of someone with the proper experience. In my opinion, the people, the prison and our so called government officials can go to hell."

For some in the prison's administration, the lack of qualified applicants from the local community is taken as an illustration of how people in Clallam Bay "lack initiative." They do not see why, knowing the jobs were coming, people did not prepare themselves for them. "Instead," points out a prison administrator, "what I see is people who feel they ought to have the job just because they live in Clallam Bay, as if they have somehow paid something for that right. But they haven't done anything for the prison!"

The administrative and personnel department staff at the prison have their own shared knowledge about Clallam Bay job applicants. They tell of disgruntled (and drunken) job seekers haranguing CBCC administrators at local restaurants or bars, of

individuals coming to job interviews in dirty clothing, and of at least one person coming to a job interview having been drinking. One CBCC administrator complained that he "resented being resented for not hiring people like that." Another contrasted hiring practices in logging with those in corrections, noting how one could not just tell their "buddy" they wanted a job: "You have to meet the qualifications, you have to fill out the forms; you don't get it through your cronies."

To some extent, these perceptions of community complacency and casualness do represent reality for many prison applicants from Clallam Bay. The relative openness of logging, where one <u>does</u> find jobs through friends, contrasts sharply with the bureaucracy of corrections. For some Clallam Bay residents, seeking to understand why they or their friends were not hired, explanations are found not in missing qualifications or poor interview performances. Rather they see favoritism, and particularly resent the institution's emphasis on affirmative action, an emphasis which does not include most of them. One resident, frustrated after years of uncertainty about his status on the employment registers, could find some solace by observing "I must not drink in the right places." Most of all, residents see that they have been misled. The perception of many living in Clallam Bay is that they <u>were</u> promised prison jobs: with such promises, expenditure of effort to prepare oneself or to present oneself would have been superfluous.

A central perception of why local residents have failed to get the prison jobs they sought concerns the qualifications required. The results of construction hiring contribute to this view, and the particular configuration of positions for staffing the interim operation reinforced it. CBCC started staffing from the top, and thus a disproportionate number of these initial jobs required advanced experience or education. Compounding this was the transfer of workers from the temporarily closed corrections camp near Forks, leaving very few of the first jobs for entry level workers.

By the time the jobs for which they were qualified were available in late 1986, many Clallam Bay residents were too discouraged to apply or had found something else. This is supported by the proportion of respondents who said they planned to apply for a prison job in the two community surveys: in 1986, 31 persons, 13%, indicated they were; in 1988, no survey respondents had such plans. Young people are similarly disinterested, with few of the older students considering a corrections career. The older students also were not planning to remain in Clallam Bay after graduation.

The attitude of many residents towards CBCC's hiring practices and the availability of jobs for local residents is summed up in the following response to complaints voiced about local hiring at a community meeting in the Fall of 1988. The speaker, a Clallam Bay business person and one time prison opponent declared:

> They've always been that way. They never have hired qualified local people, even from the very beginning. There were lots of people who wanted to work there, qualified people, and they wouldn't take them. They prefer to take people from out of town; that's just the way it is.

EMPLOYEE RESIDENCES

If prison employees were not drawn from the local labor force, the hope of the community was that employees from elsewhere would make their homes in Clallam Bay. The town would thus gain the residents needed to restore its population to pre-1980 levels, and not incidently, be in a position to benefit from the purchases of these new inhabitants. Local employment and inmigration to Clallam Bay by other employees comprise a paired solution to the community's economic problems. The exodus of nearly 30% of Clallam Bay's population by 1985 had cut too deeply into the community's capacity to maintain services, especially with its existing delivery structure. Thus, even with jobs for current residents, without new residents, the community could not hope to regain its former vitality.

The community has gained new residents because of the prison. Overall, more than 40% of CBCC's employees live in Clallam Bay, better than 100 individuals and their families. These population impacts will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8. For the moment, what is of concern is the distribution of employee residences in terms of their contribution to employment and general economic impacts. In this regard, employee residences represent another disappointment for Clallam Bay.

There are a number of reasons why the proportion of CBCC employees who live in Clallam Bay is less than expected. Hiring of residents from other county communities has been part of this. Clallam Bay's housing and other offerings also do not always compare favorably with those available elsewhere, especially for those accustomed to more urban locales, leading to other residence choices. Even had all CBCC employees opted to live in Clallam Bay, the community's limited rental housing would have precluded this.

For previous Clallam Bay residents, this comparatively low level of residence selection by prison employees has added to minimal local resident hiring to produce a double loss: long term residents do not benefit directly from prison jobs, nor do they benefit from having a substantial increase in the community's employed population. This is exactly what some residents feared. The community would have the prison, and whatever problems that might entail, but would not have the employment and the population to make these worth while.

TURNOVER & RETENTION

The community has ample opportunity to be reminded of employee hiring and residence choices since high rates of employee turnover make them a frequent event. Since its opening, CBCC has had a higher rate of turnover among correctional officers than any other institution in the state. In fiscal year 1986-87, 25 officers left CBCC, 31% of the total. Statewide, the proportion of officers terminating that year was close to 14%. In fiscal year 1987-88, the statewide level declined to about 13%; the rate for CBCC dropped to 27% - 34 officers. CBCC's turnover statistics improve when transfers, promotions, deaths, and retirements are deducted, dropping to 27% for the first year and 17% for the second. For the institution itself, however, the effect of needing to replace an employee is the same regardless of the reason for the exit. It also is the same for the community.

There have been no improvements in this pattern for 1988. Between January and March of 1988, 44 correctional officers out of a total of 146 positions left CBCC. According to one prison administrator, "a lot of these were transfers, people who weren't intending to stay in the first place." He saw this as bound to happen with a new institution, and as a situation which would stabilize in a few years. Other CBCC administrators were less optimistic, and expected turnover at the institution to continue to be high because of its distance from any urban center.

The 1987 and the 1988 employee surveys included questions about plans to continue working at CBCC. In 1986, 62% of the respondents indicated they planned to remain at CBCC for at least the next two years; in 1988, the proportion with these plans had improved to 70%. Nearly half of the respondents in both surveys do not, nonetheless, include working at CBCC as part of their most likely future employment plans: 47% intended to remain in 1987; 54% in 1988. In both surveys, custody staff were more likely to plan to remain at CBCC than employees in other positions, a finding that suggests the statistics on turnover for correctional officers present only part of CBCC's retention difficulties.

REASONS FOR TURNOVER

To a certain extent, high turnover is an inevitable result of staffing a new institution, since new employees may be unsuitable, or themselves find the job not to their liking. Further, the opening up of promotional positions does attract transfers who may not intend to stay. One female employee described her working at CBCC as "strictly a career move." Speaking for herself and other single women employees, she acknowledged that "this is a difficult place for us to live, but it's a job opportunity we otherwise wouldn't have had." Still, turnover at CBCC appears to exceed this "normal" start up level, and more than newness seems involved. Two-thirds of the respondents to both the 1987 and 1988 employee surveys reported that they felt the location of the prison in Clallam Bay had a somewhat or generally negative effect on CBCC staff.

Fifty-nine of the respondents from the 1988 employee survey who did not plan to stay at CBCC listed their reasons for leaving. These fit into three general categories. Nearly a quarter of the 59 respondents gave multiple reasons for their decision to eventually leave CBCC: each was coded separately. The first category of reasons, mentioned by 47%, involved problems associated with the institution itself or its operation. "Many reasons," wrote one respondent, "but the biggest one is the attitude of management and their apparent disregard for the welfare of the staff." Thirty-one percent of the respondents identified their reasons as including promotions or career advancement, but such reasons were sometimes critical as well: "No future, I am a white male and 40." Problems associated with the institution's location were identified by 36%, typically including CBCC's isolation as a factor. The listing of one respondent read: "Isolation; lack of normal opportunities in personal life; mental stress of living in this environment."

CBCC Assessment:

In late 1988, the CBCC administration became so concerned about the extent and speed of employee loss that they empaneled an institutional turnover committee to research the problem and recommend solutions. As perhaps some indicator of the problem the committee was to review, a single representative of the custody staff (primarily correctional officers - half the employees) was appointed to the committee but did not attend its meetings. All other members held administrative positions.

The committee mailed out the exit questionnaire routinely used by the Department of Corrections to all 132 former CBCC employees (January 1, 1986 - December 31, 1988): they received 30 responses. Another 50 current staff members from throughout the institution were interviewed by committee members. The committee submitted a report on its findings to the superintendent on February 1, 1989.

The CBCC committee identified five factors influencing employee turnover for consideration by the institution's administration. In summary form, these were: 1) Remote location and cost of living; 2) Back stabbing among staff; 3) Lack of training and information about procedures; 4) Personal safety concerns; and 5) Shortcomings in personnel selection. Many of the solutions recommended by the committee are outside the scope of the administration's control, including those concerning various community improvements. The administration has, however, actively given its support to various individual and agency efforts to add services, businesses or housing to Clallam Bay. They also have taken steps to improve employee training opportunities.

Institution Plus Community:

Difficulties with the institution emerge as a reason for leaving CBCC in both employee surveys and the institutions own internal review. It would seem that CBCC has some management and operational problems which are contributing to staff turnover. Some of these are themselves outgrowths of locational problems,

such as working with inexperienced or disgruntled staff; others are associated with the newness of the facility, its procedures, and its staff.

One consequence of how CBCC was staffed is that the majority of the staff, including administrative and supervisory employees, are persons who have never before done their present job. They have typically promoted into their positions from other facilities, or more recently from CBCC itself, or they are new to corrections. This is illustrated by the pool of employees eligible to compete for correctional officer of the year award in February of 1987. Only those officers who had worked in the Washington corrections system for one year or more could be considered: just 18 out of CBCC's then 102 correctional officers met this qualification.

Neither the institution itself or most of its employees have much of a history, a fact which has necessitated a certain amount of trial-and-error management and operation at several levels. The situation is not helped by CBCC's distance from other institutions or from Department headquarters, making oversight and assistance difficult to come by. Although personal issues also were involved, the abrupt removal of CBCC's first superintendent and one associate superintendent in the spring of 1987 attests to certain internal difficulties.

The point here is not to criticize CBCC's management or operations. It is rather to point out how working conditions and community conditions tend to interact with each other. Employees who indicated they would not remain at CBCC in the 1988 survey were significantly more likely than those staying to view the personnel office as non-responsive (71% versus 34%) and to feel that inmates were poorly controlled (52% versus 24%). They also had more difficulties with the Clallam Bay community: they were significantly more likely to feel that CBCC's location in Clallam Bay was stressful (71% versus 34%), to view CBCC's location as negative to staff (78% versus 55%), and to see community residents as holding negative attitudes toward CBCC employees (36% versus 18%). The institution must be seen in its context, and the context of CBCC has impacted the institution as well as the reverse.

EMPLOYEE MORALE

Demonstration of these impacts can be seen in CBCC employee morale. In the 1987 employee survey, 26% of the respondents evaluated morale at CBCC as pretty good, 32% as fair, 31% as poor, and 10% as very bad. Two respondents saw morale as excellent, as did two in 1988. Other 1988 employee survey respondents were less positive: 24% saw the institution's morale as pretty good, 24% as fair, 30% as poor, and 20% as bad. In these ratings, and elsewhere in the survey, custody staff tended to be significantly less favorable in their opinions than other staff: 67% rated morale at CBCC as poor or very bad compared to 35% of non-custody staff.

Because comparable information about employee attitudes at other Washington institutions is not available, it is impossible to know whether these responses are peculiar to CBCC or would hold for other prisons as well. The latter view is argued by CBCC's

administration. Still, judging from the responses to other survey questions about corrections work, it seems that most employees are comparatively pleased with corrections work itself; what troubles them is the circumstances of this work at CBCC. These difficulties, whether phrased as complaints about staffing, management, policies, or personal living conditions cannot be disentangled from the institution's location in Clallam Bay.

Whether these circumstances will change in the future is difficult to guess. Some CBCC administrative and supervisory staff maintain that operational problems, low morale, high turnover, and dissatisfaction with the community are simply temporary issues for CBCC, and like other difficulties, will be significantly reduced once the institution's newness wears off. Certainly, every new employee who likes the job and plans to stay reduces the proportion of those who may feel otherwise. Some residents believe that some modest community improvements and time also would produce a more stable and satisfied workforce.

Unfortunately, the interrelationships between community and institutional issues have some of the quality of a self-fulfilling prophecy: the one feeds the other and both combine to be more tenacious than either might be alone. The views of many are reflected in this comment on the 1987 employee survey, written by a person who is both an employee and a local resident:

> As a Washington State taxpayer, I think the choice of Clallam Bay for a prison was wasteful of state resources. As a local resident, I'm happy that the community I chose to live in now has a stable employment base. It is likely that CBCC will always have a high employee turnover because of its isolation from urban areas. However, a less autocratic, adversarial/more flexible approach from CBCC/DOC administration would enhance employee satisfaction.

EMPLOYEE/RESIDENT ATTITUDES

For all this, neither employees or residents express predominantly negative attitudes toward each other. It seems that the citizens of Clallam Bay are not overly inclined to blame CBCC employees for the disappointments of the prison as a whole; nor are employees necessarily ready to attribute the deficits of the job or of the community to its residents. Both give an impression of trying to accept the other. The dominant attitudes, or at least those reflected in survey results, are feelings of neutrality or mixed positive and negative emotions. The 1988 community survey included a question asking respondents their attitudes about CBCC employees: 54% claimed to be neutral, 40% positive, and only just over 6% negative. In the written explanations accompanying their answers, positive and neutral respondents had in common an emphasis on prison work as "just a job," and general support for "working people." "They are people doing their jobs," wrote one person, "and they spend money here, which helps the community."

Employees' perspectives on how they were received by the community were somewhat more unfavorable than those expressed by respondents to the community survey. Respondents to the 1988 employee survey characterized the attitudes of Clallam Bay residents to CBCC employees as being mainly neutral (51%); 28% perceived residents' attitudes as negative and 11% as positive. In 1987, employee survey respondents had been somewhat more polarized in their judgement of community attitudes: 43% viewed them as neutral, 39% as negative, and 18% as positive. The general improvement in attitudes in 1988 was noted by several respondents.

In reality, the disappointment and even resentment felt by many Clallam Bay residents toward CBCC employees over jobs and residence choices is often communicated to those employees. Also communicated are residents' expectations of prison financial benefits, and in their perceived shortage, the eagerness to capitalize on whatever potential profit might still be possible. "It would help," notes a 1987 employee survey respondent, "if the community would get rid of their 'get rich quick on prison employees' attitude."

For their part, prison employees often convey to local residents their impressions of Clallam Bay, and by extension its residents, as a place that has nothing to offer. Some have been arrogant in their dealings with local residents, reflecting unfavorably on employees in general. Many employees dislike high prices in local stores, what they feel is inappropriately priced housing, and the message that their money is the most important aspect of their presence in the community. This is reflected in the comments of the 1988 employee survey respondents who rated the community's attitude as positive: more than a third explained this in terms of economic benefits.

The result, not surprisingly, is frequently mutual animosity and misunderstanding. "Very disappointed with the 'class' of majority of personnel working at prison," wrote a 1988 community survey respondent, "tired of the negative attitudes. My opinion, if you don't like it here - the road leads out." Commented another respondent, "I get insulted and fed up with people who look upon Clallam Bay as a type of 'prison sentence'." There is much here that becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, with unwanted consequences for both the community and the employees, and, by extension, CBCC itself. And, although no one involved seems to want or welcome these consequences, each group seems to feel that it is the other that is behaving and reacting inappropriately.

CHAPTER 7
ECONOMIC IMPACTS

EXPECTATIONS & JUDGEMENTS

Residents' expectations of the prison's economic effects on the community generally paralleled those they held for employment: proponents believed the benefits from the prison would be substantial and would occur primarily in Clallam Bay; opponents believed these projections of high benefit were exaggerated, would not accrue to the community, and in any case, would be outweighed by deficits.

In the recitations of prison payroll and prison purchasing that accompanied siting, local business owners envisioned improvements in their businesses. These visions apparently neglected to take into account the tendency for current residents to go out of town for shopping and the likelihood of new residents to at least do the same. There was a belief that with a better economy, Clallam Bay's attractiveness to all residents would be able to increase. There also was the sense, implicit if not directly stated, that local businesses would be in a position of competitive advantage for purchases by the institution itself. No one explored the particulars of such purchases, taking it on faith that proximity and good will would provide the needed edge over larger businesses elsewhere.

The 1986 community survey included several effects on the local economy among the listing of things expected to occur in the community as a result of the prison. Respondents to that survey placed these economic indicators among the top half of the 15 expectations identified, but none were anticipated by a majority: 43% expected new businesses in Clallam Bay; 42% more jobs in the community; and 41% an improved community economy. In 1988, respondents' sense of what had occurred from the prison was only slightly less favorable: 41% felt CBCC had led to new businesses; 37% thought there were more jobs; and 36% reported an improved community economy. Given the emphases on economic contributions from the prison when it was sought and sited, both expectations and observations are quite subdued.

The degree to which many residents expected the prison to contribute to the local economy and the extent of their disappointment when these expectations were not fulfilled owe much to the community's circumstances before the prison opened. Remember, Clallam Bay had already lost jobs and population when the prison was sited there. Even then, some two years before operations were scheduled to begin, many residents and the majority of businesses were at best just maintaining. At worst, they were losing money, going into debt, mortgaging the future in order to be in a position to wait for it. The significance of the prison's potential economic effects was much greater because of this fiscal depression: prison benefits were not just wanted; they were for many a necessary part of any hope for recovery of Clallam Bay's economy.

Also as was the case for employment, the consequences of the construction period and the interim operation gave early indicators

that positive economic benefits might well be below hopes. When the institution's construction resulted in relatively modest gains for local merchants, it became necessary to hold on a bit longer until operations began. This wait seemed to lead to some escalation in expectations for eventual benefits, a way, perhaps, of making it feel worth while. And then again, with the delay in full operation, another wait for returns on the community's "prison investment," and further ratcheting of anticipated benefits to compensate for the delay. With the months and the years, the capacity of some of the community's businesses to simply remain open became increasingly strained. Bankruptcy, unfavorable loans, increased debt, depleted stocks, foregone maintenance, all were rumored and actual outcomes of the seven years between "needing something" to save the town and any substantial and widely distributed prison benefits.

By the time CBCC began its medium security operations in 1987, the economic hole many Clallam Bay residents and business owners were in was much deeper than the one that had led them to seek out and approve the prison in the first place. Critics of the community's state of preparedness, and there are many, are not taking into account the depression on top of depression that preceded the opening of the prison. A number of local business owners were in no position to expand or enhance their operations to attract prison business or appeal to new residents; simply staying in business was itself a prodigious achievement.

It is in this context of need on top of what were overly optimistic expectations that Clallam Bay residents experienced and judged the prison's economic impacts. Under these circumstances, anything less than windfall profits would be received as a disappointment, and such has been the case. "The prison has helped very few people that I know," wrote a 1988 community survey respondent. "All the talk about how much it would bring in money and jobs to the town, but most people are still just surviving." Such an attitude does not take into account the fact that, for businesses at risk of closure not too long before, "just surviving" represents an improvement.

When Clallam Bay was quite literally "sold" on the prison because of its potential benefits to the economy, it is inevitable that such benefits will be sought out by the community's residents. When benefits received are below expectations, it is not unreasonable to attempt to maximize those which are available. In doing so, however, residents present themselves in an unfavorable light to newcomers. One prison administrator described himself as "struck" by his first contacts with the community's business leaders and their emphasis on financial benefits: "It seemed as if the driving force for the prison was economic gain for the community. That's all they talked about -getting more money into the town and how the prison could add more income. It seemed really self-serving."

CBCC employees experience this seeking after benefits in a more personal way. They hear the complaints of Clallam Bay residents about levels of prison-induced revenues, and they

encounter prices that are above their expectations. Their conclusion is often that the community is trying to take advantage of them, to benefit at their expense. Repeatedly, CBCC employees cite their encounters with local residents as being marked by greed and financial inequity. A CBCC employee who lived in Clallam Bay prior to moving to Forks explained her reaction to the community thusly:

> The people in Clallam Bay try to gouge us. They charge exorbitant rates for rent and for housing. They were promised a lot of unreal things about what the prison was going to do for Clallam Bay, and don't seem willing to do anything for themselves. They are just trying to take advantage of every buck they can make.

BUSINESS GROWTH

The restrained and even negative attitudes of many community residents toward the contributions CBCC has made to their economy contrast rather sharply with other indicators of the institution's substantial impacts on Clallam Bay's economy.

In 1988, the gross payroll of CBCC was nearly 6.5 million dollars. Deductions reduced this to a net payroll of some 4.5 million, still a considerable addition to the wages of the county. CBCC's payroll is particularly significant because, unlike the payrolls of the area's other dominant industries, it is not subject to marked seasonal fluctuations or shut downs. Every month, regardless of the weather or the international market for timber or environmental lawsuits, employees at CBCC take home just under $378,000.

THE CBCC MULTIPLIER EFFECT

The Forks Forum, a weekly newspaper with free circulation to Clallam County's west end population reported the above payroll figures in the fall of 1989. The brief notice was accompanied by a calculation of the secondary benefits on the local area from the "estimates of economists." These estimates attribute a 23 million dollar annual impact on the area's economy from CBCC. A considerably more modest (although not particularly more realistic) multiplier effect for CBCC's economic contributions was developed by Russell Lidman for use in a 1988 report for the state Legislature. Lidman relied on calculations done for the number of indirect jobs attributable to a direct job for the state as a whole. The resulting multiplier of 1.5 was then applied uniformly to the number of direct and estimated secondary prison employees (from prison procurement) for all Washington counties hosting a prison, including Clallam County. By Lidman's computations (cited in Lidman 1988), CBCC has generated an additional 170 county jobs.

The only hard number in the above computation process is the number of prison employees. The other numbers, including that for the prison's procurement, are estimates, and based on some very shaky assumptions at that. The procurement figures could not be verified by institutional records reviewed by project staff, are

incongruent with other figures, and appear to be largely unknown by the area's business and governmental community. They are not used in this document, nor is the 1.5 multiplier.

Research on other new rural industries has found that standard economic multipliers developed for urban areas are inappropriately applied to smaller communities. They fail to take into account the willingness of residents to commute out-of-area for better prices and variety, and they do not consider that many rural areas already have excess under-utilized business capacity. Reviewing the results of nearly 100 case studies of rural industrialization, Gene Summers and Jean Lang (1978) conclude that the majority of industries in a rural community had a multiplier effect of less than 1.2. Even this assumption seems overly optimistic for Clallam County, and it too is not used here. For residents of Clallam Bay, <u>any</u> discussion of county-wide CBCC benefits is beside the point to a community attempting to calculate <u>local</u> benefits. In this calculation, contributions by the prison to other area communities are treated as an effective loss for Clallam Bay.

RETAIL SALES

The businesses that <u>are</u> operating in Clallam Bay have on the whole considerably improved their revenues since the prison opened. The project collected information on revenues from taxable retail sales from the State Department of Revenue for the period before and after prison operations. This data, presented in detail below, shows revenue increases for Clallam Bay businesses subsequent to prison opening that: 1) are much greater than those of the county as a whole; 2) exceed those of any other county community; and 3) are independent of simultaneous increases in revenues from the seasonal tourism and fishing business. These improvements and their magnitude can only be attributed to the indirect and direct effects of the prison on the Clallam Bay economy.

Sales Tax Growth

Information on Clallam Bay's taxable retail sales was reviewed for calendar years 1983 through 1987. Because the Clallam Bay community is unincorporated, data was collected on the basis of postal zip codes. Two codes encompass the area, one for Clallam Bay proper, plus some outlying areas, and another for Sekiu proper and an adjacent area. Businesses with a Sekiu code are primarily fishing and tourism oriented; those with a Clallam Bay code are more varied. Retail sales tax information for the two communities is shown in Table 7 - 1.

During the time period reviewed, roughly corresponding to the beginning of prison construction through the facility's full operation (reached in mid 1987), the amount of taxable retail sales grew by 94% for Clallam Bay and 36% for Sekiu. Retail sales collections for the county as a whole grew by 16% during the same period. Using 1985 as a base year (the last year before the prison operated), Clallam Bay's improvement stands at 48%, Sekiu's at 23%, and the county as a whole, less than 1%.

TABLE 7 - 1
ANNUAL RETAIL SALES TAX REVENUES
FOR CLALLAM BAY AND SEKIU

CLALLAM BAY

Industry	1983 $	1984 $	1985 $	1986 $	1987 $
Forestry/Manuf./Real Est./Construction	0	13,741	10,168	4,940	39,149
Retailing (Except Eating & Drinking)	562,887	394,099	475,426	687,751	949,688
Eating & Drinking Estab./Hotels/Motels, etc.	501,785	631,022	748,680	804,870	903,100
Service (Other than Hotels/Motels)	144,520	295,955	386,870	452,834	522,185
TOTAL	1,282,468	1,394,749	1,684,522	1,990,241	2,490,881

SEKIU

Industry	1983 $	1984 $	1985 $	1986 $	1987 $
Retailing (Except Eating & Drinking)	322,035	262,488	273,579	292,740	311,075
Eating & Drinking Estab./Hotels/Motels, etc.	599,540	441,873	737,388	833,099	918,601
Service (Other than Hotels/Motels)*	72,348	43,440	90,039	96,614	125,322
TOTAL	993,923	747,801	1,101,006	1,222,453	1,354,998

*The figures for services include these non-service firms: The 1984 figure includes one construction firm. The 1985 figure includes one wholesaling firm. The 1987 figure includes one Water Transportation provider. These non-service businesses were included here to avoid disclosure problems.

Source: Washington State Department of Revenue.

Both observational and self report data from several sources noted substantial rises in the fishing/tourism business during the mid 1980's. The effects of these improvements in the area's seasonal economy need to be controlled for in order to assess prison impacts and are factored out in two ways. First, analysis is done using quarterly filings rather than the annual reports referenced above, comparing the quarters not associated with heavy tourism (1 & 4) against those that are (2 & 3).

The second approach to controlling for simultaneous economic growth from tourism separates growth by industry category, looking at both quarterly and annual data, and compares growth in the different categories. The usual retail industry categories could not be used in Clallam Bay because the small number of businesses in any single type presented disclosure problems for the Department of Revenue, which cannot release information on categories that include fewer than 3 taxpayers. Thus, four combined categories are used in the Clallam Bay data: Construction/Manufacturing; Retailing (except Eating & Drinking); Eating/Drinking/Lodging; and Service (except Lodging). For Sekiu, all businesses fit within the last three of these categories.

In both analytical approaches, the small number of retailers in the community presented certain difficulties. In the case of quarterly data, small firms may only be required to report annually and thus be excluded, making the combined annual totals somewhat lower than is actually the case. Further, businesses only operating seasonally (and there are some, especially in Sekiu) will not report for every quarter. This produces some additional disclosure problems. In the annual data, the clustering of businesses by generic types resolved these disclosure issues; this did not work for quarterly data, and as a result some quarters have incomplete data. This latter problem affected only Sekiu to any degree, and thus quarterly data is reported only for retailers with the Clallam Bay zip code. This group includes the majority of local businesses not dedicated principally to tourism.

The quarterly reports on taxable retail sales (Table 7 - 2) show growth in the economy of Clallam Bay as having occurred <u>both</u> during the seasons associated with fishing related tourism <u>and</u> during the seasons when fishing revenues are negligible. Between 1983-85, the 1st quarter sales increased by 13%; the 4th quarter by 19%. The 2nd and 3rd quarter growth for this same period was 38% and 40%. These revenues show that tourism-induced growth preceded the opening of the prison. Between 1985-87, however, 1st quarter sales grew by 38% and 4th quarter by 61%. The tourist dominated quarters improved by 44% and 49%. After the prison opened, therefore, economic improvements can be seen in Clallam Bay's economy year round. This pattern of annual sales activity is one that prison proponents were hoping for to help balance out an economy overly dependent on only part of the year. While 2nd and 3rd quarter revenues remain consistently higher, and sometimes more than double those during the former "off" season, improvements in revenues during these slower times do reflect greater community stability and vitality.

TABLE 7 - 2
QUARTERLY RETAIL SALES TAX REVENUES
FOR CLALLAM BAY AND SEKIU

CLALLAM BAY BUSINESSES

	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Total
1983	$253,074	$312,909	$488,090	$227,813	$1,281,886
1984	$157,294*	$339,158	$542,141	$225,444*	$964,037
1985	$285,431	$432,129	$681,160	$270,403	$1,669,123
1986	$315,316	$471,832	$825,198	$350,591	$1,962,937
1987	$381,740	$621,856	$1,013,197	$435,422	$2,452,215

SEKIU BUSINESSES

	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Total
1983	$98,123*	$202,422	$600,093	$73,058*	$973,696
1984	$49,522*	$138,499	$435,841	$63,438	$687,300
1985	$76,355	$185,582	$757,022	$76,476	$1.095,435
1986	$87,254	$224,618	$813,930	$53,421	$1,179,223
1987	$45,527*	$287,729	$851,608	$105,224	$1,290,088

* figures are incomplete due to information withheld to preserve confidentiality

Source: Washington State Department of Revenue

A similar and even more striking picture of community improvement is seen in comparing revenues by industry category. Taking the group "Eating, Drinking, & Lodging" as most sensitive to tourism, reported taxable retail sales show the greatest growth during the 1983-85 period in Clallam Bay zip codes, with a more even growth rate in Sekiu zip codes. In contrast, the Retailing category declined in these years, dropping 18% in Clallam Bay and 15% in Sekiu. After the opening of the prison, from 1985-87, retail sales increased by 100% in Clallam Bay and 14% in Sekiu. The reopening of the grocery store, itself a consequence of prison-induced prosperity, turns up here as accountable for some portion of the increased retail sales. The store alone is not responsible for this improved sales picture, however. It did not open until mid 1987; revenues first improved above 1983 levels in 1986. Because the grocery store is by far the community's largest retail business, it seems probable that reported taxable retail sales in this category would show even greater improvement in 1988's data, further substantiating prison economic benefits.

Local Businesses:

According to their proprietors, Clallam Bay's motels, eating establishments, and bars and taverns have seen some improvements due to prison business. This has not exceeded their capacity. All are still comparatively deserted when tourists are not in the area; Sekiu's restaurant/bar continues to close every fall and reopen in the spring as do many of its motels; and another Clallam Bay restaurant/bar (of two) has closed for a month mid-winter without overwhelming effect on the one remaining. The owner of one restaurant described his improved off-season business as "6 tables instead of 2," remarking that "I don't know what we'd be doing without the prison if it's this bad with it." The people in the lodging business are similarly restrained in their appreciation of prison-related business: the few visitors who stay overnight in Clallam Bay help make a slow time somewhat less slow - they do not make it busy.

The picture for drinking establishments is somewhat more positive. There are few commercial recreational options in Clallam Bay besides its bars and taverns. For those without family, church, or civic organization activities, drinking is reported to be a major off work pursuit for prison employees. Still, at least one tavern employee reports that corrections workers have contributed little to her establishment because of low wages: "they can't afford to go out drinking." CBCC employees themselves complain about the absence of other pursuits, and the risk of too much time spent drinking as a consequence. Others have noted the increased presence of employees in Clallam Bay's bars and taverns, particularly on evenings other than weekend nights. This is attributed to the different work weeks associated with a 7 day a week industry, and this, more than anything, may be impacting businesses providing entertainment. As is the more general case for improved off season revenues helping even out the community's

economy, it also appears that improved weekday business has helped even out Clallam Bay's night life.

Data from both 1986 and 1988 community surveys show a high degree of what economists call "leakage" in Clallam Bay - purchases made outside the community of residence. The questionnaires included a listing of major consumer goods and services and asked respondents which community they generally used for purchases: Clallam Bay, Forks, Port Angeles, Seattle, or "Other." A majority of 1986 survey respondents selected Clallam Bay only for banking, gasoline, and dining out. In contrast, Port Angeles, despite the minimum of a 50 mile drive entailed, was the primary choice for purchases of groceries and hardware and of most professional services. Forks, despite being closer, was a less frequently selected alternative. Obviously, Clallam Bay residents were willing to travel to reach a larger shopping area; similar willingness to travel was evident for medical care, especially hospitalization.

The most significant change in consumer behavior recorded in the 1988 community survey results concerns grocery purchases. The proportion of residents doing the majority of their grocery shopping in Clallam Bay has nearly quadrupled from 9% in 1986 to 33% in 1988. This behavioral change is itself a consequence of the most significant alteration in the community's retail and services landscape since the prison began full operations: the local supermarket, mothballed in 1982 and the most visible victim of the town's economic and population decline, reopened in the summer of 1987.

The reopening of the grocery store seems to have favorably affected some other local purchasing as well, albeit more moderately. Reports of gas and pharmacy purchases and use of banking services in Clallam Bay by respondents to the 1988 survey have increased 6-11% since 1986. Travel to Forks for various medical services (including physician, hospital and dental services, and general medical care) has declined since 1986, the use of Clallam Bay for physician services and general medical care has remained constant, and 1988 survey respondents reported making somewhat greater use of out-of-area medical services. This shift is probably the result of new residents retaining important service linkages with their former residences, or maintaining two homes.

Symbols of Prosperity:

Having its supermarket again has done more than retain more purchasing power for Clallam Bay's merchants: it is a major symbol of prison benefits and community vitality. When the market closed in 1982, its vacant windows and empty shelves were a sign of the community's economic woes. With its owner a major prison proponent, hopes for the market's reopening also became hopes for the community's resurgence with an operating prison. For many residents, getting "their" store back would go a long way towards making the prison a worthy investment. For this small town, the capacity to support a supermarket had become emblematic of Clallam Bay's viability.

Prison opponents had mounted a boycott of the store during siting that lasted even beyond its closure. The boycott was generalized to the mini-mart operations of the same owner, and for some, continues again in the market since it has reopened. To opponents, the closed store was a symbol of the folly of expecting the prison to save the town's economy. With the prison in place, however, even many opponents began to express concern about its continued closure. The store's status became a barometer of prison impacts, and its failure to reopen immediately was taken by both proponents and opponents alike as evidence that promised prison benefits had not happened.

Even after reopening, other merchants and residents expressed concern about the store's survival, continuing to monitor the number of cars in the parking lot, the shoppers on a weekend, and the quantity of goods on the shelves for signs of faltering. For the local business owners, the market's survival was tied to their own: they knew without it they could ill compete for residents' business against the attractions of Port Angeles and elsewhere. Having the store open and prospering also was seen as the only way to attract more employees to live in the community and to attract others to invest in new businesses and housing.

This quest for a more secure and prosperous image was dealt a serious blow when the restaurant across the street from the market closed in the fall of 1987, leaving Clallam Bay with but a single eatery opened for the winter. Although on a smaller scale than the market, the restaurant too, with its location at the hub of the community's small business district, symbolized community viability. Its owner also had been a leading prison proponent, its tables had served as a meeting place for siting strategy, and it too had been boycotted by some prison opponents. Its closure and the abrupt departure from the community of its proprietor told eloquently of prison benefits coming too little, too late, for at least one merchant. The community's economy clearly had some ways to go before it was out of danger of collapsing.

By the end of 1988, a certain level of economic stability has returned to the community. The closed restaurant has reopened under new ownership, and the grocery store has continuously expanded its services and selection. Smaller, less dominate businesses have followed a more erratic path. A video store operated by the spouse of a prison employee for about two years, closed in 1988 due to competition from the supermarket and the opening of a video/games/pizza take-out store. A small cafe opened during prison construction in expectation of prison business, closed in the summer of 1987; another take-out restaurant, operated by a former prison employee, opened and closed within a few months in 1988. Two other new businesses, an auto parts store and a fast foods restaurant, opened prior to the prison beginning operations and seem to be prospering. The owners of both cited the prison and its potential for increasing business as their reasons for investing in a new endeavor, a rationale cited by other business owners who have modified their offerings, added new lines, or made more modest investments.

The promise of prison business has attracted only a single new investor who does not live in Clallam Bay, this the owner of a Forks restaurant who took on the operation of the restaurant in Clallam Bay as well. This lack of external investment is not for lack of effort to attract it: several Clallam Bay business owners and realtors have responded to and tried to bring to fruition a number of development schemes brought in by outsiders; similar efforts by the prison's administration, and the county's Economic Development Council also have failed to produce results. The reasons for failure have been varied, but all tend to have in common the availability of apparently more attractive, and less remote, opportunities elsewhere. Viable investors thus far have not selected Clallam Bay; those with little capital, who also cannot compete in the more active investment markets, have withdrawn for lack of backing. This problem of competing with other areas for high demand items has been one with which Clallam Bay is all too familiar, and is itself a major reason why the community ended up with a prison instead of some other industry.

REAL ESTATE

In 1985, the highway west of Clallam Bay looked like a forest of "For Sale" signs. The large number of houses visibly for sale made Clallam Bay seemed like a community most of its residents wanted to leave. Add to this the fact that many of the signs were old, having been up for nearly 5 years, and it also would appear that no one else was interested in moving in. This image and the reality behind it has changed considerably since the opening of the prison: today Clallam Bay has a widely recognized housing shortage.

Between 1984 and 1987, housing sales recorded for the Clallam Bay area increased by 169%, going from 39 sales to 105 sales. The pace has slowed a bit for 1988, but with 35 sales in the first five months, real estate purchases continue to reflect an improved market. According to one local realtor, land prices also have increased significantly, especially in Clallam Bay's downtown area. Many if not most of these sales are unrelated to the prison. Rather, they are the result of increased purchases of retirement and vacation homes or investments in tourism, another sign of the community's rise as a fishing and tourism attraction. Few of these new owners have become full-time community residents. They come seasonally, with other vacationers, leaving in the winter for sunnier climes.

DEMAND FOR HOUSING

The impacts of the prison on real estate have been felt predominantly in the rental housing market, and it is rental housing that is in such short supply in Clallam Bay. In both the 1987 and 1988 employee surveys, the highest levels of need identified for Clallam Bay were in the area of housing. Across all three categories listed - rental houses, rental apartments, and moderate priced housing -nearly 98% noted some need and at least

88% of the respondents counted this need as great or critical. Rental housing needs were seen as the most serious, with 61% marking these as critical. Respondents to the 1988 community survey had other interests in community improvements, but "more rental housing/apartments" was nonetheless identified as a great or critical local need by 62%, ranking fifth among items cited as a critical need, behind medical services (physician and dentist), law enforcement, and youth services.

This need for more housing is an outgrowth of several factors. Among them is the community's pre-existing housing stock. During its days as a timber industry headquarters community, Clallam Bay was home for a stable workforce, and its housing suited the demands of a community oriented toward families and permanent residents. Many of these single-family homes were built or barged-in by the industry some years ago. There were few newer homes in the community when Crown Zellerbach closed its local operations in 1979.

There also were few multi-family residences, and these were typically old and somewhat run-down. The single workers associated with the timber industry during its heyday had, up until recently, lived in camps. The closure of the camps matched a decline in the industry's need for this more transient workforce, and there had been little demand for additional apartment-style or single person residences. Such needs as there were had been adequately met by the few small apartment/motel complexes in the area.

The vacant housing identified in Clallam Bay during the prison's siting was largely that which had served this previous workforce and its needs - single-family residences available for purchase. Renting these houses is, for the most part, only a temporary option, and rental leases available on many homes are short-term and subject to termination. Many of these houses have suffered from a lack of maintenance in recent years, another consequence of the area's depressed economy. "I can understand why people don't want to live in Clallam Bay," acknowledged a local resident, "There's just not very many nice places to live here, not very much middle-class kind of housing."

HOUSING COSTS

The poor condition of such housing is not always reflected in its price. Many of the owners of these homes had, after all, invested in their property during a period of high demand and comparatively high prices. They expect to at least recoup their costs, in some cases made higher by years of vacancy. With housing prices rising along with other expectations of prison benefits, it is probable they also expect a profit.

The residents brought to the community for employment at the prison have rather different expectations about housing costs. The Department of Corrections conducted a survey with its employees indicating interest in transferring to CBCC, of whom 36% (168) responded. These prospective employees were interested in both purchasing or rental and strongly preferred a house over a multi-family dwelling, but 50% wanted to pay rentals of under $300 a

month or to make purchase payments of under $400 a month. While few of these potential CBCC employees seemed to have transferred to the new facility, their interest in making modest housing payments did.

Clallam Bay residents complain of employees "expecting to purchase homes at 1950's prices...They want to pay less than they would pay anyplace else. They come to a small town and they expect to be able to get a cheap house." The employees answer this with their own complaints: "The people who have property for sale in Clallam Bay are still trying to make a killing," pointed out a correctional officer; "They've got the prices very high. They got the prison in, expecting the prison to make them rich, and they still have not lowered those expectations." Some Clallam Bay residents admit the accuracy of this viewpoint, agreeing that some houses have been overpriced but believing their owners are becoming more realistic with time, and prices are dropping. This 1988 community survey respondent suggests that employee perceptions may still be very different. The employee writes: "The community has shown the CBCC staff that their number one concern is to sell their house at an inflated price, or rent at an inflated price. So they can leave the area themselves."

Indeed, one early sign of prison-brought prosperity has been the ability to sell properties and businesses that previously were unsalable. Several of the community's businesses changed hands before the prison opened, transactions that would not have occurred without expectations of business improvement once operations began. Some prison supporters have indeed been able to cash in their investments in homes and property and leave town; others have purchased housing for rentals - buying when prices were low in anticipation of the forthcoming increased demand. Rental prices have increased along with the capacity to rent, and owners are often more restrictive than they would have been in the past, forbidding children or pets, and even waiting to rent until a more "desirable" tenant comes along. Residents with rental property have experienced some problems with vandalism, late rental payments, and bounced checks. In Clallam Bay's present housing market, they have the luxury of being selective.

And most of the newcomers are <u>not</u> interested in purchasing homes. The institution's turnover rate shows up in employee housing preferences for rental housing. For many CBCC employees, corrections is a new job, of uncertain satisfaction; more predominantly, CBCC itself and residence in Clallam Bay are simply means to an end that will be met in some other job, in some other community. Many CBCC employees seem also to be unable, even if willing, to purchase a home. They may have no savings for down payments, own another home they cannot sell or, according to local realtors, have a history of bad credit which precludes their obtaining a loan.

NEW HOUSING

This heightened demand for rental housing was not entirely unanticipated. Building permits in the Clallam Bay area for the

period 1985 through the first 9 months of 1988 reveal the construction of only a single house. They also show, however, that the community's housing stock has increased during this period by 18 mobile homes and 38 apartments. Four of the apartments are contained in a four-plex, built by a local investor in 1985 in anticipation of need for rental housing. An out-of-area investor, also counting on increased demand generated by prison employees, obtained financing from the Farmers Home Administration to construct 34 government-subsidized low-income apartments. In their application for Federal assistance, the developing firm emphasized the community's lack of existing rental housing and the poor condition of the homes for sale.

Clallam Bay's business owners, the prison administration, county officials, and most community residents agree that the lack of available housing in Clallam Bay is a principal factor leading many CBCC employees to live out of town. For the prison, the addition of a lengthy and sometimes arduous commute is thought to be related to increased employee stress and thence to morale and turnover problems. Most of those in Clallam Bay quite simply see that the community's capacity to capture CBCC benefits is reduced by its shortage of housing. Still, they would much prefer to see employees purchase rather than rent housing, and to attract permanent rather than transitory residents.

This preference may partially account for the willingness of many to see the pre-prison housing as sufficient to meet the forthcoming need. "There's no shortage of housing in Clallam Bay," exclaims a local realtor; "there's a shortage of good tenants. The trouble with these people is they're not willing to make a commitment. " Such a perspective stands as an example of wishful thinking, a mentality not held by all: the prison had not even opened when local residents began asking: "Where are these people going to live?" With this question now answered by employees residing elsewhere, the majority of Clallam Bay residents are uncomfortably aware that their community's existing housing is <u>not</u> adequate or appropriate for the demand. The problem has been in converting this realization into some reality.

Despite the outreach efforts of agencies, the prison administration, and several local realtors and business persons, Clallam Bay has been unable to find another investor willing to build housing in the community. Clallam Bay's housing problems are not helped by the burgeoning housing market of the Puget Sound area, or by a shortage of rental housing in nearby Port Angeles. The ready availability of easier and more lucrative locations for investment has left Clallam Bay far behind. Its need, while severe by local standards, cannot compare with that of more populous areas, nor can its potential returns. The few investors who have been interested in Clallam Bay have been themselves somewhat marginal, most typically undercapitalized and unable to mount any venture without significant assistance. Thus far, no such assistance has been forthcoming. One prospective investor, ready to build housing in the community, was unable to obtain a loan. He complained that "No one believes Clallam Bay is going to grow, or

if it does, that there isn't already available sufficient property to meet the demand."

The Federal support for the 34 apartments referenced earlier remains the community's major new housing investment. And this too has been a mixed blessing. The requirement of the funding source that rental rates be indexed to incomes, and increase when income does, has produced in the past a situation where rental charges were well above area standards for some tenants. CBCC staff often qualify for subsided rents when they are first hired on the basis of their previous income, a situation that changes when rents and income are reviewed several months later. This has led to vacancies despite the housing shortage: some former tenants have moved out of town, preferring to commute rather than pay the higher rents. The apartment complex has also become the residence of choice for locally resident inmate families. Such forced proximity has further reduced the attractiveness of the apartments to many CBCC employees.

LOCATING HOUSING

New employees learn from their fellows that housing is hard to find in Clallam Bay and too expensive when you can locate it. This received knowledge leads many to not even look locally, seeing a commute from out of town as part of their CBCC job. It also is sometimes not easy to find what rental housing there is. In keeping with the community's intimacy, residents have traditionally found out about available housing the way they find out most community business - through the local grapevine. This does not work well with strangers. One resident was heard to complain that no one had rented the mobile he had available. When asked if he had advertised or listed it, he replied "No, but <u>everyone</u> knows it's for rent!"

Nor has the prison itself done much to facilitate the prospects of employees living in Clallam Bay. Interest expressed by CBCC administrators during community advisory committee meetings in passing on Clallam Bay housing information to new employees has led to no identifiable action. This report by a CBCC employee and new Forks resident is typical:

> I intended to live in Clallam Bay, but I couldn't get any information about it. I asked at the personnel office when I was hired: "Can you hook me up with any realtors or can you give me any information about housing?" And they said "Oh, there's nothing we can do to help you. There's nothing organized. You'll just have to find something through word of mouth."

More recently, CBCC staff have referred new employees to a Clallam Bay realtor. Unfortunately, without the rental housing most seem to want, the realtor can do little more than put people on waiting lists.

With each disappointment the prison has brought to Clallam Bay, residents have found some prospect for improvement in future developments. When construction did not do much for either local jobs or local businesses, the belief was that this would change

with the prison operation itself. When the interim operation produced further delays in the realization of benefits, expectations were shifted to full operations. Now these too have failed to fulfill the community's high hopes, and once again, many residents seek some potential event to serve as the repository for their dreams.

Improvements in housing fit all qualifications for this role. The lack of housing is linked to employees living elsewhere, to purchases and payments going elsewhere, and even to job dissatisfaction and turnover. Its solution has become the solution for many of those still seeking to have their expectations of maximum prison benefits realized. In this focus, they may forget what others see all too clearly: housing is only one reason why employees are not living in Clallam Bay. It is, in the words of one resident, "just a convenient excuse."

PRISON EXPENDITURES

In addition to the contributions the prison makes to the local economy through its employees, the institution itself may make direct purchases in the local area. These expenditures could potentially include all the food, materials, and equipment needed for prison operations, although in practice the possibilities are considerably more limited. As a state agency, CBCC is involved in a system of bids and contracts. Some of these arrangements may involve purchases for all state prisons; others may be to supply certain goods to all state agencies; comparatively few are for CBCC's needs alone. Clallam County businesses, by virtue of their location and their size, are seldom in a position to compete for multi-institutional or state-wide contracts. As a result, opportunities for area businesses to provide goods and services to CBCC are limited. With Clallam Bay's business community one of the smallest in the county, opportunities for becoming the recipient of prison business in Clallam Bay itself are even more restricted.

Given these limitations, Clallam County has fared rather well from CBCC expenditures. Based on information collected from vendor records at the prison (discussed in detail below), businesses located in the county received more than half of the institution's expenditures for goods, services, and equipment once the prison was fully operational. During CBCC's start-up period, with more one-time purchases of items such as furniture and equipment, the county's businesses still received a 20% share of prison expenditures.

In 1988, as part of the statewide study of prison impacts referenced previously (Lidman 1988), the Department of Corrections prepared an estimate of CBCC's Clallam County expenditures. These figures were generated by using institutional data from three separate months of fiscal year 1988 as a retrospective sample to calculate expenditure proportions in fiscal years 1986 and 1987. For a new institution such as CBCC, the assumptions underlying such sampling and its appropriateness are questionable, and the figures are not used here. In some cases, assignment of expenditures as

occurring in-county seems tautological - a consequence of the prison's location and thus the location of its employees and its assets.

The proportions used to generate these figures are more useful, however, based as they are on a sample taken after the prison was fully operational. According to this data, Clallam County businesses, contractors, and agencies received 59% of the net non-payroll expenditures of CBCC during the sampled months of fiscal year 1988. Other than utilities, the categories with the highest proportionate amounts going to county providers included Contracted Client Services (education, medical and religious services), with 96% in-county expenditures; Equipment - Capitalized (93%); and Equipment - Inventoriable/Noncapitalized (98%). In contrast, expenditures in Clallam County for Supplies and Materials (including food, office and other supplies) equalled only 15% of the total.

GOODS, SERVICES AND EQUIPMENT

Project staff obtained information on prison purchases for two time periods. The first began on October 1, 1985 (CBCC's fiscal opening) and continued through March 11, 1987. This roughly coincides with the institution's start-up, interim operation, and phase-up to full operations. The second period began on March 12, 1987, and continued through February 28, 1988: this time frame covers what should be more routine expenditures under full operation of the institution. The rather odd time periods are an artifact of how records were filed, making identification of purchases on a monthly basis very time consuming. The dates used are therefore those when the files were reviewed.

The project's research assistant went through all vendor records for purchases of goods, services, or equipment that were on file in CBCC's business office. Vendors were first sorted by the county of their location, with all Clallam County vendors reviewed in more detail. Information recorded for these in-county vendors included item(s) purchased, dollar amounts, and the specific Clallam County community where the vendor was located. Information on total purchases during roughly equivalent time periods (October 1985 - February 1987 and March 1987 - February 1988) was provided by the institution's business office. The results of both review periods are iterated in Table 7 - 3.

During the first review period, Clallam County vendors received $751,290 from CBCC purchases, 20.4% of the $3,678,804 in prison expenditures for goods, services, and equipment. Forty-seven percent of these in-county purchases were made from Port Angeles vendors; 38% went to Clallam County for utilities; and 4%, some $30,000, was paid to vendors located in Clallam Bay. A portion of the Port Angeles purchases were to vendors operating as part of a company headquartered elsewhere, such as for bread and milk. In Clallam Bay, 73% of the purchases were for medical services, more than 90% of which went to purchase medicines from the local pharmacy.

TABLE 7 - 3
CLALLAM BAY CORRECTIONS CENTER EXPENDITURES FOR GOODS AND SERVICES

October 1985 through February 1987[1]:

Total Goods/Services/Equipment Expenditures from all sources:

Total Goods & Services	=	$2,315,646
Total Equipment Costs	=	1,363,158
GRAND TOTAL		$3,678,804

Total Clallam County Expenditures:

Area	Amount	% of Total County Expenditures
Clallam Bay/Sekiu	$ 30,080.23	4.00%
Neah Bay	54.26	.01%
Forks	44,510.76	5.92%
Port Angeles	351,431.67	46.78%
Sequim	15,088.55	2.01%
Utilities:		
Phone	19,134.93	2.55%
PUD	155,970.64	20.76%
Public Works	131,815.50	17.55%
Gas	3,202.97[2]	.43%
TOTAL COUNTY EXPENDITURES	$751,289.51	

- Total Clallam County expenditures were 20.42% of the Grand Total.

March 1987 through February 1988[3]:

Total Goods/Services/Equipment Expenditures from all sources:

Total Goods & Services	=	$1,066,708
Total Equipment Costs	=	590,025
GRAND TOTAL		$1,656,733

Total Clallam County Expenditures:

Area	Amount	% of Total County Expenditures
Clallam Bay/Sekiu	$ 63,968.93	7.34%
Neah Bay	37,468.60	4.30%
Forks	33,526.12	3.84%
Port Angeles	367,450.42	42.14%
Sequim	17,385.90	1.99%
Utilities:		
Phone	24,515.04	2.81%
PUD	147,400.87	16.90%
Public Works	177,199.52	20.32%
Gas	3,110.38[2]	.36%
TOTAL COUNTY EXPENDITURES	$872,025.78	

- Total Clallam County expenditures were 53.0% of the Grand Total.

[1] Records were reviewed to March 12, 1987.
[2] Some part of this may have been spent out of county.
[3] Records were reviewed from March 12, 1987.

Source: Clallam Bay Project analysis of CBCC purchase records.

Once CBCC reached full operations and no longer needed to purchase initial equipment and supplies, the prison's total purchases declined: during the second review period (March 1987 - February 1988), total purchases equaled $1,656,733. Clallam County's share of these reduced purchases increased, however, to $872,026, or 53% of the total. Again, Port Angeles with 42%, and Clallam County utilities, with 37%, received the largest portion of these expenditures.

Purchases from Clallam Bay businesses increased to $63,969 in this second period, 7.3% of the county total. This improvement in local purchasing was achieved largely through expanded CBCC use (coincident with the expanded inmate population) of Clallam Bay's pharmacy, an item accounting for 87% of the amount paid to local vendors. This arrangement for purchase of drugs from the local pharmacy was discontinued in 1988 with the hiring of a pharmacist to operate the institution's own dispensary. The pharmacist hired happens to be the same individual who also owns and continues to operate the community's pharmacy. Thus, although drug purchases are no longer made through his business, another established Clallam Bay resident now has prison employment.

The Clallam Bay Sewer System:

The payments made to the county's Public Utilities District for sewer services also are inflated because of a temporary situation associated with initial prison operations. The prison was expected to utilize Clallam Bay's existing sewer system, a welcome arrangement for residents who had been paying for a system that was larger than they needed. The system was constructed just before Clallam Bay's population dropped, and the county too, which had borrowed money to keep the system operating without further increasing rates, welcomed the partnership with the prison.

The Department of Corrections was unable to come to agreement with the county on the original plan for shared use of the existing plant. Reasons given for this failure included politics, jurisdictional debates, and the prison's need for more capacity than available. The end result was that, at considerable extra cost, the institution constructed its own sewage treatment plant. The outfall for both systems would still need to be shared, however, and the Department agreed to pay a one-time fee for hooking up and to make monthly operations and maintenance payments.

The hookup was due to occur in time for the start of prison operations in January, 1986. It was a straightforward procedure of connecting a short length of pipe from the prison's system to the outfall itself. This connection was held hostage when the county found it had little else to use as leverage to obtain a favorable dispersement of one-time prison impact funds from the Department of Corrections. Final permission for the outfall hookup became the county's bargaining chip in negotiations with the Department for these funds and the commissioners would not sign off on an outfall agreement until an acceptable settlement had been reached. In the meantime, CBCC had no choice but to run its already treated sewage through the county's plant (and then through the outfall). They

were charged the same rate as paid by other county customers, calculated by volume.

What neither party realized when this arrangement was established was that the volume of CBCC's discharge was greatly influenced by rainwater entering the prison's system. When it rained heavily (as it inevitably does in Clallam Bay in the winter), the amount of discharge that went through the outfall, and the amount owed to the county for this "service," increased dramatically. In January of 1986, for example, the bill from the county for use of the outfall was $56,763; in February, it was $25,862; and in April (apparently a month with more moderate rainfall), the county charged $13,387 for outfall use. By the time the sewer pipe from CBCC was officially connected to the outfall line in May of 1987, the Department of Corrections had paid Clallam County a total of $385,145 for use of the line; the charge for hook-up to the outfall was an additional $100,000. Since the systems were connected, payments for operations and maintenance from Department of Corrections have ranged around $400 to $600 a month

This unexpected windfall for the county enabled the commissioners to pay back funds borrowed to support the sewer system, buy needed maintenance equipment for the plant, not further raise customer rates, and still set aside funds for future sewer expenses. County-level officials tend to chortle when they recount their return on the CBCC sewer; corrections officials are more likely to bristle and contend they were taken advantage of, an attitude that coincided with other impressions prison personnel were beginning to receive from the community and the county.

CONTRACTED SERVICES

Other direct prison expenditures have been made through its contracts for services from various providers, some of whom live in Clallam County. Most such contracts are with individuals for medical services, and in the case of local providers, represent another benefit to the area's economy. By far the most significant of CBCC's contracted services is the arrangement with the area's community college for the provision of education for inmates. The college itself is located in Port Angeles; the education program for the prison is housed within the institution in Clallam Bay. Expenditures for educational services alone come close to the amounts reported above for all other purchases in the county.

Inmate Education:

In fiscal year 1987, before CBCC was fully operational, $255,846 was spent in the educational contract with Peninsula College. In fiscal year 1988, the educational contract cost CBCC $672,033, and the program had not yet reached its full enrollment. At the end of June, 1988, the college employed 15 faculty/staff persons for the prison's education program, the great majority full time. Since then, CBCC has completed the remodeling of the upstairs portion of its industries building into a well-equipped, modern educational facility. With this improved capacity for

inmate educational offerings, and with CBCC's avowed purpose of having all inmates either in school or working, the amount of prison funds directed to education, and thus to Peninsula College, will likely increase.

Staff Training:

One unexpected avenue of increase has been through provision of education services for staff. Staff training and development has typically been a matter for the institutional training coordinator and the state-wide corrections academy located near Seattle. CBCC recently began a unique college-institution partnership to provide educational services to staff on site at the prison through Peninsula College. This new program, currently being implemented, helps CBCC deal with the difficulties and costs associated with the need to travel out-of-area for training. More importantly, it is specifically intended to combat CBCC's turnover and retention problems by making the institution a center for corrections education. The hope is that new staff will remain at the institution long enough for the facility to benefit from their education and experience; there is little expectation that the employee education program will serve as an indefinite deterrent to employee mobility. Whatever its success may be in these efforts, the program's operation adds to the institution's contributions to the college. Peninsula College has a small regular enrollment and a small faculty and staff; these two programs make up a significant portion of the college's faculty and its revenues.

RESIDENT ATTITUDES

For the county and its business and service providers, these prison purchases and expenditures come as welcome and unencumbered benefits. The institution is another potential customer and for some, a major customer at that. For Clallam Bay and its businesses, purchases by the prison are another illustration of how reality falls short of expectations. Some local business owners resent the way institutional purchases often exclude them simply because of their inability to provide sufficient volumes for the entire system. They feel that proximity and ready availability should count for more than price when contracts are let.

Some are unsure how to get on the bidders list. Others, who are on the list, complain that purchases outside the bid process sometimes go to merchants in other communities, and for a higher price. One Clallam Bay business owner tells of providing the prison with an item for trial at no charge, with the eventual purchase of a quantity of the same items being made elsewhere. In brief, and congruent with other reactions, many Clallam Bay residents feel bypassed, overlooked, and mis-used by the prison and its expenditure process. In the case of the sewer, these feelings are directed at the county commissioners, a more traditional target of the community's resentments. From the prison residents had hoped for better, and because they feel they must bear a disproportionate share of prison costs, they believe they deserve to have an advantage when it comes to distribution of its benefits.

The other side to these feelings comes from CBCC's staff and administration. Several remarked how little Clallam Bay merchants seem willing to do to obtain prison purchase contracts, citing the need to lower prices to be competitive with outside bidders. The administration resents the expectation that, in a bureaucratically structured and rule-driven process, being located in Clallam Bay should confer any advantage. They expect Clallam Bay's businesses to compete on the same terms as do other vendors. One CBCC administrator complained how Clallam Bay people seemed to expect the prison to somehow directly restore the town's economy, even including re-opening the grocery store for institutional food purchases - "The mentality of the people in the community is as if they've been given a lot of promises, and they are seeking to have them all made good from the prison."

ONE-TIME PRISON IMPACT FUNDS

Communities hosting prisons in Washington state are entitled to a one-time compensation from the state Legislature for costs associated with the prison's initial operation. This funding is intended to reimburse the community for any extraordinary expenses that may come from the presence of the prison. The items that might qualify for this funding cover the full range of potential prison impacts, from increased law enforcement expenses to expansion of public utilities. The actual amount of the funding is established through negotiation between the local government and the Department of Corrections, contingent on an adequate appropriation from the Legislature. New prisons and substantial expansions of existing facilities qualify for the one-time prison impact funds (on-going impact funds, according to a reimbursement formula, are available for criminal justice system costs associated with legal violations by prisoners). Requests for funding must be made after the prison has opened in the biennium in which the impacts occur, and must be supported by documentation of the type of assistance required and the dollar amounts necessary to provide this.

These one-time impact funds were frequently referenced during the siting process of the Clallam Bay facility. Local prison proponents, county officials, and Department of Corrections representatives pointed to the availability of such funding as a means of resolving the objections or concerns of opponents. Actual promises may not have been made in this regard, but they were certainly heard by community residents. Although there remained many pessimists about how prison impact funds would actually be used, most members of the community generally accepted the assurances that there would be money for the community to deal with adverse prison effects. Both the assurances and their acceptance took place before any funds were either negotiated or appropriated.

Because Clallam Bay is an unincorporated community, the governing entity responsible for impact fund negotiations and their distribution was Clallam County. The county commissioners contracted with a consulting firm in the summer of 1985 to develop

an impact funds request, using such data as was available from the environmental impact assessment process, a separate study done for the Sheriff's Department, and interviews with local officials and agency directors. The intention was to submit a speedy request for funding to take advantage of the legislative appropriation for the biennium covered by FY 1986 and 1987.

This schedule was changed by the decision to delay full operation of CBCC and to temporarily use it as a minimum security facility. For some time, it was uncertain when and under what premise application for funds would be appropriate. Obviously, impacts during the interim operation would be less than those associated with full operations: were these separate operations, both eligible for funding, or were they a phase-in of a single facility? The decision was made for negotiations with the Department of Corrections to proceed at a slower pace, with the aim being to base the funding request on effects of the facility under full operation. The level of this request, initially set at $730,000, rose and fell as negotiations proceeded and as the moneys set aside were expended in other locales.

After what the county commissioners describe as difficult and prolonged negotiations, an impact funds settlement for $730,287 was finally reached in May of 1987. The Department used funds from its regular budget to pay the impact settlement, avoiding the need to go to the Legislature for an appropriation. The agreement included a clause allowing the county to request additional impact funds if the prisoner population at CBCC exceeded 550 for more than 90 days. One incentive for the Department of Corrections to settle was the refusal by the commissioners to approve the connection of the pipe carrying the prison's treated sewage to the county's outfall in Clallam Bay until impact negotiations were favorably resolved.

DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS: CLALLAM COUNTY

The commissioners needed to document expenditures the county had ostensibly already incurred because of CBCC in order to justify reimbursement through the state. This rationale showed the funds going to cover costs incurred by the county in prison inspection services, to pay their consultants, and various other items. The predominant justification used was for law enforcement services, primarily those delivered through the county Sheriff's department. This distribution essentially corresponded to the breakdown initially prepared by the county's consultants. Although the justification for expenditures was written as if there had been moneys spent for these purposes to deal with prison impacts, in actuality, this was seldom the case. This distinction between what was claimed and what would happen was unambiguous to the county and the state; it was more difficult to explain to a skeptical Clallam Bay populace.

When the money was received by the county, the commissioners determined anew how the funds would be allocated according to where they had already spent moneys in anticipation of their receipt, where they expected moneys to be needed, and their view of what would be an appropriate distribution directly to the Clallam Bay

community. In some cases this related closely to the funding justifications; in others, it was different. The eventual allocation granted $150,000 to the Sheriff's Department, $67,000 to the county Human Services Department, and $30,000 to the Library system. A committee made up of nine residents from Clallam Bay and Sekiu was appointed to represent the Clallam Bay community and allocated $210,000. The remainder was designated as a reserve fund or for miscellaneous expenses. Each entity receiving funds determined their eventual distribution, contingent on the approval of the commissioners.

The $520,000 that comprised the rest of the one-time impact funds allotment to Clallam County was spent on a range of projects. The Sheriff's Department received the bulk of the $200,000 held in reserve to add to the $150,000 initially distributed to it. About $15,000 of this money went to support the research work of the Clallam Bay project; most of the impact funds obtained by the Sheriff's Department were used to purchase needed equipment for the department as a whole. These purchases included radios allowing communication between Sheriff's and CBCC vehicles, but resulted as well in upgrading the communications capacity of law enforcement county-wide. Further improvements in the department's office in Clallam Bay also were paid for by impact funds. Part of the $67,000 directed to the Human Services Department was used to contract for needs assessments and community organizing in Clallam Bay and Forks. The remainder had not been expended by the close of the research period.

The commissioners felt they had "held tough" during impact money negotiations with the Department of Corrections and had obtained the best possible agreement for Clallam Bay and the county. Residents of Clallam Bay were more inclined to feel the settlement was too low, an outgrowth perhaps of inflated expectations. Even more prominently, community residents were beginning to believe that whatever funding received would not be used in Clallam Bay. This view was fueled by the published rationale used to justify the impact agreement and by the actual distribution of funds.

To residents of Clallam Bay, with their long-term sense of injustice in the delivery of county services, there was considerable skepticism that their community would actually receive anything substantial from the county. The original justifications of where funds had apparently been expended confirmed this view. The amount of moneys put into law enforcement in this justification was incongruent with their sense that this service was inadequate and had not improved, and so these claims were unbelievable as well. Funds spent on the Clallam Bay Sheriff's office, for example, did not include more staffing, and thus the community saw little benefit to their law enforcement capacity. Finally, because of the confusing explanations put forth about whether this distribution represented actual past expenditures or likely future ones or neither (which was in fact more accurate), there continued to be several conflicting views about what was going on with the impact funds at all.

In a discussion of the funding agreement at a Clallam Bay Chamber of Commerce meeting, members complained that the money had been spent and they were not consulted as promised. Others maintained the money was already locked up in county coffers. Earlier misunderstandings about the county's role in the timing of the prison's medium security opening contributed to further resentments. One man referenced a newspaper account of the agreement in which the commissioners were quoted as very pleased with the settlement. Expressing a belief prevalent in the community about the commissioners using the sewer as a bargaining chip, he asked: "They're not counting how much money it cost the community for the delay they caused in the prison because they wouldn't give them the sewer permit, all the businesses that were hurt, because they delayed the opening. And they're proud of that?"

The impression that the prison impact funds obtained by the county for CBCC seemed to be going elsewhere in the county and not to Clallam Bay, as reflected in both the original justification and the eventual allocation, was particularly troubling. Residents strongly felt that all funds should be for services or expenditures in Clallam Bay itself. The commissioners felt differently, as this one explained to an irate Clallam Bay resident: "You know, this isn't just the Clallam Bay impact, this is the county impact. It's going to hit all over the county, not just in this community." The resident's response matched benefits with deficits. He said, "Well, the people who work for the prison are living all over the county too, not just Clallam Bay."

Respondents to the 1988 community survey were asked their opinions on impact fund expenditures and their adequacy in an open-ended question: 136 respondents, 60% of the total, answered the question. Responses were predominantly of two types. In one, there was a listing of items or areas where the respondent felt impact funds should be spent. Frequently, these were those the local impact funds committee had already identified and publicized. In the other group of responses, respondents expressed their displeasure with the amount coming to Clallam Bay. In an answer that was repeated by others, and which is by now a familiar theme in this report, a respondent wrote "I don't think they will be used to help Clallam Bay/Sekiu. Benefits will be directed to Port Angeles and Forks."

DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS: CLALLAM BAY

It was thus somewhat grudgingly that many of the nine members of the Clallam Bay community impact funds committee sat down to recommend distribution of the community's direct allocation of $210,000. They were working under a set of constraints imposed by the commissioners, applied as well to other county agencies receiving impact funds. In sum, these were that any recommendations on fund expenditures were advisory only, that the money could not go toward anything that would lead to an on-going expense to the county, and that any use of one-time funds for wages or staff was effectively not allowed. These constraints meant that

many of those items or services most wanted, such as another sheriff's deputy or a local physician, could not be purchased with impact funds.

The membership of the committee was selected by the commissioners from community residents who responded to a request to apply. Notice of the committee's formation had been published in local newspapers and sent to Clallam Bay service clubs and organizations. The nine individuals selected for the committee intentionally included a mix of representatives from different interest groups: persons recommended by the Chamber of Commerce and the Lions Club, persons who were active in community affairs and local businesses, residents of both Clallam Bay and Sekiu, and some of the most prominent prison proponents and opponents. A single individual typically "represented" multiple such interests.

Despite all this diversity, committee members for the most part made an extraordinary effort to cooperate and compromise for what they believed was the good of the community. The meetings of the group were not without dissention, some due to personality conflicts, some over impact fund allocation, and some as an outgrowth of prior disagreements, including and preceding the dispute over prison siting. The committee's recommendations to the commissioners incorporated a number of compromises and concessions on the parts of different members. They were submitted on July 1, 1987, and signed by every member but one.

The deliberations of the local impact funds committee took place in weekly meetings held April through June of 1987. The committee published notices requesting applications for funding or suggested uses of funds; individual committee members also often had their own ideas for where to spend impact funds, and these were typically channeled to the committee through a formal request from some community organization. All committee decisions were guided by the requirement that any use of funds must result in the mitigation of a direct prison impact (as defined by the committee). In addition, a procedure for giving a numerical rating to each request was developed by one member with expertise in planning. The ratings incorporated the extent to which a given use of impact funds would favorably affect the community, its fit with the commissioner's constraints, the inclusion of other funding sources, and its scope of benefits.

Recommendations of the Local Committee:

The community impact funds committee recommended the funding of ten projects plus a reserve fund of some $26,000 to take into account future impacts. Five categories of prison impacts were covered in these recommendations. The first, recreational and leisure impacts, incorporated projects intended to improve the mix of activities available in Clallam Bay to better serve the interests of newcomers and induce them to settle and remain in the community. The four projects recommended for funding under this heading were a public fishing pier, a community baseball field and a playground (both sited at the school), and new quarters for the Clallam Bay library.

The second funding category was that of equipment and facilities impacts. Projects identified for funding in this category were intended to replace equipment or fill inadequacies in existing equipment or facilities. These included new materials for the preschool, a defibrillator for the ambulance, and a modular unit to provide office space for the ambulance service and counseling services. The third category of prison visitor impacts had but a single project, that of a hospitality house for prison visitors. The last two categories also included one project each: the category of traffic safety impacts requested funding to construct sidewalks along the highway in downtown Clallam Bay; the category of community security impacts identified a need for some form of warning system to notify the community of a prisoner escape. One potential future impact identified for eventual funding was a comprehensive planning study for the Clallam Bay community.

This selection of projects to recommend for funding reflects the importance committee members generally placed on Clallam Bay benefitting from the prison. Discussions of the group repeatedly centered around attracting prison employees to Clallam Bay, making them happy with their residence choice, and thus retaining them in the community. These struck outside observers as rather stretching the definition of prison impacts, but presented no such difficulty to committee members and many community residents. The impact funds, in their view, were to assist the community in its relationships with CBCC. This could as readily mean improving the prospects of Clallam Bay benefitting from the prison as it did reducing the costs of responding to any negative consequences.

It was the use of impact funds for mitigation of adverse prison impacts that created the most disagreement among committee members. Two projects were particularly hotly debated: the warning system and the hospitality house. Some members felt provision of a hospitality house for prison visitors was an inappropriate use of funds because of the benefits thereby given to unwanted outsiders. Members also disagreed on the need for a warning system (itself a compromise term from the siren wanted by its leading advocate), or disputed whether it was a community responsibility. In the spirit of conciliation that marked committee deliberations, both projects were nonetheless included in the final set of recommendations.

Actual Projects:

In the year and a half following the committee's recommendations, six of the recommended projects have received funding or are in the final planning stages for implementation. The defibrillator and modular unit and the preschool materials have been purchased and are in use. The playground equipment became a community centennial project. Its construction was led by a woman who had been actively opposed to the prison, with the project budget further enriched by donations of material and additional locally raised funds; the equipment was constructed with the assistance of a prisoner work crew. The library combined its award

from the committee with that received directly from the commissioners to match a Federal grant, and purchased a site for a new Clallam Bay library which is scheduled to open in 1990. The baseball field project subsequently obtained additional impact funds from the committee and was incorporated in the school's plans for its property: prisoner labor was to be used to construct seating.

The fishing pier project has not progressed beyond the committee's recommendation. It which would require substantial outside investment and involvement, and this has not been forthcoming. Sidewalks in a portion of downtown Clallam Bay were built using funds from the state Department of Transportation, a source apparently previously available but never tapped until their need was identified as a prison impact. No impact fund moneys were needed for their construction; funding was based on existing standards for highways going through populous areas. In yet another shift, the hospitality house metamorphasized into a day care center for locally resident families. This process is described in detail in Chapter 9. The center was still in the planning stages as of August 31, 1989.

That portion of the $210,000 allocated to the citizen's committee which was not used for recommended projects was put back into the pool for further committee deliberations. Some moneys went for other community improvement projects, most were used to add more funding for projects such as the playground, ball field, and the day care center.

Escape Warning System:

The remaining project included in the committee's original recommendations for the use of impact funds was the escape warning system. This was the pet project of one committee member, a leader of the opposition group to the prison's siting. Other members agreed that the community should somehow be informed when an escapee from the prison was at large and also were dissatisfied with CBCC's communication with residents regarding escapes that had happened during the interim operation. They did not, however, feel that a siren or whistle was an appropriate solution to this because of concerns about generating additional panic and unduly alarming any tourists who might be in town. Rather they believed that a phone tree system or a variant would work well.

The need for some form of community notification in the event of an escape had been discussed with the prison by the institution's community advisory committee (which shared several members with the impact funds committee), and a phone tree system had been selected. After several months, and a few reminders, no action had been taken by the prison's administration beyond the existing short list of residents to be called. Frustrated with the lack of progress, the members of the impact funds committee agreed to include the warning system in their impact funds request. Few expected this to result in a siren or other noise making device, particularly since the prison's lack of support for this type of system had already been communicated in a letter to the committee.

After the committee submitted its recommendations, the member wanting the warning device began to actively lobby for its installation, using the prison's community advisory committee as his forum. CBCC's administration continued to discourage a siren-type system, but did not emphatically state its opposition. Matters came to a head at a CBCC community advisory committee meeting which was attended by several Clallam Bay residents who were not members and a representative of the area's telephone company. This person came to discuss the various factors associated with installing, activating, and operating a siren system using existing telephone lines and poles.

After some discussion of these issues, the prison's superintendent advised the committee, and the community, that the prison would not throw any switches to sound a warning in the community in the event of an escape. They would, nonetheless, call a citizen who wanted to do that, since, in the words of the superintendent "It's a community decision if you want to have a siren. It's not my decision. But our position is that we would not advise it and we are opposed to it." The CBCC administration expressed its willingness to place a phone call to every resident who wished to be notified in the event of an escape. Further, the prison would solicit names and phone numbers of such persons through a mass mailing to every residence in the Clallam Bay area. No impact funds were needed for this purpose, and, although some residents continued to grumble about not being allowed "their siren," most seemed well pleased with the resolution of the communication issue. Seventy households responded to the request for notification.

RESIDENTS' EVALUATION OF ONE-TIME IMPACT FUNDS

Overall, the concerns of Clallam Bay citizens that the impact funds would not be spent in their community appear to have been at least partially justified. Much of the funding distributed by the county to other agencies was used to cover needs in other areas as well as those in Clallam Bay. In some cases, these expenditures in other areas had only a tenuous connection to prison impacts at best. Further, that portion of these moneys spent in Clallam Bay itself went largely to low-visibility items. Other than the projects funded through the local committee and the library, there is little residents can point to that impact funds did in the community.

"Oh, were there impact moneys from the prison?" one resident mocked, and continued sarcastically "but they did take $450,000 of it and spend it on putting some more deputies out here, and I <u>really</u> appreciate that." Such comments are frequent when the subject of prison impact funds is raised, illustrating continuing community resentment and misunderstanding. The major exception to these dismissive comments is the new library, but it too is seen as representative of unfair distribution of prison benefits: residents point to their forthcoming new library as "at least something good that's happened in Clallam Bay because of the prison."

The types of things residents expected impact funds to purchase were precluded by the constraints put on the expenditure of these funds by the county commissioners. Such limits make good fiscal sense when using one-time funds, but they were contrary to the image residents had been given of how impact funds were to relieve their needs. The increase in both law enforcement and human services staff that would have most fit residents' preconceptions and their sense of community priorities, and would have suited the Sheriff's and Human Service's Departments as well, could not occur. What was left to spend money on was seldom what residents wanted or viewed as helpful for their community.

Although Clallam Bay certainly benefitted from impact funds, so did other parts of the county, and the prison-relationship of some of these extra-local expenditures was tenuous at best. The emotional result of how the funds were distributed and spent has been even less positive. Residents are most likely to feel the funds have been wasted, spread about elsewhere like prison jobs and other benefits while Clallam Bay gets increased crime and prisoner families and other negatives. It provides yet another example of community lack of power and its domination by outside interests. Clallam Bay's unincorporated status was cited by one resident as the reason for the community's "loss of more than half a million dollars" because impact funds went to the county.

In the spring of 1988, a county commissioner and a Clallam Bay community leader carried on an extended debate about impact funds and their use after a commissioner's meeting in Clallam Bay. The resident had complained how, although the community was "supposed to get all this money, it is being spent elsewhere in the county. This is Clallam Bay impact money!" The commissioner argued the appropriateness of funds being used elsewhere, citing these expenditures as due to prison impacts. "The county's suffering impacts too," he said. "This community just doesn't want to see that." The resident responded with a litany of grievances, including employees living elsewhere, the low levels of hiring of local people, the lack of volunteerism and community involvement among new residents, and the restrictions placed on spending impact moneys. "The impact is here," the Clallam Bay man repeated, "and this little town is taking it in the shorts. The money flows out; Clallam Bay isn't getting anything."

CHAPTER 8
POPULATION IMPACTS

The Clallam Bay community had lost more than one-fifth of its population in the years following the closure of Crown Zellerbach's local operations. The effects of this loss were clearly visible in the community's vacant houses and empty stores. The size of enrollment in the school, membership and participation in community organizations and churches, and the numbers of patients in the medical clinic similarly showed declines. As the number of residents in Clallam Bay grew smaller, there was some question about whether there would be enough people remaining to sustain these services and structures intended for a larger population. Restoring this population, and by extension, restoring the community's people-based resources, was therefore a widely hoped for prison outcome. It is also the case that the desire for population growth was simply another way of obtaining economic security. "We want them to live in Clallam Bay," said one resident, "because that's what will bring the money into town."

The particular people wanted in Clallam Bay were the ones who would be most likely to accomplish this restoration of both people and economic resources. They should be young enough to have young families with children to attend the school; they should be old enough to be ready to settle down and purchase a home and stay in Clallam Bay; they should be civically responsible and involved, becoming members of the community's churches and various voluntary organizations; and they should have interests and values and appreciation for the community that fit with those ideally held by Clallam Bay's existing residents.

There also were people who were not wanted in Clallam Bay. Residents did not want to see their community's population swollen by welfare recipients or those with needs for social service assistance. Such characteristics were associated with family members and friends of inmates. Residents did not feel they should be expected to contribute to the support of such "camp followers," and worried about the capacity of the community's limited social services network to meet both these new needs and those of "our own" poor.

Other concerns encompassed both inmate associates and prison employees and their shared status as newcomers and outsiders. Clallam Bay residents worried that new residents might be more sophisticated and urban, with tastes for a "faster" life." It was feared such persons might bring the big city problems of drugs and more crime to this rural area. Such people were not expected to like life in such a small community, and would to seek to change it or remain disassociated from other residents and their interests. These people were unlikely to remain in Clallam Bay, and their impermanence while residing there as well as their eventual exodus would bring additional difficulties for the community.

The presumed consequences of these unwanted new residents and their attitudes and lifestyles were expressed in the following prediction of what the prison would mean for Clallam Bay, spoken

just before the institution started full operations. The speaker was a prison opponent whose opposition rested on perceived threats the prison would bring to the rural lifestyle he and his family had chosen:

> This is going to become a prison town. That prison is going to dominate this community and people are going to be transients. They're not going to want to live here. They're not going to be like us, the people who are here now who are making certain sacrifices to live here because we want to. They won't be willing to make those sacrifices, and they'll put in their time and transfer somewhere else. So they're going to be people who have no commitment to the area.

Finally, there was the fear that Clallam Bay's population would not expand, and that prison employees would choose to live in other area communities with larger populations and more amenities. The awareness of many residents that Clallam Bay's existing housing might not be appropriate or adequate gave fuel to these fears, adding to the community's deficits in other areas to discourage new residents. Such sentiments showed up in responses to the 1986 community survey. Barely 50% of the survey respondents expected "many new residents in Clallam Bay" to be a likely prison impact. This dampening of expectations regarding prison population effects is another response to the low growth associated with construction and the reduced staffing of the interim operation. It also reflects prior concerns about whether such expectations were realistic in the first place.

POPULATION GROWTH

In 1980, the United States census count showed 1,398 residents living in the Clallam Bay area. According to an unofficial (and unobtainable) count done by the school district two years prior to this, some 1,600 residents had lived in the community in 1978. Thus, the community's population had already declined by 1980, a reduction substantiated by drops in school enrollment and medical clinic patient counts starting in 1979. A pre-prison population count was conducted by the project in October 1985. This date was after the prison construction had been concluded (thereby missing any temporary population growth from construction workers), and before CBCC had hired more than a skeleton staff of administrators.

The following analysis of the distribution of Clallam Bay's population growth assumes proportionately constant birth and death rates, with the 1980, 1985, and 1988 populations compared directly, without allowance for aging. Changes in the community's population characteristics between 1980 and 1985 were attributed earlier to the exodus of certain types of residents due to loss of employment. Differences between the community's 1985 and 1988 residents, after the prison began operations, are now attributed to that operation and its hiring. The accuracy of this attribution is substantiated by correlations between peak prison hiring periods and increased hook-ups of public utilities.

The prison has not been the sole source of increase in Clallam Bay's population. The area's growing popularity as a vacation resort and consequently, as a summer residence has added to the community's population as well. These seasonal residents typically move to Clallam Bay in the late spring and summer, appearing to peak in June. They leave again in August or September. This movement also is reflected in statistics for utilities, discussed in a later section of this chapter. Some seasonal residents live in RV's or trailers; others own or rent homes or vacation cottages. According to local realtors, many of the recent housing purchases in Clallam Bay can be attributed to these part-time residents of the community. The timing of the community censuses was designed to avoid counting such residents.

CENSUS RESULTS

In October of 1985, Clallam Bay had a population of 971 residents, a figure which accounts for 94% of the area's households. A total of 487 residences were identified, with 100 of these either unoccupied or vacation dwellings. It is probable that some substantial portion of the unenumerated households were similarly part-time residences or vacant. By this date, therefore, the community's population had declined by some 30% since 1980. It is no wonder population growth was a significant part of the prison's appeal.

In April of 1988, another door-to-door project census was conducted in Clallam Bay. This census obtained responses from 98% of the area's households. Characteristics of the 1980, 1985, and 1988 populations are shown in Table 8. - 1. In the three and a half year period since the 1985 census, the community's population had grown to 1,157. While still only 83% of its 1980 population level (and less yet of the 1978 population), this represents an increase of 19% since 1985. For Clallam County as a whole, the projected growth rate during this same period was only 4%. The great majority of new Clallam Bay residents are prison employees and their families.

There are a total of 547 households in Clallam Bay now, an increase of 60 residences. Most of these new residences are accounted for by the 38 apartments referenced previously; the rest are mobile homes. Eighty-three residences are unoccupied. Over a third of these vacant places are vacation homes; another 25% are in poor repair or otherwise marginal for full-time residence; few display for sale or for rent signs.

In some ways, there have been few changes in Clallam Bay's population. The average household size is 2.5 residents, the same as it was in 1985 and comparable to that of 1980. The sex ratio of residents is also very similar: 50.7% male in 1988, 51.8% male in 1985. The age distribution of the community's population in 1988 is somewhat different from that of its former population. The average age in 1985 was 35.4; in 1988, the average age is 32.4.

TABLE 8 - 1
CLALLAM BAY POPULATION CHANGE

	1980	1985	1988
Total population:	1,398	971	1,157
Immediate Clallam Bay area	-	351	431
Immediate Sekiu area	-	127	135
Remainder of census area	-	493	591
Number of occupied households	-	387	464
Part-time/unoccupied residences	-	100	83*
Age distribution:			
Ages:			
1-4	111	81	107
5-9	93	77	112
10-13	80	47	66
14-18	141	56	70
19-24	162	61	53
25-29	130	72	85
30-44	282	240	330
45-64	304	233	224
65+	95	104	91
Average Age:	-	35.4 years	32.4 years

*Over one-third of these are vacation residences; another 25% are in poor repair or marginal for full-time residence; few display for sale or for rent signs.

Source: 1985 and 1988--The Clallam Bay Project: Clallam Bay Community Census, and 1980--U.S. Census.

The new residents of Clallam Bay are disproportionately young children and young-to-middle aged adults, the age range of many prison employees and their families. The number of persons aged 1 - 13 has increased by 39% since 1985; the greatest population growth is in children between 5 and 9, an age group which has expanded by 45% since 1985 and whose size exceeds the 1980 levels by 20%. In 1980, children aged 13 and under made up just over 20% of the population, a proportion which increased slightly to 21% in 1985. In 1988, persons aged 13 or less comprised 25% of the community's population.

The numbers of young people between the ages of 14 and 18 is 25% above 1985 levels, but still only 50% of what it was in 1980. These high school aged children comprised 10% of the 1980 population, dropping to 5.8% of the 1985 population, and improving only minimally in 1988 to equal 6% of the community's residents. This differential distribution of children has had profound effects on the Clallam Bay schools and their programs, an impact discussed in Chapter 12.

There have been changes in the relative numbers of other age categories as well. Young adults just over high school age (19 - 24) are even fewer in number than they were in 1985. There are 53 individuals in this age grouping in Clallam Bay in 1988, only a third of the 162 persons in this range in 1980 and 86% of the 61 individuals in 1985. This group has gone from 11.5% of the community's population in 1980, to 6.3% in 1985, to 4.6% in 1988. The picture is little better for the next age group, 25 - 29: it has increased by 18% since 1985, a growth which still represents a drop of 35% from the numbers recorded in 1980. Whatever the prison may be doing to increase the community's population, it would appear to have had no beneficial effect on retaining Clallam Bay's youngest adults.

Other than among children, the segment of Clallam Bay's population which shows the most improvements is the group aged 30 - 44. Their numbers have increased by 38% since 1985 and 17% since 1980, and their proportion in the population has gone from 20.2% in 1980 to 28.5% in 1988. The actual number of adults aged 45 and older has declined since 1985: however, this age group's share of the community's 1988 population is proportional to what it was in 1980.

CBCC EMPLOYEES

The first period of staffing build-up at the prison during hiring for the interim operation was accompanied by numerous comments about "how good it is to see all the new faces in town." Every stranger was presumed to be a prison employee. This experience is recounted by a CBCC worker in early 1987, shortly after the number of employees and the town's population increased:

> You can really tell that the prison people are in town. As soon as people know that I'm new (and they know that because they don't know me, and everybody knows everybody in Clallam Bay), they automatically know that I work for the prison.

In the fall of 1988, prison personnel records on employee residences show 125 or 44% living in Clallam Bay; 79 (28%) live elsewhere in the county's west end, primarily Forks; and 55 (19%) live in the Port Angeles area. An additional 26 employees identify their place of residence as being off the peninsula or undetermined; all of these persons are residing at least during their work week in some Clallam County or adjacent community - CBCC is too remote to commute from any further away on a regular basis. Some employees do commute on their days off, however, maintaining a second residence and their family off the peninsula: in 1987, 26 employee survey respondents reported they maintained another residence out-of-county; in 1988, 14 survey respondents had a second residence.

The above distribution of employee residences, with little variation, was also found in 1986 and 1987 reviews of CBCC records. This stability in residence option since CBCC has been fully staffed suggests that the community capacity for attracting further employee residents has been reached. There appear to be two principal factors operating here: 1) Clallam Bay does not have the appropriate housing to accommodate additional residents; and 2) other communities offer valued lifestyle benefits that Clallam Bay does not. The shortage of housing was discussed in the previous chapter; lifestyle choices are covered later in this chapter.

The residential location of prison employees in communities other than Clallam Bay began with the interim operation and the transfer of employees from another peninsula facility. Thirty-four employees (the preponderance of corrections officers hired) came to CBCC from Clearwater Corrections Center, 60 miles to the northwest. These employees lived in Forks, mid way between the two facilities. As established residents in the area, and with no change in their work commute, these employees were disinclined to move to Clallam Bay. Some of the same situation applies to initial hires from other county communities, albeit these sometimes were more distant and the commute to CBCC consequently more onerous.

Thus, CBCC's initial staff was comprised disproportionately of persons already living elsewhere within commuting distance to the prison. Of the 80 employees working at the institution in May of 1986, 31 or 39% were Clallam Bay residents. While this was perhaps a respectable proportion, considering the percentage of transferring employees, many community residents were bitterly disappointed by the even larger number (39 or 49%) who lived in the rival community of Forks. The community's reaction was that they were going to be bypassed for prison benefits, with other communities getting both the jobs and the residents. One business man complained that "the prison guards were all buying houses in Forks," and concluded that it was all a "joke" that there was going to be a big economic benefit for Clallam Bay.

The residence choices of initial CBCC employees who were not prior residents of the area, however, reveal that Clallam Bay clearly was the preferred place to live for these newcomers: 79% of the area's new arrivals opted to live in Clallam Bay. Forks attracted only 6 (18%) of the new residents, and one previous Forks

resident moved to Clallam Bay after being hired. Up to the point at which Clallam Bay ran out of housing that was comparable in quality and price to that available elsewhere, it seems that it continued to be the preferred choice of residence for new employees.

The community has not benefited from these selections to the degree possible because it could not. The lack of suitable housing has forced employees to look elsewhere, regardless of their residence preference. This fact is widely recognized by most community residents; such recognition does not necessarily alter very different emotional reactions to the residence choices of CBCC employees. Employees living elsewhere, whatever the reason, provide another illustration to the community that expected prison benefits are not happening, and add yet further evidence to support the view that Forks and Port Angeles have benefitted more from the prison than Clallam Bay. Many people in Clallam Bay are particularly disturbed that CBCC's top administrators do not live locally, with some suggesting that local residence should be a job requirement for these upper level staff. They are models for other employees, the argument goes, and by living elsewhere, they communicate a message that Clallam Bay does not want to hear.

POPULATION CONSEQUENCES

By 1988, there was no question but that Clallam Bay had grown. Recognition of this growth was still filtered through pre-prison expectations regarding the extent of population increase and its community effects. Thus, although 58% of the 1988 community survey respondents selected "many new residents in Clallam Bay" as a prison impact, they were much less positive about the effects this increased population had had on their community and its needs for certain kinds of people: 29% viewed the prison as having brought a "revitalized community," just about what was expected in 1986 when 32% selected this as a likely prison effect. Of the hopes for an increased professional or "middle-class" population, held by 30% of the 1986 respondents, only 20% of those answering the 1988 survey felt these had been realized. In an option offered only on the 1988 survey, 43% of the respondents selected "a more transient community" as a prison impact on Clallam Bay.

IMPACTS ON PUBLIC SERVICES

Before the prison opened, Clallam Bay was a community with a public services infrastructure often too large for the community's present population. These services had been sufficient to serve the needs of the much bigger population of the late 1970's, and in the some cases, had recently been upgraded or expanded to meet those of a projected even larger future population. There was thus little concern during siting that such services would be adversely impacted by prison operations. The additional population would not strain the capacity of these services but add to their efficiency by enabling them to operate closer to the levels for which they were built. For the most part, the following iteration of prison

effects on these services is largely a matter of accounting for a growth in services commensurate with population increases and little else. There are, however, some notable exceptions to this.

Utilities:

Clallam Bay Corrections Center has affected utilities in Clallam Bay and Clallam County both directly, through its own operations, and indirectly, through the effects of its employees as they have moved to Clallam Bay. CBCC's expenditures for phone, public utilities, and public works were presented in Chapter 7. Recall that the institution's payments for sewer services during the interim operation and into 1987 not only provided some unanticipated revenue for the county, they also contributed to the stabilization of what had been a very shaky financial picture for the community's sewer system.

Because of the prison's payments into the system, residents are unlikely to face additional rate increases for some time. Because of the increased volume in the system, a result of the prison's population and the new residents in the community, the system works better and there is much less odor (a judgement that is still disputed by some residents). While both would seem to be beneficial to the community, community residents are not entirely satisfied. Some feel sewer rates should have been reduced or consumers given a rebate rather than putting excess monies into a savings account against future costs. This is taken as illustration of how the county rather than the community reaps prison returns.

Others view the delaying actions of the commissioners regarding the sewer outfall as the reason behind the prison's delayed full operation. This rumor may not have originated with CBCC administrators but they contributed to its spread, some indication of how deeply they resented the county's benefitting from what they could not control. Promotion of this belief (with no basis in reality) had the effect of aligning the prison with the community against a traditional community adversary. The sewer remains a sore subject for Clallam Bay residents.

There were no mixed outcomes associated with electrical utilities or phone services. The effects of the new prison on these was that of a straightforward increase in demands for service due to increases in population, demands which both systems were well-equipped to meet. The electricity needed for the prison itself added to the county's receipts from prison business, and were presented in Chapter 7. The population growth in the community contributed to expanded demands for electrical services from new civilian residents.

Data from PUD Connect and Disconnect slips for the Clallam Bay/Sekiu area were collected for the period January 1, 1983 through June 30, 1988. Since 1983, the number of utility connections has increased 69%. During the same period, there also has been an increase in disconnections of 51%. The disconnections of electrical service are largely related to Clallam Bay's seasonal population and the seasonal businesses which serve them. The rise

in connections of electrical service in the spring are typically matched by disconnections in the late summer and fall as people move to their winter residences and businesses close. Tourism business and the numbers of summer residents have increased independently of the prison in the time under study.

The increases in connections other than those attributable to seasonal movement can be linked to the staffing of the corrections center and the arrival of employees as residents in the community. Data from the months not influenced by tourism (November to April of each year) show large increases in electrical connections which correspond to two major CBCC hiring periods: December 1985 through January 1986 and December 1986 through April 1987. In 1985/86, when the facility was staffed for the interim operation, connect services increased 21% over 1983 base levels for the same months: during the primary CBCC staffing period in 1986/87, connections increased by 61% over the 1983 base.

A similar pattern, including the same seasonal effects of the tourism industry and summer residents, is indicated for telephone hookups. Information on the number of phone lines in service was collected for 1983 through 1987 from Peninsula Telecom, Inc., the company serving the county's west end. The beginnings of the expansion of the tourism business in Clallam Bay can be seen in a comparison of the 1983 and 1984 data with information from Forks and Beaver (an unincorporated community consisting of a few houses and businesses midway between Clallam Bay and Forks).

The number of lines in these two communities declined or remained constant while those in Clallam Bay grew, albeit modestly. Monthly figures, available from 1985 -1987 show Clallam Bay with increased use in the summer months and then a decline at the end of the summer fishing season in 1985. In 1986, however, the drop beginning in the fall is reversed by an increase in lines in December. This growth in the number of lines in use continues throughout the winter of 1987 where it overlaps with the seasonal growth in mid-summer. When the number of lines in service falls off again at the close of the prime fishing season, there are still 21% more lines in service than at the same time in 1985.

The prison's phone system has made some additional contributions to the community besides just adding volume to area services. CBCC installed a special line available to state agencies (a SCAN line) which allows long distance calls at reduced rates. The rates are lowest when the call is to another SCAN phone, and not only state agencies but many other local government offices have these lines. Clallam Bay's schools had been too small and too remote to qualify for installation of their own SCAN line. This created an extra cost burden for the district which needed to make many such calls to conduct its business. The prison arranged for the school to attach its smaller SCAN line to theirs, and, although the arrangements for this were time-consuming, the local district now has the benefits of SCAN services.

The community also has benefitted from another communications contribution by CBCC. Outside the reach of phone lines where the area's loggers do most of their work, the main line of

communication has been provided by the CB radio. CB's are also pretty standard equipment for many private vehicles in this area. Driving on rural roads subject to extreme weather conditions, these citizen's band radios have frequently been a means of transmitting important information. For years, an elderly Clallam Bay resident had assumed the responsibility of monitoring the CB emergency channel for the community, a task that a group of volunteers usually handles in more populous areas. When the resident died, the prison volunteered to incorporate this CB monitoring into its routine 24 hours-a-day communications duties.

Post Office:

There is no mail delivery within Clallam Bay proper. Residents rent post office boxes and go to the post office to collect their mail. Mail is delivered to residents living on rural routes outside of town. There is a separate post office serving residents with a Sekiu address, a designation which includes Sekiu proper (with few residents or businesses) and other rural routes to the west. Again, because of population declines, both post offices had excess capacity.

Post office box rental payments were reviewed for the Clallam Bay post office for 1985, 1986, and the first 6 months of 1987. Rentals are billed for either semi-annual or annual periods throughout the year. June of each year has the highest number of box payments, another artifact of the rise of residents in the summer. The total number of boxes rented in 1986 (calculated by dividing semi-annual box rents in two and adding the result to annual rentals) showed a 20% increase over those of 1985. The trend for 1987 was only slightly above this, supporting the conclusion that community capacity for growth had largely been reached due to the limited housing in the area.

Post office staff and their workload were affected by more than the increase in box rentals, itself still below the number of boxes in use during Clallam Bay's population peak. The post office staff identified two prison impacts on their work: the new responsibilities that seemed associated with prison mail and the extra work associated with mail for new residents. In regards to the prison, there was concern with the handling of potential contraband, and although actual screening of mail was done at the prison itself, local postal workers also felt some responsibility and some uncertainty about their personal risk. The efforts of prisoners to use the mails for fraudulent purposes also presented a new experience for the Clallam Bay postal staff.

One postal employee estimated that 50% of the volume at the Clallam Bay office was due to the prison. The large volume of incoming mail for the prison does not require the sorting that other mail does since it is just put together in a bin for sorting at the prison. Prison mail does still entail some additional effort because of a high frequency of incorrect addresses, requiring more attention and review. These extra time requirements were not necessarily an unmanageable burden on staff (and by postal service standards, the prison did not qualify Clallam Bay for more

help). The concerns about responsibility for illegal activities were of greater issue.

Perhaps the most significant effect of the prison on the Clallam Bay post office was due to the transiency of many of the new residents brought to the community to work there. According to the postal employee, "people are coming and going so rapidly" that they are not informing all their correspondents about address changes, leaving the forwarding task to Clallam Bay post office staff. The time spent writing the new address and sending mail on, time which is not calculated in postal service judgements of workloads, added to increased demands on staff time.

Library:

Clallam Bay's library is a branch of the North Olympic Library system, headquartered in Port Angeles. It is housed in a small, cramped building across from the post office and is open two afternoons a week. In addition to books, the library loans videotapes and VCR's. Residents can expand on its necessarily limited collection by borrowing materials held elsewhere in the system as well. 1985 was the first full year the library was housed in its present space: previously it had operated out of a mobile with an even smaller selection of materials. The average monthly circulation at the Clallam Bay branch increased 45% between 1985 and 1988 (through July). As with other population sensitive indicators, peak months are mid-summer.

Any Clallam County resident can obtain a library card at any library in the system simply by showing some proof of local residence (e.g. a driver's license, a rent receipt, even a piece of mail). About 13% of the Clallam Bay residents getting a card in the period from 1986 through June of 1988 applied for their cards at another branch. While circulation was up at the Clallam Bay branch during this period, the number of new library cards issued to local residents actually declined by more than 30%. New residents appear to have applied for cards over an extended period of time, with no dramatic increase in card requests at any given point.

The Clallam Bay librarian is aware of new people using the library, inevitable in a town where she would know every regular patron. Transiency has produced some problems of non-returned books with people moving out of town, but this was not raised as a particularly significant issue. There are more requests for books about prison work, generated by employees following up on materials referenced in training programs. There also are more general requests, stimulated by the library being effectively the most visible component of Clallam Bay's civic identity. One new resident called with an information request and stayed on the phone for more than a half hour, expressing the desire to just talk to someone. Shortly after CBCC opened, a prisoner's wife wrote requesting information about the community.

The local library has been the most notable recipient of one-time prison impact funds. These funds, used as match for a Federal grant, will lead to a new and expanded library building in the near

future. Unlike many prison impacts, this benefit is accepted with favor by virtually every Clallam Bay resident. Even those still opposed to the prison or disappointed in its contributions acknowledge that a new library is "something good" that has come from having the prison in town.

Transit:

Clallam Bay is served by the Clallam Transit System, a county-wide bus line. Passengers for Clallam Bay and Neah Bay board a bus where Burnt Mountain Road joins with Highway 101: there is no bus service to Clallam Bay along the more direct and shorter route offered by Highway 112. There are three round trip runs to Clallam Bay on weekdays, one run on Saturday.

Information was available on the number of passengers on the Clallam Bay/Neah Bay bus runs for 1985 (estimated for the first 3 months from the average of the last 9), 1986, 1987, and 1988. Between 1985 and 1986, the first year the prison operated, ridership on the Clallam Bay/Neah Bay run increased by 67%; between 1986 and 1987, the number of riders increased another 7%; and in 1988, ridership decreased from 1987 levels by 15%. What does this mean, and what part of it is an effect of the prison?

According to a transit system manager, it is the residents of Neah Bay, not Clallam, who provide the bulk of the bus's passengers. It is therefore Neah Bay travelers who are attributed with the above increases in ridership during the review period. There have been no increases in the number of daily bus runs during the time but there have been some schedule and route adjustments. The most controversial of these was the decision in June of 1986 to drop a run to and from Clallam Bay at 8:00 AM and replace it with one which continues out to Neah Bay before returning. On its way in to Clallam Bay, this bus also drops passengers off at the prison in time for the start of CBCC's administrative and office workday. Rather than simply stopping along the highway, two buses a day now take the mile and a half trip up the hill to the prison: one arriving in the morning just before the administrative shift begins and another to leave town in the late afternoon after that shift is concluded. There are no bus runs synchronized to the three shift schedules of custody workers.

From a transit perspective, this change was an efficient use of resources through better service to that community - Neah Bay - whose residents accounted for the most ridership. The addition of the prison run was almost incidental to the schedule change, done because there was time and it seemed there might be a need. A dozen prison employees from Forks had previously leased a van through the transit system and were commuting to the prison in a van pool. The van pool ridership had declined, with many feeling the service was too expensive ($60 - $75 a month for a 60 mile roundtrip). It was disbanded in April and the bus trip to the prison was an attempt to mitigate its loss. There also had been rumors that the prison would soon be hiring more administrative staff, and thus there was potential for additional riders.

Not surprisingly, the views of Clallam Bay residents were very different. They lamented the loss of the direct morning bus, claiming it had enabled several residents to commute to Port Angeles to go to college (Transit statistics show an average ridership of fewer than two on that run, with frequently no passengers at all). This lamentation from local residents was significantly louder because of what residents saw as the source of the loss and its consequences. The bus to the prison facilitated a prison employee commute, thereby making it more convenient for employees to live in Forks or Port Angeles and thus easier to not live in Clallam Bay.

Wrote a respondent to the 1986 community survey (distributed shortly after the route change took effect):

> I think it's a terrible injustice that the transit system cut our best bus run to cater to the prison employees so they can live out of the area and have cheap transportation to work. Now, our local college students have to reside in Port Angeles or catch the bus at 6:00 AM to get to college on time. There were more people against this change than for it, but did it matter. If these prison employees won't live in the west end, then they shouldn't be hired.

Relating the bus to reduced prison benefits for Clallam Bay is consistent with how Clallam Bay residents see other factors, such as housing or hiring, which tend to put money from the prison into other county communities. The situation with the bus was doubly distressing, although also congruent with resident's expectations and experiences, because it was a public service which was doing the damage. "The system," commented a 1986 community survey respondent, "(such as the taxpayer supported bus service) has been so structured that there will not be any benefits for Clallam Bay/Sekiu from the prison. Forks and Port Angeles will get these benefits." The bus to the prison continues to rankle Clallam Bay residents, and in a reference that mixes the past with the present, is described by one local leader as "nothing but a 'crummy' (logging crew bus) for prison workers!"

The transit system manager maintains that the prison's effects on the transit run to Clallam Bay have been that of stabilization rather than any particular ridership gain. People working at the prison who ride the bus do so regularly, and this constancy makes for a more reliable if not a much larger group of passengers. There are estimated to be no more than a dozen prison employees who regularly ride the bus to work. This is supported by transit data on the average number of passengers on the Clallam Bay/Neah Bay buses, an average which seldom gets into two-digits.

Informal groups of CBCC employees, particularly those from Port Angeles, have periodically tried to convince the transit service to add more CBCC routes. There also have been further attempts to put together some form of a van pool arrangement. Neither has been thus far successful. With four shifts spread out over a 24 hour schedule (the administrative hours plus three custody shifts), and with employees dispersed between Forks and

Port Angeles, it is difficult to find a number willing to commit to riding a bus or a van sufficient to justify the expense of operation.

IMPACTS ON COMMUNITY LIFE

Racial and Ethnic Minorities:

Prior to the prison, the only significant minority group in Clallam Bay was Native Americans. Even so, Native Americans made up only a small percentage of the community's residents. The area's largest concentration of Native Americans lives in Neah Bay, the site of the Makah Indian Reservation and at 20 miles further west, Clallam Bay's closest neighbor. The two communities are approximately equal in population and are in the same school district. Residents of Neah Bay are frequent visitors to Clallam Bay, necessarily passing through it on their way to anywhere else and frequenting its drinking establishments (the reservation itself is dry) and stores. The communities have a history of rivalry in sports (with Neah Bay dominating), and their sports fishing businesses are often in competition for the same tourists. Several years ago the relationship between the two towns took an ugly turn after treaty fishing rights were granted that increased Indian access to salmon for commercial harvest. There were some incidents of violent confrontation and vandalism from the local white commercial fishermen who felt themselves unfairly dispossessed. Today, although there is some lingering resentment about Indian fishing rights and practices, there is no overt conflict.

There is, however, an undertone of negative racial attitudes in the community, frequently heard in conversations about stereotyped (and negative) Indian behaviors and attributes. Ethnic jokes, most typically involving Native Americans but including other minorities as well, are an apparently accepted form of public humor. In Clallam Bay, many residents would not see such statements or joking remarks as indicative of prejudice, or view themselves as prejudiced, and this is not a community where bigotry is a virtue. There is considerable acceptance of tribal rights and valuation of the area's Native American heritage and archeological record. The occurrence of racial prejudice in Clallam Bay seems primarily unintentional, a matter of habit rather than deliberation. Such actions and words also are a matter of history and circumstances.

The presence of the reservation and the maintenance and encouragement of certain traditional Makah practices necessarily sets Native Americans in Neah Bay apart from their white neighbors in Clallam Bay. They have different services available only to them, are subject to different laws and law enforcement, maintain their own government, and have access to certain rights and resources. They are clearly a distinct group.

Some aspects of this distinctness seem to work to the disadvantage of Clallam Bay. Access to salmon, a significant local resource, is one example, and there are others. In terms of school funding, the residents of Neah Bay have the right to vote in local levy elections but do not pay the taxes thereby imposed. Bond

issues that fail in Clallam Bay are passed in Neah Bay, and Clallam Bay residents then take on the sole payment responsibility. This creates understandable resentment, and although its basis is predominantly economic, it sometimes is expressed in racial terms. Similarly, the preferential hiring the prison gives to minorities (along with perhaps the greater willingness of Neah Bay residents to apply for prison jobs), has resulted in the CBCC employment of a number of Neah Bay residents. This does not sit well with residents of Clallam Bay who see applicants from their own community rejected. The historical rivalry between the two communities adds to this resentment.

There are two aspects of this pre-existing climate for Native Americans that have contributed to some problematic reactions to newcomers to Clallam Bay of different racial or ethnic minorities. First, there is the presence of a certain level of racially prejudiced thinking, not particularly virulent in most cases, but endemic in the community and in the attitudes of many of its residents. "The local people are pleasant," wrote an employee on the 1987 survey, "but they are naive when it comes to minorities. They can be rude without realizing it because they do not understand other cultures."

Secondly, there is the compartmentalization of minorities created by the unique status and circumstances of the only prior minority residents. The group identity of the area's Native Americans and the presence of the reservation create a separate status for this minority group. Such separation may not be desired by other minorities nor, when they are few in number, practical. To the local population of Native Americans, CBCC has added through its employees about 24 minority persons and their families. Some of these people live in Clallam Bay, others are in town only as commuters. As a consequence, there has been no substantial addition of minorities to the local population.

For those minority employees who do reside in Clallam Bay, such low numbers may make living in the community more difficult. A Black CBCC employee who lives in Clallam Bay with his wife and children discussed how his personal awareness of the community's feelings toward Indians affected his responses to its residents. He pointed out that when, as a minority, one comes into a community where there is this pre-existing set of prejudice, you feel it also is applying to you, even when it may not be directed at you. "You do not feel comfortable" he concluded.

This sense of discomfort with Clallam Bay and its residents appears to have affected the prison itself, where the turnover rate among minorities (other than American Indians) is disproportionately high. An employee in CBCC's personnel department noted that many of the applicants for "hardship transfers" to another institution were Blacks, a situation the employee attributed to the "prejudice of the community" and the additional difficulties of working and living in the community when one was a minority. Prison administrators have expressed the view that "Blacks will never stay in Clallam Bay," and appear to have

resigned themselves to a continuing turnover of their minority employees.

The 1987 and 1988 employee surveys included a question asking CBCC staff to evaluate the attitudes of Clallam Bay residents toward persons of different backgrounds or ethnicity. In both surveys, these attitudes were seen as being somewhat more negative than those perceived from the community toward CBCC employees overall. In 1987, 44% felt the community had negative attitudes to minorities, 41% neutral, and 15% positive; in 1988, negative attitudes were perceived by 41%, neutral ones by 48%, and positive feelings by 11%.

1988 respondents were asked to explain their choices. The few who viewed community attitudes as positive referenced acceptance, friendliness, and the area's prior experiences with minorities. Many of those who saw the community's attitudes as being neutral made similar comments, although a few made references to the more general problem of long-term versus new resident relationships. "Race is not as much the issue as attitudes of newcomers to Clallam Bay" wrote one respondent. Another explained: "Local people stay to themselves. I feel that colored people feel isolated in the community. But not persecuted - they are accepted."

Employee respondents who perceived the community to have negative attitudes toward those of different backgrounds or ethnicity also pointed out how this was often just another indicator of Clallam Bay's lack of acceptance of outsiders. Others had stronger feelings, citing "racism" and "prejudice." "Black staff I work with have moved to Port Angeles because of the treatment they have received," wrote one respondent.

The limits of Clallam Bay's social life, distressing enough to those accustomed to more diversity, may be further limiting for those who find themselves with few others who share their backgrounds or cultures. "Clallam Bay is a poor place for minorities," wrote another 1987 respondent, "Especially Blacks and more so Blacks with children. Many Blacks come here from the inner cities and the culture shock for most of them has had a negative effect and impact on their lives."

There has been at least one incident with racial overtones. A building along the highway was spray painted, with several racial epithets and Nazi symbols included in the graffiti. This may have been unrelated to the prison or to community change (the perpetrator was a local youth with a history of delinquent behavior), but it symbolized for some community residents the changing complexion and character of Clallam Bay's population. "We never had anything like this before the prison," lamented one woman. This observation, while not entirely accurate, reflects the sense many residents have of how much their town has changed.

The experiences of other newcomer minorities besides Blacks have not been singled out for community comment. Some, especially those in professional positions or with families, appear to have been well accepted into the community. Others, such as single Hispanic males, seem to have encountered more resistance, and may be less interested in such integration in any event.

Despite the predictions of some that Clallam Bay would have difficulties absorbing and dealing with minorities - "This is the land of red-neck loggers," one resident advised me - the majority of the community's residents appear willing to respond to newcomers, regardless of their race, on an individual basis. The problems newcomers have encountered seem to have more to do with their differences in backgrounds, lifestyles, and values from Clallam Bay's previous residents than with racial or ethnic differences. In this situation, race serves as a convenient label to justify gaps between the community's new and old populations: it is not really the most significant factor in understanding the differences that divide them.

Strangers:

To some Clallam Bay residents, these newcomers have made their town a place of strangers, peopled with inhabitants of unknown history and character, and without yet any investment in the community or connections with its previous residents. The town seems no longer a place of familiar faces: it is now a place where even long term residents have become a kind of stranger, unknown to the many new residents. One such resident described newcomers to town as "just yuck." She explained her reaction as being due in part to them simply being strangers. "It's really awful to go to town and not know people," she said, "and it's even worse when <u>they</u> ask other people who you are."

This presence of many strangers disturbed a number of Clallam Bay residents, including those who had hoped for population growth. Their reaction is partially just a matter of the speed with which the newcomers arrived after so many years of waiting, a speed dictated by the need to hire large numbers of employees at a single time. More than this, however, is the continued estrangement which residents feel from newcomers. These people have come as strangers, yes, but they stay strangers as well. They are in the community but yet not part of it, and this is what is distressing. "This was a close community," wrote a 1986 community survey respondent. "It's really weird having strangers living in the area. It doesn't seem quite the same." A Clallam Bay teenager, after complaining about "strangers" in town, explained herself as follows:

> I used to know everyone in Clallam Bay. I used to know the people who lived next door to me, and I don't anymore. This is just sort of incredible to live in Clallam Bay and not know your neighbors. And they don't seem to want to be known, either.

These reactions, which are heard from children and adults, prison opponents and proponents, are in reference to a community which has a <u>history</u> of strangers from the former boom days of logging, <u>and</u> a yearly influx of them from the present tourism industry. Clallam Bay is no stranger to strangers. Residents speak with some nostalgia about the time when Clallam Bay was the hub of the west end logging industry and of the wild times when men from the logging camps came to town. And, although they

occasionally complain about summertime crowds today, they more often speak of the excitement and vibrancy that comes from having so many visitors.

In the case of logging, the strangers in town, even though many were transient, shared an orientation with community residents. Clallam Bay viewed itself as a logging town, and these were loggers. Similarly with today's tourists: they come because they want something the community has to offer, something that the community is proud of and identifies with. Such is not the case with the prison. Community residents are reluctant to see their community as a "prison town," a connotation that symbolizes largely negatives. Those who come to Clallam Bay to work at the prison have no need of the area's special resources, and may have no common ground with those who already live there. These newcomers are foreigners to Clallam Bay in a way that the community's other newcomers or transients are not. And by remaining apart from the community, these new residents continue to express their separateness from Clallam Bay and its sense of community.

The Clallam Bay resident who wrote on the 1988 survey that "We think the corrections center is an asset to the community and has brought in a lot of good new people" seems to be in the minority. To most, the prison and its employees have not brought the economic prosperity once expected and still hoped for. New residents have not bought homes, do not shop in the local stores, and tend not to join or participate in most community organizations or churches. These new residents are not like previous Clallam Bay residents in many ways, with perhaps the most significant difference being their intentions to remain in the community and the commitment to community life this usually entails. The following sentiment, also taken from the 1988 community survey, summarizes this viewpoint:

> (The) Presence of prison is creating a very transient community. Wages of prison workers prohibit buying of homes, leaving the homeowners to bear burden of tax increases due to prison and its effects on community (i.e. school) General class of prison workers push "outside, big city" influences on small rural area - especially kids in school. Prison workers very closed, "cliquish" group.

Transiency:

The difficulties CBCC is experiencing in retaining staff, difficulties that are in some part due to the community's location and its features, have also presented problems for Clallam Bay itself. Turnover at the institution means transiency in the population, with the actual numbers of new residents who have at some point come to Clallam Bay much greater than those in town at any one time. The intention to move on, maintained by nearly half CBCC's employees, discourages much investment in the community. A Clallam Bay landlord shared these complaints about an employee tenant who commuted home on his days off:

> He even brings his own gas in a can. He doesn't buy anything in town. He brings everything with him,

everything. What kind of asset is that sort of person to the community? What are they bringing to the community, what are they contributing? Nothing, absolutely nothing!

Population movement affects all aspects of the community, from services such as utilities and education through interpersonal relationships and friendships. Teachers report that transiency is disruptive to their classes, with the movement of students in and out requiring special attention that can be costly for other students and their needs. Among the students themselves, the tendency for new students to remain in the area only a short time restricts the willingness of others to form friendships with them and include them in school groups. With an extremely small student body, this division into "prison kids" and others is very evident.

Transiency also unfavorably impacts rental housing. Realtors and those with housing to rent point out the wear and destruction frequent movement causes to the residences. One realtor complained about always having to make long distance calls to check references of new tenants. This was an investment of time and resources that would not be recouped when these renters decided to purchase housing since, unlike previous renters, they are not usually waiting to accumulate the resources to purchase homes in Clallam Bay. They rent because their residence in the community is a temporary one.

Such planned transiency also affects how much care is given to their Clallam Bay residences, further contributing to housing deterioration. Why put in the energy, after all, when one will not be around to reap any long term rewards? This attitude shows up in lack of care for housing, and in lack of concern for the consequence of this and other forms of investment. Late rents, bad checks, disinterest in neighbors, and other indicators of non-concern are reported to be common among employee renters. Other Clallam Bay business persons report similar patterns of behavior, all of which show how little employees care for their status in the community and the good opinions of those living there.

These behaviors confirm the expectations of some residents that those working in a prison cannot be expected to be much different than the prisoners. For most Clallam Bay residents, however, more responsible and more respectable behavior <u>was</u> expected of prison employees, and they are surprised and dismayed when it does not occur. Some residents compare the problems from this new population with those the town experienced in the 1970's from "cedar rats." These were generally young, transient males come to work in the area's then-booming cedar shake industry. They had the reputation of being trouble-makers, heavy drinkers and drug-users, without any commitment to the community.

A Clallam Bay business-person contrasted the community's current newcomers with cedar rats by agreeing that there was little difference in some of the behaviors, "but cedar rats you could tell. They had "cedar rat" written all over them, so you just didn't deal with them. These people seem like they ought to be okay: they're in supervisory positions, they're making good money, and they fool you. That's the main problem." Every employee who

does not measure up to these expectations (and some expectations exceed what would be applied to long term residents) contributes to the image of employees in general. By the end of 1988, many residents have become excessively cautious in their dealings with CBCC employees. This caution is shown in the holding of rental properties vacant, despite willing renters, until a tenant with higher qualifications, and greater long term commitment, is available.

Community Involvement:

If anything, Clallam Bay residents wish there were more newcomers and more population growth than has occurred. Their eagerness to identify "prison people" comes from the desire to see the community expand. But community expansion is not just a matter of numbers. It includes as well an increase in community vitality and the "people resources" noted earlier. In this regard, Clallam Bay residents have been often disappointed in their newcomers. "None of the prison people care to become involved in the community," pointed out one resident; "They're just here like a parasite." Commenting on the numbers of prison employees who had moved to Clallam Bay by January of 1987, another resident concluded: "That ought to make a difference in a community this size, but it doesn't if these people don't do anything. And they aren't. They seem to be staying pretty much to themselves, with a few exceptions."

Forty percent of the respondents to the 1988 employee survey indicated they participated in local volunteer, church, or service club activities, but these respondents were <u>least</u> likely to be employees living in Clallam Bay. Just 29% of the employee respondents from Clallam Bay claimed to be volunteers (and these most probably were long term residents) compared to from 42% to 100% (Neah Bay) of the respondents living in other Clallam County communities. Still, 17% of the Clallam Bay resident-respondents indicated they would like to become volunteers, an indication that there is more interest than present actions reveal.

Employees <u>have</u> increased the membership of some community organizations, with the Lion's Club the most notable example of this. CBCC workers make up easily more than half the membership in 1988, and include the club's president. Older members contrast the present, with many members available to do club projects, with the past, when they could barely hold meetings. Writes a 1988 community survey respondent about CBCC employees: "Many of the staff have joined right into community affairs and fit right in, i.e., Lions Club members, new businesses from spouses of employees, etc. Add to the community." Few other organizations can claim many prison employees as members, however, and most of the community volunteer and civic work continues to be done by longer term residents. Those employees who do become involved in these organizations and their activities are viewed as exceptions.

Clallam Bay residents were particularly disappointed that the prison did not provide additional volunteers for the local ambulance corps, an issue that had figured prominently in the

siting hearings. At that time, the medical qualifications of prison employees in various positions was stressed, and the community felt assured that its overworked group of volunteers would find willing relief once the prison opened. When this did not happen, residents once again had reason to feel that promises were not being kept. A Clallam Bay businessman and community leader used this shortage of volunteer assistance as an example of the unequal distribution of prison costs and benefits:

> We're the ones who are having to beef up our security, having to meet the needs, and there's not one new volunteer on any of our committees. It's the same small group that's still holding up our end. I'm not against the prison, I never was, but I'd like to see one-half of what was promised come true.

For the ambulance corps, the situation has improved. In 1988, after considerable prodding by community representatives and its own citizen's advisory committee, CBCC facilitated the training for some of its employees to become Emergency Medical Technicians, both giving the trainees leave from their posts and providing the training site. In exchange, the employees agreed to serve on the community's ambulance corps. That promise, at least, has now been kept.

Other community organizations have been less fortunate. The churches have seen only a few new members, and the transiency of some of these has brought mixed blessings. The school booster club was at risk of closing through much of 1988, and one organization, an auxiliary of the Seattle Children's Hospital that had been an active, seasonal fundraising group, did disband. It has been the women's organizations that have seen least benefit from the prison's employees. Like the hospital auxiliary, these presume an interest in volunteerism and time to engage in it. These clubs were founded by and for women who had free time during the day, and most of their members are now well past middle age. The young women who have moved to the community are either working, with child care responsibilities, or find little in common with these organizations' members and their interests.

There has been one organization, however, that was reconstituted as a result of the prison opening, albeit not because of newcomers to the community. This is the Clallam Bay Chamber of Commerce, chartered some years previously to boost the sagging town, and effectively moth-balled after a few desultory meetings. In April of 1986, a handful of former members resurrected the Chamber, in large part to provide a community-based organization to respond to changes in the town and unmet community needs. The absence of any municipal government in Clallam Bay had made it difficult for community residents to act as an organized group. By default, the only legitimate spokesperson for the community as a whole had been the county commissioner representing its district.

With the organization of the Chamber, Clallam Bay developed its own community voice. The membership of the Chamber reflects this role: in addition to business owners, active members include employees of local businesses, individuals who work for the post

office, the employment office (located in Forks), and the medical clinic, a representative from the Sheriff's Department, and others who work elsewhere but are residents of Clallam Bay. The prison, represented variously by the superintendent or other administrators, was an early Chamber participant.

This eclectic membership is reflected in the Chamber's diverse projects and interests. It performs the usual Chamber functions of community promotion, sending representatives to county-wide development organizations and contributing to activities geared to attract visitors and tourists. In addition to these business-related activities, the Clallam Bay Chamber of Commerce also lead the lobbying to establish a local committee to determine the distribution of state prison impact funds, took an active role in trying to improve the community's professional and volunteer medical services, and even organized a community meeting with the county Sheriff to discuss law enforcement after a series of local burglaries. Subsequently, the Chamber sponsored an "Operation ID" program in the community. In these latter activities, the Chamber serves as a "de facto" Clallam Bay government.

The prison and the changes accompanying it provided an important catalyst for the Chamber's rebirth and vitality. While other than community change and prison-relations issues are dealt with in Chamber meetings, the presence of the prison as the community's major employer is unmistakable. This became apparent when CBCC stopped sending a representative to meetings after the departure of its first superintendent. The Chamber repeatedly requested prison representation, and the remarks of its members when CBCC was slow to respond showed their awareness of the prison's significance to the community's economic life. One man took this as indicative of the prison's lack of concern for the community. He pointed out how despite CBCC's dominance of Clallam Bay's economy, as a formal actor in community life, it is "virtually invisible." He attributed this lack of interest to employee transiency, including the transiency of top administrative staff. "People are coming here to make a career step," he explained, "so it's not to their benefit to make any investment in the community."

In the spring of 1988, there was a minor community controversy over plans by the school district to build a new office for the district's superintendent. A group of residents objected to the expenditure, maintaining that the superintendent should not have a better space than the students. While much of this objection seemed rooted in Clallam Bay's rivalry with Neah Bay (and the construction of a new school in Neah Bay with taxes paid by Clallam Bay residents), there was another element involved as well. A long-time local resident explained the community's reaction as being also about the prison, the lack of local jobs, and the fact that people who worked at the prison did not live in Clallam Bay. She said:

> The superintendent of the school doesn't live in town, and the superintendent of the prison doesn't live in town, and the associate superintendents don't live in

town. None of these people are living in Clallam Bay and they're running our lives. If they're going to be involved and have power over this community, at least they ought to live here.

People can maybe understand that they couldn't get jobs up at the prison because they didn't have the qualifications - even though they were led to believe they would. Okay, so we didn't get these jobs. But the people who <u>are</u> getting these jobs aren't living here, and they ought to.

LIVING IN CLALLAM BAY

RESIDENT/EMPLOYEE ATTITUDES

Respondents to the 1988 community survey were asked their attitudes about CBCC employees: 6% claimed to hold negative attitudes, 40% positive ones, and 54% neutral. Some respondents explained their neutral feelings by citing a mixture of positive and negative experiences, as with this person: "Those living in our neighborhood are friendly and neighborly, but those in Clallam Bay stay much to themselves. Don't seem to respond to our overtures to be friendly passing on the street." For others, whose lack of contact with employees led them to characterize their attitude as "neutral," the very absence of interaction was itself undesirable. "Very few prison employees live here;" one wrote, "not much personal contact because they simply are not here or do not choose to 'mix' with the community." Another respondent noted: "The prison people have not become a part of the community. They don't get acquainted with their neighbors."

In all, some 33% of the respondents who classed their attitudes as neutral included negative comments in their written explanations. They complained that employees seemed distant, standoffish, uninvolved or disdainful of community affairs and community residents, the same sentiments expressed by those whose attitudes toward employees were negative. The Clallam Bay community thus seems divided in its impressions of its new residents. The acceptance expressed by some is countered by the resentment and disappointment of others: "They think they own the town and are rude people," reads the justification of a respondent who claimed a negative attitude.

Employees themselves hold mixed perceptions of the community's attitudes towards them as well: 51% of the respondents to the 1988 employee survey feel community residents view employees with neutrality, 28% find residents to be negative, and 21%, positive. In their written explanations of these feelings, employees who felt community residents held neutral attitudes tended to report a mixture of positive and negative community reactions or lack of personal knowledge because of residence elsewhere. Some employee respondents who assessed the community's attitude as negative also gave mixed observations; others were more categorical. "They feel we are outsiders," wrote a 1988 employee survey respondent, "and

should not be working there." Another 1988 respondent concludes simply that "we are of different backgrounds and cannot accept each other's lifestyles."

The dominant theme in the unfavorable assessments of both long term residents and CBCC employees is that of non-involvement in the community. This is expressed in lack of contact, in adverse contacts, and in the absence of community investment and transiency. For Clallam Bay's previous residents, this results in disappointment and resentment, feelings that are known to new residents. A respondent to the 1988 employee survey explains his assessment of the community's negative attitude toward employees thusly:

> "They do not trust us; say we're here to work but don't buy property, pay taxes, etc. They also lump CBCC employees and inmates' families together as being equally undesirable, noncontributors to the community. I resent this attitude."

A locally resident employee who responded to the 1988 community survey identified community attitudes toward employees as positive. His commentary on this choice outlines some of the consequences of the complimentary negative attitudes he also sees:

> I am staff. On the other hand, I feel we (as staff) are thought of extremely poorly by many (prior) local people. There's a definite barrier and a general feeling of non-acceptance even still by the majority of the community which gives us that transferred in with virtually only other staff to spend off-duty time with.

RECREATION

Clallam Bay's size and setting make it an ideal location for some recreational pursuits and a poor choice for others. It is well-suited for individualized outdoor activities, such as hunting, fishing, hiking, walking, etc.; it offers little for those who prefer group or organized sports, need indoor equipment, or would rather attend concerts, plays, or movies. The community's two restaurants have limited menus and little atmosphere of festivity. The bars frequently offer live entertainment but have no room for full-size bands and only small dance floors. It is, in short, a good place to be for people who enjoy making their own fun and a poor place for those who would rather have more of the advantages of the city. As a CBCC employee wrote on the 1988 employee survey: "Aside from enjoying the outdoors, if you do not drink or watch tv, there are no activities."

There is also the issue of where one is in their life cycle. Clallam Bay is quiet, relatively safe, perhaps a very good place for families with young children. It is very different for people without significant others. Two new community residents, one a single, female teacher and the other an employee's wife shared different views about living in Clallam Bay: the teacher hated it and the wife loved it. "Yeah, but she's married. There's the difference," said the teacher. The other woman agreed: "I have my husband to do things with, and I don't need to date or to find

other people. I can see where it would be really difficult for people who are single."

In one conversation, several CBCC employees complained about life in Clallam Bay by pointing out that "It rains a lot." Reminded that it also rains a lot in the Puget Sound community they came from, they replied, "Yeah, but in Olympia there are other things to do." The following commentary on this situation was written by a CBCC employee on the 1987 employee survey. The problems she identifies are common concerns of other staff:

> Clallam Bay has little to offer people who come to work here. My husband and I and almost everyone I have spoken to has experienced "culture shock" when moving here from a larger community. Port Angeles does not offer what we want or are used to and is too far to drive on an ongoing basis for recreation. Alcohol consumption among the CBCC staff is high due to lack of other nearby activities. We are not all fishermen or loggers and oftentimes cannot relate with those who are. Finally, it seems to cost more to live here - gas, food, etc., and travel time and cost. My children are 150 miles away. My husband's children are 600 miles away. Visitation is limited. We feel isolated. This is a high stress job. We need other activities to relax, get our minds off it, and to enjoy living. As it is, we can't do that.

Prison employees responded to questions about why they lived where they do in both the 1987 and 1988 employee surveys. In 1988, closeness to work was a reason selected by 79% of the respondents who lived in Clallam Bay; employees living in Port Angeles were more likely to give freetime interests (71% versus 31% from Clallam Bay). A majority of respondents in both surveys selected characteristics associated with the environment, outdoor recreation, or the community's rural character as the thing they liked <u>most</u> about Clallam Bay, indicating new residents are not ignorant of the community's beauty or its outdoor recreational options even if they do not consider them pre-eminent. What they liked least about the community were the things that Clallam Bay lacked.

A majority of the respondents to the 1986 community survey identified a preference for a rural lifestyle, scenic beauty, and outdoor recreational opportunities as their reasons for living in Clallam Bay. Ninety-one percent participated in one or more of the area's outdoor recreation activities. Respondents to the 1988 community survey gave similar reasons for residing in Clallam Bay, although those who were the most recent community residents were more likely to select Clallam Bay's closeness to work as the reason for their residence than did longer term inhabitants.

Taking advantage of those recreational options Clallam Bay can offer requires a liking for such pleasures and also the wherewithal to carry them out. Employees who <u>are</u> interested in hunting or fishing complain that no local residents have come forward to give them the needed local knowledge to be successful. One male employee pointed out that the residents he knew frequently talked

about going fishing with him "sometime," but he never received an invitation. Such fishing as he did was in the company of other employees. An employee's wife told how she went to church and everyone was so friendly and happy to see her, but no one asked for her phone number, no one tried to contact her later to invite her to socialize with them.

This restraint is not applied just to prison employees, although they are likely to see it that way. It seems rather to be a difference in approach to newcomers, the difference between the country and the city perhaps. When most social activities are premised on investment and involvement in multiple aspects of an interrelated community life, there is little immediate place for a newcomer. In a place where people remain residents for some time, these investments gradually come about, and over time, they find themselves a part of the community and its life.

Clallam Bay really has no mechanism for more rapid incorporation of new residents, nor, before the prison, was one needed. The town's previous transients or short term residents had been kept at a distance with friendliness but not friendship, an arrangement that had seemed mutually satisfactory. The quick incorporation and acceptance some prison employees apparently expected upon settling in Clallam Bay is foreign to how community residents have typically reacted to strangers, and, given employees' unwillingness to show much community investment or permanence, uncalled for.

A woman who had moved to Clallam Bay with her husband before the prison started hiring offered the following advice to other newcomers in her comments on the 1986 community survey:

> Clallam Bay/Sekiu is a great place for people to live who already know what they want in life. It has multiple opportunities for involvement, BUT you have to be the one who opens those doors. You have to step out and find the people and activities you enjoy. They probably won't initially seek you. It is a bit closed at first, but warm and friendly once you've "broken through."

In contrast to the need for initiative identified above, CBCC employees and administrators often seemed to experience Clallam Bay's limited recreational options as deficits the community should rectify, not as the inevitable consequences of small size and remoteness. This feeling was sometimes phrased as a question about why the community has not "done something" to better respond to employee needs. As one employee put it, "Clallam Bay would be a nice enough little town if the community would try to provide these things for people." A prison administrator expressed his expectations for community responsiveness more strongly. "Where's the buy in from these businesses?" he asked. "They expect all this stuff from the prison but they aren't willing to put anything out. They aren't even willing to keep their doors open." This last complaint was in response to the winter closure in 1986 of one of the town's two restaurant/cocktail lounges (a third is explicitly seasonal), and the frequent early closing times of the remaining one.

There are both economic and cultural reasons for the differences between the views of community residents and those of prison staff about business responsiveness. The owner of the closed restaurant assessed the population of the town as too small to adequately support two full-service establishments in the winter, even with the prison. Prison employees are expecting local establishments to make adjustments in order to get their business. From the view of these establishments, the dollar value of this business may not make these investments worthwhile. Both residents and employees are left wondering where is the payback for the sacrifices each has made, and in their actions, sometimes preclude the paybacks each seeks. Restaurants close early or shut down for months because there is no business, and employees go elsewhere because restaurants are closed.

In 1987, when one restaurant had gone out of business, the owner of the other cited his sense of obligation to the community to have at least one restaurant as the reason for limiting his own seasonal closure plans. The community and its needs in other than the economic sense is an unfamiliar concept to new residents coming from more urban settings. This strangeness is exemplified in this account by a prison employee living in Clallam Bay but maintaining his family at his previous residence elsewhere. He recounts:

> One night, a group of us had worked late and decided to go down and get a drink together after work. We got down to the bar and it was closed because it was the Christmas pageant. Can you imagine that? Can you imagine closing a bar because of a Christmas pageant?

Social life in Clallam Bay includes the Christmas pageant, and in the town before the prison, closing was a response to the reality that there would be little business anyway since most potential customers would be at the pageant. That the town now includes residents who do not attend such functions is not yet taken into account.

SOCIALIZATION

It is such an atmosphere of mutual misunderstanding, if not animosity, which pervades relations between employees and the rest of the community. CBCC employees are effectively forced to socialize largely with each other because they cannot socialize with other community residents: they feel resented, shut out, or not understood or appreciated. The previous residents of Clallam Bay interpret such socialization as yet another indication of non-involvement. "Many are transient and do not become part of the community," explained a respondent to the 1988 community survey. "(They) have the attitude that they are better than local residents and Clallam Bay is the bottom of the ladder. They tend to be cliquish and make little attempt to broaden their circle beyond work and their co-workers."

The 1987 and 1988 employee surveys asked how often respondents socialized with other community residents who did not work at CBCC: in both years, just over half the respondents indicated they never or infrequently did so. This may have more to do with corrections

itself, however, than with the location of the prison. Other research on corrections employees off the job suggests that such employee off-work socializing is normative, and is a consequence of an occupational subculture (Zimmer 1986).

In a community the size of Clallam Bay, recreational socialization among prison employees does more than sustain a corrections subculture. It also affects the separation of on and off-the-job behaviors, and leads to situations that cut across boundaries which are usually maintained between subordinates and superiors. With few public gathering places, and these mostly taverns or bars, employees of all levels come together to play and to talk. There have been fights involving employees and their supervisors during encounters after working hours that must then be dealt with by the prison. In one situation, CBCC's administration felt required to respond when it heard about the inflammatory stories one employee was telling in the community about his work. A prison administrator expressed this problem as follows:

> One of the things that happens in Clallam Bay that wouldn't happen in other places is that things that people do off the job get back to us. That's because this is such a small town. This is something that makes it a problem for people working here, and it also makes it a problem for us as an administration because we hear about things that we don't really want to know about, that really aren't in a normal sense job related. But they become job related because it's such a small town.

For employees themselves, living in Clallam Bay can mean never being able to leave work: "When I'm at work it's CBCC; when I come home it's CBCC; and if I go out someplace, it's CBCC." It is not just that employees feel they have only each other to socialize with; it is also the awareness, as illustrated above, that they cannot leave their work role behind. A prison employee who lived in Port Angeles explained her resident choice by contrasting it with employees who live in Clallam Bay. "They can't get away from work," she said. "It's kind of rough to go out when 100% of the community works at the corrections center." This problem was acknowledged by a CBCC administrator, who said "It is a problem with people working here that the institution becomes all there is. There's just not that many people who want to hunt and fish. It puts a lot of burden on their work."

And their fellow employees are not the only ones who are keeping track of their behaviors; it also is the community in general. Local residents look to employee behavior to judge what has happened to their community with the prison. Each individual employee stands as an example of all others and of prison impacts. As a respondent to the 1987 employee survey put it, after suggesting the need for more institutional programming for employees: "The area is very remote and there is no adequate place for the staff to meet without being under the scrutiny of the community or having the "rumor mill" put out false information."

This visibility affects all staff but is particularly a problem for those in administrative or supervisory positions.

Individuals in these positions are expected to carry their higher status position with them at all times, and in the presence of those they must command or reprimand the following day, can hardly be expected to relax in shared social settings. They also are subject to the animosity some Clallam Bay residents feel towards the prison and its impacts.

The first superintendent was frequently the target of verbal abuse by disgruntled job-seekers or prison opponents; his wife received phone calls reporting on his purported after-work activities. The second superintendent decided not to live in Clallam Bay, despite the community resentment such a decision was bound to (and did) incur: "That's why I don't live here," he said, "I don't want to always be 'on'. This is true for everyone who works at the institution, and makes it difficult to work there."

Community residents are unsympathetic to such laments. For them, visibility is a virtue, a sense of knowing and being known, of being aware of people in many roles, not just one. One resident responded to reports of the first superintendent's experiences and complaints with considerable heat:

> Of course he can't be invisible in this community. If he's going to be running that big operation he has to realize that in a place this size, he's going to get that kind of thing. There's no way people are not going to know who he is. There's no way that he can be disguised in a town this size: none of us can be disguised in a town this size!

RESIDENCE CHOICES

Clallam Bay Residents hear these complaints about their community with a mixture of agreement, anger, and defensiveness. The agreement comes because residents too suffer the inconveniences of Clallam Bay's location and experience its limitations. "Even though I live here," confided one resident, "you've got to admit there's nothing for people to do here. I can understand why people look at Clallam Bay and say 'I don't want to live in this community.'"

The benefits brought by isolation and their appreciation of the community's natural beauties and amenities balance out these difficulties in the view of most resident but do not always eliminate them. Still, one does not like to have these shortcomings pointed out by people defined as strangers. The superior attitudes of newcomers seem to make the choices and sacrifices of long term residents foolish and their lifestyle thus inferior. "There's plenty to do here," defend satisfied residents, many of whom are indeed fully occupied with home and family and community activities, let alone hunting and fishing. The following statement sums up the view of many Clallam Bay residents:

> People here, myself included, are getting really disgusted hearing prison people complain about Clallam Bay all the time. They're not just doing it among themselves either; they're doing it right out in the

> open. If they don't like it, they shouldn't have taken the job. If they don't want to live in this kind of place, they should have found a job someplace else.

There are, in fact, numerous new residents who praise the town and its features, residents who find Clallam Bay a place they want to be. When prison employees elect to live in Clallam Bay, for some it is because they like what the community has to offer. A new Clallam Bay resident and respondent to the 1987 employee survey wrote:

> If the new people to the area will give it a chance, they will find a great little town filled with beautiful people. There is plenty to do, just get out and enjoy. The school is as good as any around. There is plenty of community involvement. The housing situation is getting better. In short, I love it out here. I have been in all 50 states and have never found anyplace to compare.

For most employees who opt to live in Clallam Bay, however, they live there because they are not willing to put up with the disadvantages associated with commuting to a place they like better. This is a negative choice, and making such a choice seems to bring with it dissatisfaction and resentment. In the employee surveys, respondents revealed that they primarily lived in Clallam Bay because it was convenient for their jobs: they lived in other communities because of services, shopping, the preference of their families, or their freetime interests.

What respondents living elsewhere, particularly Port Angeles, liked least about their place of residence was its distance from work. What they liked most was their access to those amenities of shopping, services, and recreation that Clallam Bay cannot provide. These individuals often cite the contrasts between Clallam Bay and the other community as the reason for their residence choice. "The road conditions are very poor in winter," agreed a CBCC employee who lives in Port Angeles, "but some of us feel it's worth the risk to allow our families to live in a better community than Clallam Bay or Forks." For residents of Clallam Bay, it was the lack of these things or the distance required to get them that they least preferred about their living arrangement.

Clallam Bay residents know they have lost new residents to other communities because of the things those communities have that Clallam Bay does not. They anticipated that this would happen before the prison hired its first employee, and they resent anything, such as the bus to Port Angeles and Forks, that facilitates its occurrence. They also resent the actions of the new residents they do have that similarly take prison benefits out of Clallam Bay. These attitudes make sense but they are counterproductive. They give the message to new residents that they are not wanted, or are wanted only for their money. The following comments by a respondent to the 1988 community survey serve well to summarize the views of many CBCC staff living in Clallam Bay:

> If we had more businesses and housing available, this would be a more desirable area to live in. Many of the

> staff came from other areas and are accustomed to a "normal" living and shopping lifestyle even if we moved in from another small community. We (as staff) are not responsible for the prison being here - only of wanting to raise our families (like anyone else). This is a beautiful area to live in. It would help if we were better accepted by the community and if there were things like roller rink, bowling alley, etc., so there was something else to do besides what's now available for activities.

Unfortunately, the residents of Clallam Bay can do little to counteract their community's services and amenities shortcomings. They do not have the population base even with new residents to support or attract many of those things that would make a difference. Where numbers are not so critical and expense is not so high, the Clallam Bay community is beginning to make some changes that will make it a more pleasing place to live for newcomers and oldtimers alike. There will be a new library, there are plans for a child care center and a baseball field, and the supermarket is continuing to add new product lines and services. It is questionable whether these will be sufficient incentives to attract more new residents, and for now, the answer is irrelevant. Without more housing, Clallam Bay has no place to put any more new residents.

The difficulties Clallam Bay is having with its new residents may be temporary effects, and resolve themselves as both employees and long term residents learn to live with and respect each other. Together they may find solutions to their shared problems. This is certainly the hope of most residents, many of whom are doing everything they can do to attempt to arrange such a favorable future. There are other possible scenarios for the future which are less positive, a view exemplified by the written summary of this respondent to the 1987 employee survey:

> Although I enjoy the people of this community, I believe it was ludicrous to build the institution here from a corrections/operational point of view. Due to the location, it will be difficult to recruit and maintain qualified people at all levels. Currently, a significant portion of the staff is made up of "transients" who work here and live elsewhere. They will never fully "buy into" their jobs or the community and will not be fully productive employees and will experience stresses due to family separation and commuting. This situation will continue to exist to a great degree during the operational life of the institution.

CHAPTER 9
INMATE FAMILIES AND VISITORS

A recurring feature of prison siting hearings and disputes concerns inmate families and their potential effect on the community hosting the prison. The negative aspect of these anticipated effects centers on the stereotypes of inmate associates as themselves little better than those who are behind the prison walls. As one Clallam Bay resident put it: "Most inmates are not one-time offenders who made a mistake. They are the criminal element who associate with criminals, or at least people who disrespect the law." Others are more categorical, describing family members and visitors as "dead-beats," "low-lifes," "riff-raff," and "welfare-users."

There were the usual concerns expressed during siting about many family members moving to Clallam Bay. Some felt the area's remoteness from inmate origins would contribute to this movement; others thought Clallam Bay's isolated location would discourage it. Even among prison opponents, there was no consistent set of expectations that inmate family members would move to Clallam Bay in substantial numbers. Among both opponents and proponents, however, there was agreement that, in any event, these particular new residents were not wanted.

The majority of residents did believe there would be numerous visitors who would not live in the community but who might stay overnight. Community expectations about these transient inmate associates were more mixed, with some residents more inclined to look on their passage through Clallam Bay as part of the prison's potential economic benefits. Thus, although all inmate associates were generally presumed to be of similar character and prone to criminal behavior, transient visitors also were expected to contribute to the local economy with their purchases of food, lodging, and other services. In this regard at least, their presence was favorably anticipated.

The economic contributions of visitors were an important factor in the community's hopes for establishing a year-round economy. The motels and restaurants that were either mostly empty or closed during the winter looked forward to the off-season business of prison visitors. There was some worry that visitors would compete with tourists for the same scarce resources during the regular tourist season, but this was not treated as a critical problem by businesses. The assumption was that tourists had first claim, and if there was no lodging for visitors, they would simply have to make do. This in turn created other worries about increased crime and social welfare demands, and representatives of local churches took steps to organize some additional community services directed at inmate families.

The estimates of the numbers of visitors who would come to CBCC that were made as part of the Environmental Impact Statement encouraged the community's anticipation of visitor benefits: it was calculated that 500 visitors a week could be expected to pass through Clallam Bay. As of 1988, the numbers of visitors and the

number of families moving to Clallam Bay have been well below both expectations and fears. This does not mean, however, that their presence has been entirely uneventful.

PRISON VISITORS

Visiting at CBCC got off to a slow start. The facility established regular visiting periods on Friday evenings, and all day Saturdays and Sundays. During the first few months of operations, there were weeks without any visitors; when visitors did come, they seldom reached double figures. This low level of visiting was at least partially due to CBCC's minimum security operation and the consequent brief stay of its inmates. It also was attributed to the location of the facility and the travel required to reach it. The combination of imminent release and difficult access kept visitors to a minimum throughout the interim operation.

Clallam Bay residents did make note of the presence of such visitors as came, however. Unknown cars driving to town during visiting periods, especially those in a run-down condition, were counted as signs of visitors. Local business operators expressed their disappointment with visitor purchases, a complaint that grew louder when the prison put in vending machines in its visiting lounge. A significant aspect of some residents' objection to this service was that the initial contract to supply and operate the vending machines went to a prominent prison opponent.

There were a few stories about people visiting the prison being stranded with insufficient resources or without transportation. The county transit system serves Clallam Bay infrequently on weekends; it does not go to the prison gates except on weekdays when there are no regular visiting hours. Several local residents reported seeing or hearing of visitors walking to the prison from the bus stop at the bottom of the hill. Some residents had given visitors without transportation rides up to the prison. There were accounts of bad checks left at several local businesses. For the most part, however, like most other aspects of the interim operation, visitors during CBCC's first year of operations tended to have little effect, positive or negative, on the community.

The beginning of medium security operations and the gradual increase of CBCC's inmate population was accompanied by a commensurate change in visiting patterns. Information about numbers of visitors and their relationship to inmates was collected during the last six months of 1987, and the winter and late summer of 1988. CBCC staff provided the following data on each visitor: inmate visited (by identification number), relationship of visitor to inmate (wife, child, other relative, or friend), sex, and date of birth. This information was sent to the project for tabulation on approximately a monthly basis.

CBCC's inmate population stood at about 400 inmates when the visitor counts began and increased to just over 500 by the time of the last records in July of 1988. There was some effect on these

counts by changes in the composition of CBCC inmates during this time. The Washington Department of Corrections began a "rent-a-cell" program in early 1988, housing inmates from other states and the Federal system. CBCC additional inmate capacity was filled with these out-of-state residents. At the program's peak in the fall of 1988, "boarder" inmates made up nearly a quarter of the institution's population. The agreements for housing were for a one-year period, and, with growth in the in-state demand for prison bed-space, the program ceased in 1989. While it was in operation, visitors for these inmates (the majority of whom came from other western states) were discouraged by the distance required to travel to visit CBCC as well as the uncertain length of the inmate's stay. The following visitor counts are thus somewhat less than would be expected with CBCC's typical inmate population.

VISITOR NUMBERS

In the late summer and fall of 1987, about 10% of the inmates at CBCC received visitors on any given weekend. Over a three-week period, this percentage increased, with 21% of the inmates receiving at least a single visit. The average number of visitors on Friday evening was 16, on Saturday it was 52, and on Sunday, 48. The actual number of different individuals visiting inmates at CBCC, taking into account persons who visited on more than one day, was about 71% of the total of the above individual visits. On the average, inmates at CBCC received visits from 91 <u>different</u> people during a three day period. About 10% of the visitors took advantage of all three days available for visiting during a weekend; another 14-15% visited twice, and the remaining 75% visited the institution during only a single visiting day.

The above pattern of visiting continued throughout the time visitor information was compiled, but, probably as a result of the proportional growth of the out-of-state inmate population, the average numbers of visitors actually decreased. In a one-month period during the winter of 1988, the average number of visitors on Friday was 13, on Saturday, 47, and on Sunday, 30. About 7% of the inmate population received visitors in any given week, with 17% of the inmates being visited at least once during the month. In July of 1988, the visitor averages stood at 11 for Fridays, 42 for Saturdays, and 37 for Sundays; 20% of the inmate population received at least one visit during this month.

COMPARISON WITH ANOTHER PRISON

For a one month period in January and February of 1988, comparable information was collected on visitors to another Washington penal institution with a more central location to the state's population concentrations than CBCC. The Washington Corrections Center (WCC) served as the comparison institution. WCC is located in Shelton, a small community some 20 miles from the State's capital and readily accessible from nearby urban areas by freeway.

WCC is a much larger institution than CBCC, houses medium and minimum security inmates, and also serves as the reception center

for the placement of all inmates in the system. It was used as a comparison institution for CBCC in large part because of the relationship between the two institutions' administrators, and does not represent the best possible match for CBCC. WCC's urban-access location, however, did serve the main purpose of the comparison.

During the month visitor data was collected, the two institutions were proportionately similar in the ratio of total number of visitors to the total inmate population: for WCC, weekly visitors represented 24% of the inmate population; for CBCC, visitors equaled 21% of the inmate population. More detailed analysis shows a very different pattern of visiting between the institutions, however, especially in regard to the number of different inmates receiving visits.

The distance between CBCC and the homes of most inmate friends and family members appears to reduce the number of inmates who receive visitors while incarcerated there. Further, those CBCC inmates who do have visitors do not have them often: 63% received a visit only during a single week of the comparison period. Inmates at CBCC were about half as likely to have a visitor as those at WCC, and those inmates receiving visitors were less than half as likely to have visitors come more than once a month.

Once a visitor <u>has</u> come to Clallam Bay, however, they are more than twice as likely as those at WCC to have their visitors stay over for another visit during the same week and somewhat more likely to have multiple visitors at a single time. CBCC visitors were more likely to include entire families than those to the other institution, especially children. Thirty-seven percent of the visitors to CBCC were children, 19% were friends (predominantly female), 22% were relatives, and 23% were wives. WCC visitors included only 12% who were children.

CBCC VISITOR CHARACTERISTICS

Additional information on CBCC visitors was obtained from a survey distributed at the prison's visitor reception area by CBCC staff. The survey, designed to obtain information about demographics, visiting patterns, and any locally encountered problems, was done at the request of CBCC's Community Involvement Coordinator. It was distributed over a period of several months in early 1988, with the goal being to have a questionnaire completed by a representative of all visiting parties.

Two similar questionnaire forms were used: one for visitors living in Clallam County, the other for visitors coming from outside the county. CBCC staff were asked to seek survey participation from a representative of each visiting party, and adults visiting together generally completed only a single survey. Completion of the form was voluntary. Visitor records indicate that approximately 290 different adult visitors come to CBCC a month: during the survey period, 96 usable surveys were completed. Since the questionnaire distribution spanned a number of months, and since the institutional and thus the visitor population regularly changes, it is impossible to know what percentage of visitors this actually represents except that it is less than a

100% sample. The survey sample differs from the overall population of adult visitors by being somewhat older and by including disproportionately more relatives and fewer spouses.

Visitor Residences:

Most visitors came to CBCC from homes off the Olympic Peninsula. Eleven of the 96 completed questionnaires were filled out by individuals living in Clallam County, and this, according to CBCC staff, represented every locally-resident visiting party. Four of these persons resided in Clallam Bay; the others elsewhere in the county. Six persons, including all the Clallam Bay residents, claimed to have moved to the county because of the prison; the others reported they did not move to the county for that reason, although in at least one case, this seemed questionable because of the recency of residence and the relationship to the inmate (spouse).

Visitors residing locally were more likely to be wives of inmates than those living elsewhere (7 of 11; 64% versus 26%). They also were more likely to give their household income source as welfare (again, 7 of the 11); 68% of the out-of county visitors gave employment as the main source of their household income, with 12% citing welfare. Over two-thirds of those completing the survey were accompanied by at least one other visitor, and locally-resident visitors were both more likely to be accompanied and to have these companions number at least two additional persons.

Frequency of Visits:

All visitors were asked how often they visited CBCC. Residents of the county predictably visited more often than those from elsewhere - 73% said they came at least once a week. In contrast, 70% of the out-of-county visitors came to CBCC once a month or less, with only 10% saying they visited at least weekly. Seven of these out-of-county visitors indicated some plans to move closer to CBCC in the future, with four identifying Clallam Bay as their most probable place of residence.

Out-of-county visitors estimated they traveled an average of 276 miles each way to get to Clallam Bay, and 85% traveled in their own vehicle. Despite the distance they must come, nearly half the out-of-county visitors said they usually stayed just one day in the area when visiting CBCC. The 51% of the out-of-county visitors who did usually stay overnight were most likely to remain in Clallam Bay: 73% rented lodging in Clallam Bay; 41% tended to stay a single night; 59% stayed over two nights or more.

VISITOR'S NEEDS

Respondents to the CBCC visitor's survey were asked to indicate whether any of a list of various problems had been a difficulty for them during any of their visits. Thirty-eight percent said they had encountered no difficulties. The most frequent problems these visitors said they experienced during their visits were "finding a place to stay," and "affording lodging," each noted by 28 people (34%). These were particularly problems

for those who typically stayed overnight. Thirty-one percent included "paying for travel expenses" as a problem they had encountered. Problems with transportation, child care while visiting, obtaining services, or local residents' attitudes received from 4 to 13 responses.

The eleven visitors residing in Clallam County were given a different list of problems to select from and asked whether any of these presented difficulties for them when they first came to the area. Four people noted they had no problems; 6 cited "finding affordable housing" and "insufficient money to live on," 5 had difficulties getting utilities hooked up, and 4 had trouble finding transportation to the institution. Two individuals had problems finding furnishings and two finding child care. Three of the respondents added that some of these issues continued to remain problems for them.

The problems identified by prison visitors are primarily those associated with low income. They have more to do with the economic status of these persons than with their relationship to an inmate. Unfortunately, questions about needs for psychological or emotional support services were not included on the survey form. Information from organizations set up to assist inmate families suggest that these needs are present as well, and combine with the difficulties of poverty to make life particularly hard for many inmate families. Clallam Bay, with its remoteness, shortage of alternative resources, and higher prices for commodities such as food and gas, adds yet another burden.

Community residents with particular concern for social service issues had anticipated that inmate families would have needs for emergency housing or other assistance. They based this expectation on their awareness of social service resource shortages in the community and the resource limits they expected among the visitors themselves. Planning for providing transient assistance services for visitors began before the prison opened. A local minister visited a program in another Washington prison community intended to assist inmate families. A planning group, made up of representatives from most of Clallam Bay's churches, met periodically throughout 1986 and 1987. In 1988, the group joined with other residents concerned about human services needs in a planning and organizing effort funded through the County's Human Services Department. The results of this effort are discussed in Chapters 11 and 12.

In the visitor survey, all visitors were asked if they would utilize a central place in Clallam Bay where one could go to obtain information and assistance. Seven of the in-county residents said they would use such a place frequently, two said they would do so occasionally. Out-of-county visitors were more moderate in their estimates of use: 25% answered frequently, 29% occasionally, 18% were uncertain, and 29% thought probably not. Visitors living in ClalIam County also were more likely to indicate a desire for information. The survey included a question about the helpfulness of a packet of information on housing, transportation, etc. in the county. Eight of the in-county residents said such information

would have been helpful prior to moving; 51% of the out-of-county visitors felt this would be helpful to them now. Information about transportation, lodging, and restaurants were the areas most often specified as needed.

These responses may reflect the extent to which different inmate families view themselves as in need of any special assistance. Those living in Clallam County are more disadvantaged than visitors in general along several dimensions, including these perceptions of need. These conditions apparently preceded their move, but for those living in Clallam Bay, other than proximity to the inmate, little seems to have improved. Other visitors are divided between those who feel themselves to have no particular assistance requirements and those who have some needs.

Better information about what is available in Clallam Bay, both through commercial sources and through social service agencies, would seem to go far to resolve many of these needs. It was the stated intention of the Community Involvement Coordinator to use the results of the visitor's survey to prepare a packet of needed information to mail out to all persons signing up to be visitors. There is no indication that this has occurred. In 1988, three of Clallam Bay's churches pooled their charity resources to provide a more centralized approach to helping those in need. This service was not advertised or visible to those not aware of it, but it could be accessed through an approach to any of the churches. Assistance was available to all, and while inmate families served as the rationale for the need for such coordination, they do not seem to be its primary users.

VISITOR IMPACTS

The low numbers of visitors and the tendency for many to make their visit and then leave town has made the impact on Clallam Bay of transient inmate family members and friends in most regards a very modest one. One of the characteristics of visitors Clallam Bay residents most frequently cite is their invisibility: residents either have no contact with visitors or are unaware of any contact. This has proven a disappointment to local merchants, although many do benefit from visitors' business. These benefits are limited, however, amounting to a few rooms rented that would otherwise be vacant, or a few additional meals or some gasoline sold. While most would acknowledge that this has been helpful, it has not been a critical factor in any local business and its off-season survival. During peak tourist months, some CBCC visitors have reserved rooms ahead; others have apparently made other arrangements. These arrangements include reports of a few families spending the night in cars, but again, the numbers of such incidents seem to be minimal. Summer visitors to the area for other reasons also sometimes sleep in their vehicles.

Adverse effects on the community from the transient visitors are more memorable than their benefits, but again, have not been particularly numerous. Visitors have paid for local services with bad checks on occasion, and at least one family took advantage of several Clallam Bay businesses during its few days' stay in the

community. In this regard, visitors have contributed to the community's increasing crime rate. Friends and family members who do not live in Clallam Bay have not generally been associated with other incidents of community criminal activity; there have been some arrests of family members for attempting to bring drugs into the institution itself. Community residents draw a clear distinction between transient visitors and those who make Clallam Bay their residence. "The visitors have been a positive factor," explained a 1988 community survey respondent; "The move-ins have been untrustworthy and a detriment to the community."

LOCALLY RESIDENT INMATE FAMILIES

Few inmate families have elected to move closer to CBCC to facilitate visiting at the prison, and of those who have, many do not live in Clallam Bay. The survey of visitors referenced above identified 11 inmates whose visitors resided in the local area, 4 in Clallam Bay. Inmate families residing in other Clallam County communities are apparently indistinguishable from other residents, and in several cases, had been county residents preceding the prison's operation. Inmate families living in Clallam Bay are all recent residents. They also all have their relationship with CBCC inmates well known by other community residents. "Feel it must be hard for them too in such a small community," wrote a 1988 community survey respondent. "We know who the families are."

A few more inmate families moved to Clallam Bay after the visitor survey, but not in large numbers. Through the end of 1988, the numbers of locally-resident inmate families did not exceed six, with a few additional families identified as relatives of relatives. Numerically, their presence is insignificant. Practically and psychologically their effects have been considerable.

The mental preparation of Clallam Bay residents for inmate families was such that any indication of their presence, as well as any evidence of untoward activity on their part, would certainly be noted and remarked upon. The construction of the apartment complex in the community in 1986, and its intentions to house low-income tenants, was to some Clallam Bay residents a sign of the impending arrival of inmate families. "They said no one would move here," complained one person in reference to inmate associates, "and now they're building tenements for the families."

The first few families to move to town were viewed by some as harbingers of a subsequent pack. Each new family was "another one," and further evidence that more were bound to follow. People began to talk about "a lot" of inmate families living in Clallam Bay, an impression perhaps facilitated by the concentration of most of their residences in the afore-mentioned apartment complex. Still, each specific accounting of inmate families produced the same small number residing in Clallam Bay.

The impression of numerous families also is sustained by their newsworthyness. The speculation about their effects on the community that preceded the prison has created an atmosphere of

hyper-sensitivity. Community residents are looking for indications to either confirm their stereotypes or refute them, and any information in this effort is valuable and of interest. By their association with inmates, and by extension with crime, inmate families further are subjects of the interest most of us have in deviancy and the exotic.

So, both on the basis of what they might mean to the community and on what they are or are thought to be as people, locally-resident inmate families are under intense public scrutiny. Like CBCC employees, their individual actions also represent an entire group; the involvement of inmate relatives in any illegal or disreputable activity matters to community residents well beyond the actual incident and its proportionate statistical significance.

While certainly not looking forward to being victimized, in some sense Clallam Bay residents were waiting and even anticipating that they would be put upon by inmate families. Once this happened, as it inevitably must have, it confirmed their expectations. The first few accounts of manipulation of local merchants, individuals, and churches by one family elicited the comment: "The game has begun." The many occasions when nothing happened, when family members neither took advantage or broke laws, were less frequently a source of knowledge about the probable behaviors of these new residents.

TWO INCIDENTS

Among the many experiences with inmate families Clallam Bay residents recounted during the study period, two stand out as particularly notable. One involves an extended family's use of the community's charitable services; the other concerns a family and friends associated with the commission of several local crimes. While both are extreme cases, they represent to Clallam Bay residents what having inmate families means to their community. As such, they are the source of attitudes toward inmate associates in general, and have served as the focus of community efforts to respond to both the problems they present and their needs for assistance.

Social Service Use:

Clallam Bay itself has a rather fragile and fragmented social service network, for the most part informally provided through the churches on a one-to-one, case-by-case basis. The nearest office of the state's Department of Social and Health Services (welfare) is located in Forks. Forks also is the site of the office for the area's anti-poverty program, and for a private, non-profit agency set up to assist in emergencies. Clallam Bay has a food bank operated by its churches, but this is open only twice a month and is not centrally located. The Salvation Army and the county's main provider of emergency shelter are in Port Angeles.

The personalized, small scale approach to meeting citizen needs that is found in Clallam Bay is common in small towns. It is effective when individuals know each other, a situation that characterized Clallam Bay's past. In these circumstances, those

needing services know where to go for help, and those helping know the history and the characteristics of persons seeking assistance. They know who to trust and how far, and the interdependence of all community residents tends to protect them against any significant abuse. The easiness of credit at the local stores and the willingness to cash checks has the same origins - anyone who was not trustworthy would be readily identified and excluded, and would have no alternatives.

Thus, while Clallam Bay had its share of persons who would take advantage of each other before the prison, for the most part, the extent to which this occurred was curbed by the size and isolation of the town and the relationships among its residents. Any substantial influx of strangers can overwhelm and manipulate such a system. It presumes connections with the community they do not have, and an investment in maintaining relationships they may not feel.

In the fall of 1987, local churches became aware that they had all been approached by the same inmate's wife for assistance, each receiving the same story about need for furnishings, clothing, and household goods in order to keep her children from being taken from her by the state. The members of at least two Clallam Bay churches had provided her with some furnishings. A relief agency in Forks and reportedly churches in Port Angeles also were contacted. Subsequently, the women's sister, in town to visit, sought out money from the same local churches for gas to return home.

This was not the first time these organizations had been approached by inmate family members, both visiting and residing locally, but it was taken as indicative of a trend. This rather flagrant attempt to draw on the community's resources fit within a pattern of more muted efforts to obtain aid. Without formal resources, visitors and resident families had solicited assistance from local businesses. In one reported incident, the woman responsible for distribution of one church's emergency aid was accosted at work by an inmate's wife "who demanded she give her the money for rent because she had lost it; not asked, demanded."

Community residents reacted particularly strongly, and generally negatively, to the needs of the families for community assistance. For some, the objection was to the potential exhaustion of the community's social service resources. "Most are demanding on social services which are too few already," wrote a 1988 community survey respondent; "Taxing all our social facilities," claimed another. There was a sense that inmate family use of resources might deprive Clallam Bay's indigenous needy population of needed assistance. "This is a depressed area and should not be expected to supply gas, food, etc., as gifts," complained this 1988 community survey respondent.

Some Clallam Bay residents wanted to provide help to inmate families, a desire expressed both in charitable terms and as a pragmatic effort to avoid problems that would result from not helping - theft, other crimes, child abuse, etc. At the same time, there was concern that this willingness to assist was being taken advantage of. People felt they were at risk of being manipulated

by those who "know how to use the system." That some individuals had manipulated or abused this help did not mean it should be denied. Rather, the feeling was that the community needed a more coordinated system of giving to protect against such abuse.

Still, even among those residents who contributed time and effort to other charitable causes, there often was the sense that assistance to inmate families was not the community's obligation. "Our church has helped some," stated a 1988 community survey respondent, "main problem, they come here broke with nothing and seem to feel we should supply them with beds, furniture, food, etc." The efforts of some residents, churches, and the county's Human Services Department to develop a more coordinated system to respond to inmate families and their needs met considerable resistance from other residents. "They're not our responsibility," said one woman. "We don't have anything to do with these people. They aren't coming here for us; they aren't ours." This was echoed in the written comment of a 1988 community survey respondent: "The visitors should be just that and I don't think we should have to support relatives in any way."

Criminal Behaviors:

The association of inmate families with criminal behaviors was among the more common stereotypes that preceded the arrival of any such families to Clallam Bay. The passing of bad checks that had occurred with some transient prison visitors confirmed these stereotypes, as did rumors of drug sales. The poverty of the locally-resident families and their needs for community and other public assistance further fed a perspective of such residents as undesirables. When in late 1987, the children of an inmate's family and that family's relatives were associated with vandalism and theft in several community settings, it came as no surprise. One local commentator regretted speaking in stereotypes and lamented their application to inmate families, "but," he said, "the reality is that we have some inmate families who really fit these stereotypes and are creating an incredible disruption in the community."

The evidentiary requirements of the law for any action against these youngsters, or against their parents for whom they were purportedly acting, frustrated community residents who "knew" they were guilty. This frustration came to a head in early 1988 with a break-in and burglary at the home of one of the community's well-known long term families. This combination of incidents and its culmination in this particular theft symbolized community change to many residents. The victims and their extended family represented what Clallam Bay had been; the event and the perpetrators showed what it had become.

Two days after the burglary, the county commissioners came to Clallam Bay for a previously scheduled open-agenda meeting. These meetings rotate around the county and take place in Clallam Bay every 4 months. The attendance is often very small. On this occasion, upwards of 60 people were present at the meeting, filling the school cafeteria and spilling out into the hallway. The

community's concerns about law enforcement, their perceptions of promises for county and state assistance to meet any prison-generated needs, and problems associated with inmate families dominated the meeting.

A Clallam Bay woman who works at a local store told of hearing from some children the day after the burglary that they knew who had done it, but had not reported this to the police: "I said, 'Well, you kids are new in town. Does your dad work up at the prison?' And they said, 'No, my dad's in prison!'" She concluded: "Don't tell me that prison hasn't made a difference in this town."

The tone of the meeting was one of anger and frustration. This was partly directed at the Department of Corrections and the implied contract made with the community during siting. At that time, Clallam Bay was assured of mitigation of any adverse law enforcement consequences from the prison through state-provided impact funds. It was these assurances, residents claimed, that led them to accept the prison. As one spokesperson expressed it: "These people made these promises and now we're stuck. We were essentially sold a bill of goods. The promises were made and nobody is keeping them." There was no representative from corrections or CBCC present at the meeting.

Some of the residents' anger was directed at the county Sheriff's Department (also not officially represented at the meeting), and at the county government itself. In this, other community and personal issues, ranging from the administration of the Sheriff's Department to provision and cost of county services, were brought together under the general heading of prison impact. "We're taxpayers and we're supporting that prison," pointed out one person. "We've got inmate families coming in here on welfare ripping us off, and those you catch and send to juvenile hall, they're out the next day." When advised by the commissioners that residents elsewhere in the county had similar complaints and problems with law enforcement and juvenile crime, the reaction was "but they're not sitting under a prison."

LIVING TOGETHER

The residence of inmate families in Clallam Bay has implications beyond the behaviors of these individuals for the community and the county. Their presence may mean that the inmate himself, once released, will remain in the local area. Because Washington state imposes no restrictions on most inmate movement after release, and had at the time no system of following up where former inmates elect to live, there is no record of how many previous CBCC residents have stayed in Clallam Bay or Clallam County. At least one such released felon settled for a time in Clallam Bay, leading a local resident to add the following comment to her 1988 community survey:

> I live in an apartment complex. There are a lot of inmate families living here. Recently, an inmate was released. He now lives here among us. It's hard to feel safe with people you know are a problem to society. You have to be alert and watch who you trust. Lock all your doors and cars up. These

things were not a problem here before. Our community has profited somewhat, but in the long run, it's a sad thing.

In this small community, where knowing one's neighbor and one's neighbor's business is a fact of daily life, such proximity to inmates and their families is disconcerting. It is especially troubling to those whose work role may have placed them in opposition to these individuals, such as is the case for CBCC staff. Inmate/staff relationships are not always cordial; the intimacy of life in Clallam Bay affords the potential for quarrels or more serious confrontations to be continued or extended outside the prison gates. CBCC employees thus have particular concerns about inmate families and former inmates themselves taking up residence in Clallam Bay.

Employees are living next door to inmate families. This is especially true in the apartments, which, as the only substantial cluster of low cost rental housing in town, draws many newcomers. Employees feel themselves under the possibly malign scrutiny of inmate associates who may have good reason to wish them harm. They worry about the inclusion of their homes and their families into the information network operating between inmates and their visitors. This anxiety is not helped by Clallam Bay's layout.

The community has no street addresses, with residents receiving their mail at a post office box. For visitors and delivery persons, therefore, giving out directions to people's houses is a regular need, regularly accommodated by local residents and businesses. The easy giving of information presumes no reason to keep residences confidential, a presumption that does not hold for CBCC staff. Concerned that released inmates or inmate associates would have unwanted reasons to seek out CBCC employees or their families, the prison administration asked that local businesses not provide information on employee residences. The request was met with incredulity, and apparently has not been strictly adhered to. Its appearance as an issue, however, signals some of the difficulties of fit between Clallam Bay as it has been and Clallam Bay as it is becoming.

Outside of Clallam Bay itself, former CBCC inmates have been associated with the commission of several crimes, including rape and armed robbery. Some crimes have occurred as the released inmate was in transient out of the county, others some months after his release. In one incident, a recently released inmate was assisted by another who had previously remained in the area. Without knowing what proportion of former CBCC inmates are represented by these cases, and without knowing the reasons for their remaining in the area (e.g. resettlement of family or friends, the prior residence of family or friends, or personal preference), it is impossible to evaluate the extent of these impacts. Whatever their numeric significance, they are viewed by area residents as consequences of the prison, and are accordingly assigned considerable weight by both residents and criminal justice officials.

ATTITUDES

The 1988 community survey asked the attitudes of Clallam Bay residents toward inmate families and friends, whether visiting or living in the community. Sixty percent maintained they had neutral feelings, 35% negative, and 5% positive. The few residents with positive attitudes spoke from personal experience, as did this respondent: "I know several of the families. Their problems are just a little different than mine. We all need friends and help at one time or another."

A similar perspective was expressed by a number of the respondents who labeled their feelings as neutral: "You can't condemn the families" wrote one respondent. The great majority of the comments explaining neutral attitudes reported lack of any contact, and thus no information; a few referenced mixed experiences or feelings.

The explanations of respondents with negative attitudes tended to reference personal experiences, some very specific, others more general. A third of these explanations cited a variety of unfavorable impressions or associations, often incorporating the stereotypes about inmate associates: "Think about it," wrote one respondent, "Their friends/family members are in prison. They are most likely into the same stuff as the people they came to see."

Two-thirds of those with negative feelings about inmate associates based their attitudes on the demands such persons placed on the community's social services and assistance resources, or on specific criminal or other adverse behaviors. Read the list of one respondent: "More garbage, more junky cars, slum-like dwellings, wait in grocery lines for food stamp customers, more crime, more undisciplined youth on streets." Many of the comments referenced the two incidents reviewed previously, explicitly citing the use of local church resources by inmate families and the commission of thefts by their children. Respondents also mentioned drug use and sales, the passing of bad checks, vandalism, and neglected or abused children. These behaviors were taken as reflections of basic orientation and lifestyle differences, manifested in manipulation, dependency, and inconsideration for others and the community. "We've had break-ins, a lot more drugs," noted one respondent. "Before we had people here who cared. These are city born and breds who care nothing about others!"

In their survey responses and in their public and private remarks, the attitudes of Clallam Bay residents toward locally-resident and visiting inmate families show again what kinds of people were wanted and not wanted in the community. Clallam Bay residents who were favorable or at least sympathetic toward inmate families focused on individuals and their needs. In many cases, this focus included the needs of the inmate as well for the support and comfort of his family. For residents with negative attitudes,

however, the actions and characteristics of individual inmate associates, while important in their own right, also served as a general comparison with ideal community goals. "We have enough single parent families and welfare families," stated a survey respondent. "We don't need anymore." Another compared these residents with those the community wanted: "None of those who have arrived in the community have contributed anything financially or otherwise."

CHAPTER 10
CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IMPACTS

EXPECTATIONS AND JUDGEMENTS

CONTEXT

The predominant negative impacts expected from the prison in Clallam Bay were increased crime and its consequences on the county's criminal justice system. These dominated the concerns expressed by both Clallam Bay residents and agency representatives prior to the prison's opening; they have continued to be a central focus for discussions of prison impact. To some extent, this is a normal pre-eminence, with worries about prison effects on crime rates among the most frequently voiced siting objections and the most frequently researched negative prison impact. In Clallam Bay, the actions and reactions of the County Sheriff gave additional impetus to the significance of this issue, including providing much of the incentive for this study.

The Sheriff's particular interest in the impacts of the prison on law enforcement are seen in the voluminous correspondence from that department incorporated into the Environmental Impact Statement documents. Predictions of increased law enforcement demands included those which would be generated by the prison itself, those resulting from the actions of inmate families and visitors, and the criminal justice implications of a rapidly increased population. In the latter situation, information from several studies of energy "boom towns" (England 1984; Finsterbusch 1982) served to substantiate the expectations of considerable prison impact on area law enforcement resources.

The pre-existing sense of many Clallam Bay residents that they received too little protection and had poor access to law enforcement services heightened their sensitivity to the prospects of any further pressures on what was perceived as an inadequate system. This tendency to feel already underserved in regard to their law enforcement needs combined with the attention given to potential additional needs to help confirm residents' anxieties about prison effects on local crime. The community was thus ready to look for, and to find, adverse prison impacts on law enforcement.

This propensity was further fed by the prospects of gaining state assistance to compensate the community's service provider for meeting these needs. A commonly perceived promise from the siting hearings was that additional law enforcement requirements caused by the prison would be dealt with and paid for by state impact funds. There were two sources of such funds: one-time funds to compensate for initial impacts, and on-going funds to compensate for the direct law enforcement requirements resulting from prisoner committed crimes and escapes.

In February of 1985, with the prison still under construction, the Sheriff's Department contracted for its own impact assessment study through the Loaned Executive Management Assistance Program to add support to its claim on the one-time impact assistance money.

This program, jointly sponsored by the Washington State Criminal Justice Training Commission and the Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs, provided two law enforcement executives from other areas to conduct a review of local data and needs.

The conclusions of their review corresponded with those submitted during siting by the Sheriff's Department itself. In brief, their report determined that current law enforcement staffing of the area was insufficient; that needs would be increased substantially due to the prison; that Department of Corrections predictions of inmate security level, inmate numbers, and the adequacy of response in the event of a riot or an escape were incorrect or too optimistic; that additional deputies were needed in Clallam Bay; and that additional costs associated with all these needs should be covered by the state. This review and its findings were subsequently used by the County Commissioners to substantiate their claim for one-time impact funds.

Community residents perceived this process as one which would lead to an increase in their law enforcement coverage. In particular, there was the hope that Clallam Bay would have a full-time, 24 hour a day, "deputy of our own." This would be an improvement over the present arrangement in which the only deputy on duty often covered the county's entire west end. As it happened, none of the funds from either the one-time or the on-going impact funds were designated for use to increase manpower. One-time funds were restricted to one-time uses, which precluded staff, and went instead to equipment and office improvements. Compensation from the on-going impact funds went into a fund to meet extraordinary or special manpower needs, not for a regular officer's salary. At the same time, county budgets were reduced, including that of the Sheriff's Department, and no county money went into increasing law enforcement in Clallam Bay either. The only apparent addition to Clallam Bay's law enforcement was a supervisor, assigned like the deputies to the west end as a whole and with administrative rather than field duties.

Thus, Clallam Bay's concerns about law enforcement needs were enhanced during the prison siting process and thereafter, reinforced by the use of law enforcement impacts to justify receipt of state one-time funds, apparently heard and agreed with by the Sheriff, the County Commissioners, and the Department of Corrections, and then left unmitigated. The consequent community reaction is tied to these events. They shaped how residents looked at their community's crime and what response to it was expected. When the level of law enforcement available to the community did not improve, Clallam Bay residents felt betrayed, and <u>any</u> crime seen as due to the prison loomed all the larger because of this. "We were <u>promised</u> impact funds for police protection," said a Clallam Bay resident at one public meeting about crime. "Where is that money?"

CLALLAM BAY RESIDENT PERSPECTIVES

Seventy percent of the respondents to the 1986 community survey expected the prison to bring "more demands on law

enforcement." This was the single, most frequently anticipated impact residents selected out of a list of 15. Along with their second selection (more demands on social services), picked by 61%, these two impacts were the only choices of a majority of survey respondents. In the 1988 survey, respondents once again selected needs for law enforcement as the consequence of the prison the greatest percentage agreed upon, but proportionately fewer did so. Sixty-one percent of the 1988 survey respondents saw the prison as having caused increased demands on law enforcement, and this impact was closely followed by the presence of new residents (58%) and prison jobs (56%).

The next most often perceived prison effect was "increased crime," selected by 54% of the 1988 respondents. This was an increase over expectations in the 1986 survey, with only 45% anticipating that crime would go up. The other criminal justice-related choice on the list was "more drugs and drug users," expected by 46% of the 1986 respondents but thought to have occurred by just 29% of those in 1988.

Overall, these results suggest that Clallam Bay residents expected that the prison would result in law enforcement needs, and these expectations have been largely fulfilled. Residents appear to see less of an increase in drug problems than in crime more generally, and see positive prison effects as having occurred nearly as often as negative ones. These findings are congruent with their informal comments and complaints, and with their responses to other survey questions.

In a question asking them to rate various community services, respondents to both surveys were more likely to give law enforcement a fair or poor rating than a good or excellent one: 65% rated it fair/poor in 1986; 67% did so in 1988. In both surveys, these ratings placed law enforcement in about the middle of the satisfaction rankings of local services. More 1988 residents rated law enforcement as "poor" (30%) than did those in 1986 (18%), and 1988 respondents were more likely to see law enforcement services as in need of improvement, with 49% placing it among their top three choices.

In another question, survey respondents were asked to check any new or expanded business/services they would like to see in Clallam Bay. In 1986, 37% selected law enforcement, the seventh most frequent choice out of 13 options listed; 11% identified it as their top priority for such enhancements. The 1988 survey worded this question somewhat differently, asking respondents to evaluate the extent of need for improvement or expansion in selected services: increased law enforcement was picked as a great need by 23% and as a critical need by 35%. As a choice for a critical need, increased law enforcement was the second most frequently selected option, following behind a local physician (47%). On the basis of <u>any</u> perceptions of need for improvement, law enforcement ranked seventh out of 14 options, about where it did in 1986.

Although CBCC employees frequently complained about the shortage of law enforcement coverage in Clallam Bay, in neither employee survey were improvements in law enforcement assigned a

particularly high priority. In the 1987 employee survey, just 44% saw more than a moderate need, with 15% feeling there were no improvement needs. These ratings were significantly lower than the needs identified for a physician, housing, child care, transit, and additional services and stores. By 1988, employees responding to the survey were more concerned about law enforcement and held attitudes more similar to other community residents: sixty-two percent felt there were great or critical needs for law enforcement improvements, slightly above the needs they saw for transit or library services but still well below those for a physician, housing, or child care.

Overall, the residents of Clallam Bay appear to have maintained a concern for the adequacy of local law enforcement since the prison opened. This concern started at a fairly high level, and has increased from there: residents are now more dissatisfied with the law enforcement services available to them, and more likely to see these as in dire need for enhancement than before the prison was fully operational. They see these changes as a consequence of the prison. They also are seen as the result of continued inadequate staffing of the area's law enforcement needs.

The following comment is from a respondent to the 1988 community survey:

> The law enforcement for this area is totally lacking in manpower. The deputies are constantly either in Forks or in the CBCC. I feel my tax dollars are not being used to their full capacity. There is a great need to see more active patrol of the area, the DWI's, burglaries, thefts are increasing, while the deputies are doing paperwork in the office. I feel that more deputies are needed in the Clallam Bay/Sekiu area for a reduction in the crime rate, especially with the tourist season approaching and an increase in population.

As one resident saw it, increases in criminal activity in the community were easily understood, noting how "criminal types come to Clallam Bay to visit and 'Wow - no law enforcement!' It's easy pickings."

AREA RESIDENT PERSPECTIVES

In these views, Clallam Bay residents have sentiments similar to those of residents living elsewhere in the west end. The Clallam County Sheriff's department mailed out a brief postcard survey to 1000 randomly selected residents of unincorporated west Clallam County in February, 1988. The purpose of the survey was to assess attitudes of area residents, and, not, incidentally, to obtain support for a request to the county commissioners for additional manpower. Voters registration served as the source of the sample: 375 survey cards were returned for a response rate of 38%.

Fifty-three percent of the respondents to this survey felt the present level of law enforcement provided by the Sheriff's Department was inadequate; 62% maintained that Sheriff's deputies did not respond in a timely manner to west end calls; and 68%

answered "yes" to the question: "Does the west end need more deputies?" Very similar responses were obtained from a companion survey of the county's unincorporated east end.

Respondents to the west end survey also were asked whether they thought west end crime had increased in the past two years (the period since the prison had opened): 79% responded "yes." "Over 100% since the prison" one respondent wrote in the margins of the card. Others specifically identified problems with drugs. Perceptions of the present level of law enforcement were strongly related to opinions about crime increases: 89% of those evaluating current enforcement levels as inadequate or very inadequate also maintained that crime had increased in the past two years.

The extra written comments of respondents included some familiar complaints about distance, response time, and the distribution of workload and funding. The presence of the prison has added a new factor to this litany, a factor alluded to by several respondents. The following comment is one of the lengthiest received:

> I truly feel that the increase in local crime is wholly due to the prison being located here. The main increase is in home burglaries. I really believe the state that was responsible for the prison being here should be obligated to provide the Sheriff's department with impact funds to properly provide the added need for deputies in the west end.

CRIME INDICATORS

LAW ENFORCEMENT CALLS FOR SERVICE

Clallam County has four independent law enforcement agencies, not including the Washington state patrol and the tribal police departments serving Indian reservations. The County Sheriff has responsibility for Clallam Bay's law enforcement needs, and the Clallam Bay/Sekiu area is one of four unincorporated areas served by the Sheriff's department. The others are the Port Angeles area, the Forks area, and the Sequim area. The incorporated cities of Port Angeles, Forks, and Sequim each have their own police departments.

The origin of the crime data commonly cited in national statistics is the law enforcement officer's report of an incident. These "calls for service" (CFS) range from major crimes of rape. homicide, and felonious assault through complaints about noise, shooting, or suspicious persons. Each such CFS represents a reported crime. The most serious of these are selected for inclusion in the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) data base; others are of more local interest.

Method:

Clallam Bay's population is so small, as indeed is that of the county as a whole, that the most serious crimes tend to occur infrequently. They are thus not a good measure for looking at change in criminal behavior over time. For this study, the unit of measurement for criminal activity was Calls for Service, coded into

67 different categories. These categories are those used by the Clallam County Sheriff's Department in its record keeping, and include the full compliment of criminal complaints as well as a variety of civil services, such as process service and concealed weapons permits, also performed by the department. Records from the Port Angeles and the Forks Police Departments were recoded as needed to conform to the same categories. Some coding categories did not apply to Clallam Bay, or simply showed processing or other administrative activities. These were dropped from the analysis; in all, 26 categories were used to assess crime rate changes in the community.

Developing a data track of CFS data presented several difficulties. First, the Sheriff's Department had combined reports containing information from the Forks and Clallam Bay/Sekiu areas up until 1986. This prohibited identifying crime rates specifically for the Clallam Bay area prior to the opening of the prison and required that the base year for analysis be that of the facility's interim operation. Some community changes occurred during 1986 because of the prison; these were modest compared to the population and transiency increases in subsequent years but may still have had some effect on crime rates.

An additional problem was the lack of computerized records for all county law enforcement agencies. Complete computerized records were available for the Sheriff's Department from 1986 through 1988; comparable records were obtained from the Port Angeles Police Department for 1986 through the first six months of 1988 (and projected from there). For the Forks Police Department, file cards were entered into a computer data base for 1985 through 1987. The Forks Police Department information, is, however, exceptionally inconsistent, suggesting vagaries in recording criminal reports in some areas. Efforts to computerize records from the city of Sequim were disbanded because of similar inconsistencies in the information available.

There is another significant issue in the interpretation of information on crimes. Clallam Bay's small population is again a factor here. Not only are major crimes rare, even common crimes occur in relatively small numbers. Many of the categories of interest in the Clallam Bay data contained incidents in single figures, and in no category other than those concerning civil processes did the numbers exceed 100. The occurrence of only a few additional incidents, can, with such small numbers, result in a substantial percentage increase. Also, a single perpetrator could conceivably be responsible for this entire increase by committing a series of offenses.

There are as well all the qualifications associated with citizen inclination to report and officer practices of handling complaints. Because Clallam Bay residents are likely to feel poorly served by law enforcement, and because there is a tradition of resolving problems informally within the community, reporting rates are probably depressed. This may be balanced out, however, by the greater sensitivity to crime from both citizens and officers associated with the operation of the prison.

The following analysis of criminal activities in Clallam County is limited to the period from 1986 through 1988, and includes information from each district in the unincorporated county as well as data from Port Angeles, the county's largest city. Two law enforcement agencies, the county Sheriff's Department, and the Port Angeles Police Department are the sources of this information. Data from the Forks Police Department are included for comparison for certain crimes. Of these, the data from the Sheriff's Department are most significant, both because they include the Clallam Bay area and because they are from a single agency. The Port Angeles Police Department data serve mainly as an additional control for the incidence of crime in the county other than that handled through the Sheriff's Department; they also show crimes which occurred in the county's urban center.

The information was compared manually across offense categories and across time. The intent of this comparison was to identify any changes in the reports of crimes from the Clallam Bay area, and to determine whether or not these changes were consistent with, greater than, or less than criminal activity reports from elsewhere in Clallam County. Because of the small numbers of incidents typically involved, the emphasis in the interpretation of this data should not be on any single category of crime but on the pattern of criminal activity overall. Incidents which occurred in the prison itself are identified as such, and dealt with separately under their own heading below.

Crime in Clallam Bay:

The impressions of Clallam Bay residents that crime has increased in their area is confirmed by these data. This confirmation comes in several forms. First, the total number of CFS's occurring in Clallam Bay between 1986 and 1988 have increased by 53%. They went up 29% between 1986 and 1987, going from 825 calls to 1068, and increased another 18% from 1987 to 1988 (from 1068 to 1265. This is not entirely or even primarily due to crimes taking place inside CBCC itself: incidents occurring in the prison accounted for just 7% of this growth, 19 in 1986, 82 in 1987, and 81 in 1988. Further, while Clallam Bay's population <u>has</u> increased during this period, this population growth is below that of the growth in criminal reports: the adult population of Clallam Bay grew by 10% from 1985 to 1988; that of young people aged 14 through 18 has expanded by 25%; and the community's population of young adults (aged 19 to 24) has actually declined by 15%.

Neither population nor crime increased significantly elsewhere in the county's unincorporated areas. Total Sheriff's Department CFS's actually decreased from 1986 to 1987 by 10%, and then went up in the following year to post a 13% increase over the three year period. Service calls to the Port Angeles Police Department increased between 1985 to 1986, and show slight declines after that. Population growth in the county as a whole and for the city of Port Angeles appears to have been modest.

For analysis of the crime report data, individual crime categories were grouped together on the basis of offense

similarities to identify any patterns of criminal activity. Three major clusters were developed: 1) Interpersonal Crimes - including crimes against and between persons; 2) Property Crimes; and 3) Civil Matters - incorporating selected civil services and community complaints. Drug and alcohol-related offenses are discussed in the next chapter. Detailed information on these crime clusters is shown in Table 10 - 1.

Community residents seem to hold the impression that crime increases have occurred primarily in the area of property crimes. The burglaries associated with inmate family members, referenced in the previous chapter, contributed to that impression, as did the occurrence of other notable property offenses which also were related to prison associates or prison-induced community change. Of the two criminal clusters reviewed, however, the most consistent pattern of criminal activity increases is found not in property crimes but in those involving interpersonal offenses.

All offenses included in the Interpersonal Crimes cluster show an increased incidence between 1986 and 1988. In some crime types in this cluster, such as felonious assault, rape, and child abuse, the numbers of offenses are so small that one or two incidents produce a large percentage increase. In other crimes with larger numbers of offenses, such as simple assault, disturbances, and domestic violence, the percentage increase is more significant if less dramatic. For example, excluding offenses occurring in the prison, simple assaults in Clallam Bay went from 14 in 1986 to 25 in 1988, a growth of 79%. The reports of area deputies and residents maintain that many such offenses were due to fights in bars or taverns between locals and CBCC employees. Another indicator of public fights is found in data for reports of "disturbances." In Clallam Bay, incidents of this type went up 47%; in nearby Forks with a greater variety of public drinking places, reports of disturbances also increased significantly.

The most compelling aspect of this cluster is the pattern it reveals of consistent increases in crimes involving interpersonal violence or aggression since the prison began full operations. These increases are noted in private or family settings and for violence occurring in public settings. This pattern is not present in other Clallam County areas and communities. Clallam Bay's increased incidence of interpersonal criminality is not always the highest in the county for every crime in this cluster; it is the only community or area where these increases occur for every such crime.

The cluster encompassing property crimes shows a much less consistent pattern, although it does include some areas of increase in Clallam Bay. Burglary went up by 67% in 1987 (with the report of 10 additional offenses), but decreased to 1986 base level in 1988. 1987 is the year that Clallam Bay's most notorious prison-related burglaries began, and although the numbers are small, a two-thirds increase in such crimes would constitute a "crime wave" for those experiencing it. Theft, however, has declined since 1986. The increase in bad checks in 1988 (from 6 to 16) is at least partly a matter of shifting reporting patterns. Faced with

TABLE 10 - 1
CRIMINAL REPORTS FROM THE CLALLAM BAY AREA:
SELECTED CRIMES

INTERPERSONAL CRIMES	1986	1987	1988
Assault - felony	2	4(1)*	5(1)
Assault - simple	15	47(26)	36(11)
Child abuse	3	5	10
Disturbances	34	42	47(1)
Domestic violence	10	23(1)	25
Threats/harrassment	17	12	22
Rape	1	1(1)	4(1)
Sex offense	2	4	8

PROPERTY CRIMES	1986	1987	1988
Auto theft	4	5	4(1)
Burglary	15	25	15
Malicious mischief	27	28(1)	35
Theft	54	53(5)	39(3)
Bad checks (UIBC)	6(1)	6	16

CIVIL MATTERS	1986	1987	1988
Civil process service	63(2)	140(21)	171(29)
Concealed weapon permit	9	31	34
Prowler	5	5	6(1)
Shooting complaint	4(2)	8(1)	13(2)
Suspicious person	17	24(2)	33(3)
Traffic complaint	25	11	29
Trespass	7(1)	13	29

* all numbers in ( ) are crimes occuring at the prison or involving inmates

Source: The Clallam County Sheriff's Department

an increase in receipt of checks with insufficient funds, merchants became more inclined to file a complaint. They also were reacting to problems with bad checks from individuals who were not local residents or who were newcomers to the community with whom they had no personal relationship.

The cluster of CFS's dealing with civil matters also present a mixed picture of crime increases. The greater numbers of concealed weapons permits and civil process service that occurred in 1987 are artifacts of a change-over in records keeping procedures that took place in mid 1986. A similar increase shows throughout the county, and continued countywide between 1987 and 1988. Expanded numbers of reports on trespassing and suspicious persons may be related to periods during prison escapes, however, and may also reflect changes in community composition with a greater presence of strangers.

A system to identify prison association on crime reports was attempted by the Sheriff's Department in 1986. Deputies were directed to record whether victims or perpetrators of their investigations were visitors, other inmate associates, CBCC employees, or employee family members. Unfortunately, such information was not part of the usual routine data collection, the additional paperwork required was completed erratically, and the resulting record does no more than detail that such persons were indeed involved in some unknown proportion of cases.

West end officers who worked in the Clallam Bay area did attribute much of the increased crime they encountered to the presence of the prison. Their estimates of what proportion of the crime reports they handled were prison-linked range from 20 to 30%, to "most." The deputies also all acknowledged that a substantial part of Clallam Bay's crime was committed by persons who were prior residents of the community and already known to law enforcement. As one explained it, it is as if the local criminals have upped the level of their criminal activity along with the addition of activity from newcomers, inmate families, and prison employees.

Clallam Bay residents agree that crime in their community is not all due to "outsiders," acknowledging that "we have our own criminals" as well. But even with such acknowledgements, the differences they feel in personal and community security are linked to the arrival of the prison. One Clallam Bay resident, an eighth grader, reported that the families living to the right and left of his home had been burglarized. "I've never known anyone before who had had their house broken into," he said. It is this new and more personal knowledge and experience of crime which leads community residents to evaluate its incidence as serious. "Feeling totally open to danger and violent, costly crime," wrote a 1988 community survey respondent, "that before had not found this corner of the world." For Clallam Bay, it would have taken little increase in numbers or severity of crimes to produce significant differences between the past and the present.

IMPACTS ON THE COURTS

The types of crimes most frequently occurring in Clallam Bay are not felonies, and as such are handled in the county's District Court. Clallam County has two District Courts, with one located in Forks to serve west end residents. Records from this court were reviewed in terms of total caseload and by cases occurring in the Clallam Bay area. For the first measure, records provided by the District Court in Forks show a 34% growth in case loads between 1983 and 1987 (1987 figures are projections based on the first 6 months). This increase was consistent across all types of cases handled: civil cases, small claims, domestic violence, and criminal infractions.

Court personnel view this increase as significantly affected by the criminal activities of prison staff, and the need it has produced for additional staff hours has been considered for resolution with prison impact funds. There are some problems with this association, however. Between 1985 and 1987, court case loads expanded by just 7%. Since the prison did not start operations until 1986, and was not fully operational until 1987, there is no basis for relating the previous increase to the prison. It is nonetheless the impression of court staff that prison employees and their families have produced additional court work.

This impression is at least partially a product of the sense that corrections personnel should never be involved in any criminal offenses. Insofar as misdemeanor crimes are concerned, the Department of Corrections does not officially share this view; employees are not sanctioned for such offenses by the prison administration. One county staff person, struck by what seemed to be an inordinate number of corrections employees appearing in the court's caseload, began keeping an informal record of offenses associated with such persons. The mode of record keeping used to do this - identifying those known to be CBCC employees or employee spouses, but not systematically collecting employment or relationship information, and also not identifying what proportion of the caseload these cases represented - does not permit any assessment of the representativeness of this association: it does show numerous incidents in which prison employees or their families were the accused, lending some credibility to the staff's assessment.

More substantive data was obtained from the official court records. These were reviewed for crimes committed in the Clallam Bay area from 1983 through 1987. Cases originating in Clallam Bay went from 188 in 1985 to 309 in 1987 (actual count), an increase of 64%. This trend, like that of the court's caseload as a whole, preceded the operation of the prison: 1983 cases from Clallam Bay numbered 128, and increased in 1984 to 151. It differs from the caseload of the court as a whole in that caseload growth continued after 1985, and remained up after the prison had opened and was fully operational. Interestingly, actual residents of the Clallam Bay community were less likely to be responsible for these additional crimes than residents of other places. This is especially true for residents of the Port Angeles and Forks areas,

who were the most likely offenders in Clallam Bay criminal charges handled by the District Court. It appears that transients in the community (possibly commuting to work at CBCC) accounted disproportionately for cases brought to court.

JUVENILE CRIME

Beyond the accounts of residents and their perceptions, there is little concrete information on juvenile crime in Clallam Bay. Data from the Juvenile Court's system could not be practically disaggregated at the community level. There is no sense among juvenile justice personnel that cases from this area have increased, however, although even a substantial increase could represent fairly small numbers and not be noted by county-level workers. The County Juvenile Diversion program, which deals with minor and first time offenders, was able to provide data for youth of Clallam Bay and Neah Bay combined. The number of referrals to Juvenile Diversion from these two communities has been effectively stable from 1983 through 1987, ranging from 10 to 13, and accounting for from 2.2 to 3.7% of the total caseload. On the basis of Juvenile Diversion records, there has been no particular change in the incidence of juveniles served from the Clallam Bay area since the advent of the prison. The population of young people in Clallam Bay has increased by about 25% since the prison; the youthful population of Neah Bay has grown as well.

This absence of any official account of juvenile crime increases in Clallam Bay does run counter to the observational sense of many Clallam Bay residents. It is probable that many of the activities these residents are concerned about never come to the attention of law enforcement, or, if they do, cannot be substantiated sufficiently to file charges. They nevertheless add to the concerns of the community regarding prison related crime increases. There is particular concern about the children of inmates, as indicated in this comment from the 1988 community survey: "Birds of a feather flock together," wrote a respondent in explanation of a negative attitude toward inmate families and associates; "If they are that makes the children of the family like their fathers. So, that makes more juvenile crime."

The community already has had evidence of the involvement in criminal activity by the children of at least one inmate and his family. This works to confirm residents' concerns and justifies their continuation. Residents also base their perceptions of juvenile misbehaviors on differences in child raising and socialization. They worry about the imposition of "city values" among school children, values which they see as leading to crime, drugs, and other forms of license. This view is represented by the comments of one resident on the 1988 community survey. After

detailing unsuccessful efforts with parents and law enforcement to deal with gunshots and night time harassment, the resident concludes:

> I argued the prison, it would help, and I'm so sorry....The rise in crime, drug availability, the inconsideration of parents and lack of responsibility shown in the raising and care of city children brought here is disgraceful!

CRIMINAL JUSTICE IMPACTS FROM INSIDE THE PRISON

ENFORCEMENT RESPONSIBILITY

Crimes committed within the prison by inmates become the direct responsibility of the local criminal justice authority: In the case of CBCC, this is the Clallam County Sheriff. The Sheriff also is responsible for providing assistance in the event of an escape, and, if there is a major disturbance inside the prison, of providing perimeter control and assisting the Washington State Patrol and corrections staff as necessary. For all these services, the Sheriff and other criminal justice agencies involved (such as the prosecuting attorney) receive compensation from the state for the time expended according to a pre-determined formula.

The position of the Sheriff's Department prior to the prison opening about probable criminal justice impacts had encompassed concerns about crimes within the prison as well. These concerns centered around worries about increased demands on existing services because of prison-based violations of the law, demands for which the state's reimbursement system would only partially compensate. There was another worry as well. This was regarding the difficulties likely to be encountered by the necessity of working across jurisdictional lines.

The corrections system and its institutions are already in the position of administering sanctions for criminal offenses. In addition to the basic fact of incarceration itself, corrections procedures also concern themselves with inmate misbehaviors occurring during incarceration. The system has considerable authority to impose additional sanctions for such further offenses, and while there is attention to certain measures of due process in the course of this, internal sanctions are likely to be both more readily applied and more severe than those available to external authorities.

The concerns of local law enforcement authorities about this process were that criminal violations would tend to not be uniformly reported to local law enforcement, and thereby not allow the department to meet its statutory obligation to provide appropriate law enforcement services for all county residents, regardless of whether or not they were incarcerated. The Sheriff's assessment of this obligation was that it should be strictly followed, and that the decision to impose internal sanctions rather than to attempt to apply external ones through the courts be made after any crime had been investigated by the appropriate legal authorities.

The preferred practice of corrections appears to be to call in local law enforcement only in those situations where internal sanctions were clearly inadequate or inapplicable - e.g. for serious crimes. The position of CBCC's administration was that they were in the best position to sanction infractions, and the added involvement of local law enforcement would only prolong and potentially dilute their effectiveness in controlling inmate behavior. State law requires that a criminal investigation be done on any felony committed by a prisoner: at issue was who decides whether a felony investigation is warranted - local law enforcement or corrections personnel.

The resolution of this differing perspective stretched over the first two years of operations at CBCC. During this time, Sheriff's Department personnel complained among themselves, and to CBCC administration, about their perceptions that they were not receiving full information about criminal violations within the institution. One individual involved in these discussions with the prison administrators noted how he felt like the Sheriff's Department was being "permitted to talk, but they're really in charge. It's like a courtesy thing; they meet with us as a courtesy, but they really feel like 'We have the power to do what we want now. We don't need you.'" As this comment illustrates, the issue also involved some competition over enforcement authority.

Decisions about jurisdictional responsibility were necessary as well for handling responses to escapes. When the first inmate escaped from CBCC in 1986, neither corrections or law enforcement staff were fully trained to respond, nor was there clarity on who was accountable for doing what. CBCC and the Sheriff's Department had incompatible radio frequencies, seriously restricting communication during the search; CBCC staff did not have authority to stop and search vehicles; Sheriff's deputies were unfamiliar with procedures for manning roadblocks; and the community questioned whether those involved in the search were sufficiently versed in the area's geography to conduct a thorough search. The first few escapes thus became training sessions for the personnel of both agencies to learn what was needed and how best to accomplish it and to distribute responsibility for these actions.

A formal response plan between CBCC and the Sheriff's Department for handling escapes was not concluded until mid-1989. As for obtaining reports on criminal offenses occurring inside the prison, the Sheriff's Department was never satisfied that they were being kept fully informed. The sense was that the prison administration "just tells us what they want us to hear." Sometimes information about offenses occurring in the prison would be relayed several days later, almost as an after thought: on other occasions, the Sheriff's Department would hear about events from sources other than the prison administration. In one such situation, a CBCC employee was heard to comment to a Clallam Bay merchant that "we had another bomb today." The Sheriff's Department had no knowledge of any such incident (it was

subsequently confirmed there had been more than one) until a similarly casual mention of its occurrence led to a call to CBCC.

This conflicting perspective of the respective roles of local law enforcement and corrections administration in the enforcement of law inside the institution continued until early 1989. At that time, the Sheriff acceded to CBCC's sense of primary responsibility in determining such matters, and withdrew from active pursuit of internal prison offenses unless requested to investigate by the prison authorities themselves. In this, the Clallam County Sheriff's Department was adopting the posture maintained by law enforcement jurisdictions in other state prison locales. Effectively, this stance acknowledges the right of corrections to maintain civil order within an institution within a fairly broad range of offenses: the role of external law enforcement agencies is limited to offenses that are more properly dealt with through further criminal prosecution.

The eventual and somewhat reluctant adoption of this position by the Clallam County Sheriff was influenced by more than the difficulties of resolution between the two agencies: under some public criticism for management of his department and allocation of resources to visible citizen protection, the Sheriff had little choice but to re-orient his priorities away from CBCC. The general public was much more concerned about their rights to law enforcement protection than about the rights of prisoners to equivalent services. This was especially true in Clallam Bay, where resentment about deputies spending time at the prison was outspoken and part of residents' prior sense of law enforcement "never being available when needed."

Clallam Bay residents contrasted the attention they received for their criminal complaints and that which they perceived as going to the prison and found their needs once again coming up short. The visibility of responses to escapes, and the additional manpower required, further exacerbated these perceptions. CBCC was thus added to Forks as a place that "took away" Clallam Bay's access to adequate law enforcement. This was referenced during the public discussion of the burglaries attributed to inmate family members. A resident who had been a victim recounted the following:

> I was told when I called the Sheriff that the deputy was unavailable at that time because he was at the prison. We had to go to the prison to get him. They've got 100 guards up at that prison. You'd think that they could do something up there and wouldn't need our deputies. There could be somebody down here getting murdered and they'd come two hours later. When there's a breakout at that prison, there's roadblocks everywhere; they don't take any time to put up roadblocks. But when your house is broken into and you give them a description of the car, they can't do a roadblock; they can't do anything.

PRISON-SPECIFIC CRIMINAL COSTS

The Washington State Legislature has established the right of criminal justice agencies providing services to state inmates to receive reimbursement for the costs incurred in doing this. This is a deliberate effort to compensate local authorities for the additional expenses that must be borne when a state prison is within their jurisdiction. Other expenses that may be associated with providing for inmate needs, such as emergency medical or ambulance use, are handled on a contractual or fee-for-service basis, but these too will be state paid. In all these arrangements for compensation, the rationale is the reimbursement for provision of local services to deal with or meet the needs of individuals who are the responsibility of the state because of incarceration. While the criminal justice system compensation program is referred to as "on-going" impact funding, it is more properly conceptualized as simply the fulfillment of the state's responsibilities for those in its charge.

During the three year period between 1986, when the prison opened, through 1988, the Clallam County Sheriff's Department generated a total of 1037 hours in reimbursable prison-specific work. For these hours, the state was billed $20,232. CBCC inmates also were housed in the county jail while awaiting transport, trial, or sentencing: this amounted to 124 days of reimbursable costs. The dollar amount of the bills submitted to the state for jail services was $1929. Billing rates for both types of service are set by statute and are generally below actual costs.

During the same period, the county's District Attorney filed no reimbursement claims with the state, although some of the above incidents had resulted in the accumulation of billable hours. The District Attorney, in contrast to the Sheriff, had <u>not</u> expected the prison to add much to the workload of his office. In anticipation of only minimal demands, and with the belief that these would not unduly strain his staff, no procedures were implemented to isolate prison-specific cases. This has since changed and the District Attorney is now submitting requests for state reimbursement.

The Sheriff's Department's involvement in responding to inmate-generated law enforcement demand covered a variety of incident types: arson, assault, contraband, escapes, explosives, forgery, rape, theft, and the serving of warrants. Escapes were far and away the most significant of these, requiring 818 hours and generating $16,187 in bills to the state. Excluding costs associated with jail services, this is 80% of the total. Of the other categories of incidents, only assault required much time from local deputies: 152 hours were billed for handling assault cases; all other offense categories generated less than 20 hours of billable time.

The disproportionate time required for handling inmate escapes is not due to the relative number of escapes versus other criminal incidents. Rather, it is a matter of the additional manpower used in the efforts to recapture escapees. Crimes committed within the prison occur within a limited population, with the perpetrator generally identified before law enforcement is even called in.

Responses to escapes take place in a very different arena. Roads linking Clallam Bay to other places must be blocked and search teams must cover the area where the inmate is expected to be. Before reaching agreement on the respective roles of deputies and corrections staff, officers from the Sheriff's Department were likely to be involved in any of these.

There also is a public relations dimension to escapes that is not attached to most crimes committed within the prison's walls. It is judged important to provide visible evidence to the community that proper action to apprehend the escapee (and protect the community) is being taken. That escaped prisoners may be dangerous and desperate men adds further impetus to the urgency of their recapture and the investment of considerable manpower in an effort to do so. In 1988, a single escape accounted for $10,989 in state reimbursement requests from the Sheriff's Department when the escapee spent several days at large in the community.

For more routine matters associated with criminal activity confined within the prison's perimeter, the time demands on local law enforcement are considerably reduced. Still, in 1988 the Clallam County Sheriff estimated that responding to these needs takes, on a regular basis, about 60% of a deputy's time. CBCC administrators would argue that time requirements are substantially less. The Sheriff's estimate takes into account the perception of deputies that investigations in the prison are made more difficult by often reluctant witnesses and the institution's bureaucratic structure. There also is time associated with needing to account for the involvement of multiple jurisdictions - corrections and the county, at least, and sometimes other law enforcement entities as well. One deputy, working on an investigation of a fraud case, admitted that he was spending more time than usual on the paperwork because of its oversight by agents outside the department.

Regardless of the actual amount of time required from local law enforcement for handling prison-specific cases, there is still a question of whether or not enforcement levels <u>outside</u> the prison are adversely affected by these demands. It would seem that they are. Not only are the funds available for reimbursement below the real costs of providing such services, they also are not used to replace that portion of a deputy thereby lost to the community.

The regular practice would be to put all such moneys into the county's General Fund. In Clallam County, the Sheriff negotiated an agreement with the County Commissioners such that funds obtained as reimbursement for prison-specific law enforcement are put in a special account by the county and set aside to meet extra or extraordinary law enforcement expenses for services in Clallam Bay. They can thus be used to help pay overtime costs associated with escapes, to provide extra help coverage for busy summer weekends, and the like.

What they cannot do, however, is make up to the residents of Clallam Bay for the fact that with the prison and its demands, they now have effectively less law enforcement than before. This was acknowledged by the Sheriff in a public meeting held in Clallam Bay to discuss law enforcement needs. "Face it," he said. "There's a prison here, and that's also impacted crime rates in this community. It's not just that it's impacted our work. Part of it is just that we have to spend more time in the prison, and that's taking deputy time away from you."

CHAPTER 11
SOCIAL AND HEALTH SERVICES

SOCIAL SERVICES

EXPECTATIONS AND JUDGEMENTS

Community expectations of what the prison would mean for social services were closely tied to those for law enforcement, and had many of the same origins. The attention during the siting process focused on three issues. First, there was the perception that social service needs in the community would increase with an influx of inmate families. Secondly, it was feared that these additional demands would overwhelm a system which was already inadequate to meet current community needs. The third social services issue concerned the stresses both community residents and CBCC employees were expected to encounter.

For residents, such stress would be in response to rapid community change; for CBCC employees, stress was expected to be a product of the job itself and of living in such a remote and rural community. Residents and the area's mental health professionals speculated that there would be a consequent increase in domestic violence, substance abuse and related problems, and need for mental health intervention. Again, the existing service network to deal with such increases was judged inadequate. The County's Human Service's Coordinator expressed concerns about prison impacts on social services of all three types during siting, and was joined in these worries by other area social and human services providers. This professional attention to potential social service problems heightened community awareness of these as probable prison impacts.

In the 1986 community survey, 61% of the respondents identified "more demands on social services" as a likely prison effect. The expectation of more pressures on social services was less frequent than that for increased needs for law enforcement, but still well ahead of projections of other positive and negative prison impacts. Ranking fourth as an anticipated prison impact was "more drugs and drug users," selected by 46% of the survey respondents.

Survey respondents in 1988 were generally much more positive about what the prison had actually brought to their community than their 1986 counterparts, and this attitude shift is especially notable for concerns about social services. The perception that the prison had created "more demands on social services" was the sixth most frequent choice out of 17 possibilities, opted for by 44% of the respondents. The belief that the prison had brought in "more drugs and drug users" had eroded even further, selected by just 29% of the respondents and falling to the 11th most common choice.

This change in the primacy of social service issues is in part due to the increased priority given by 1988 community survey respondents to positive employment and population effects of the fully operating prison. It also reveals how much less dramatic and thus perhaps how much less politically meaningful are social

service impacts versus those associated with criminality and public safety. In 1988, Clallam Bay residents were more concerned about what they saw as a problem with property crime increases and direct prison risks from escapes than with social service needs. It is not that they saw no prison effects on social services, for they did: residents were acutely aware of the pressures for services by inmate families and of increased stress in the community. It was rather that other issues took priority, perhaps because such other issues had more direct and personal effects on the majority of residents.

This relatively modest level of community concern does not apply to perceptions of the adequacy of services themselves. In the 1988 community survey, respondents tended to rate the quality of service as poor/fair for social services generally (77%), alcoholism services (76%), and senior services (61%). Social services were the third most unfavorably rated Clallam Bay community service out of 17 options; alcoholism services were the fifth. These ratings reflect a level of dissatisfaction with alcoholism and social services which had increased by 7% and 10% since the 1986 survey. The ratings of senior services were slightly more favorable in the 1988 survey than in 1986.

In 1986, 37% of the community survey respondents identified services for seniors as a service that needed expansion or improvements in Clallam Bay. Enhancements in alcoholism/drug services and social/mental health services were not seen to be as necessary, and were selected by only 23% and 20% of the respondents.

In response to a similar question, 1988 community survey respondents were more supportive of the need for improvements in the community's social services. Nearly all respondents (94 - 95%) checked that social/mental health services and services for seniors had some level of need for improvement. These services ranked third and fourth out of 14 services listed in terms of their overall improvement needs; these needs were not necessarily viewed as critical, however. Seventeen percent of the respondents saw improved social/mental health services as a critical need; 16% felt this about services for seniors. Respondents were most likely to view the improvement needs of social/mental health services as moderate (52%). More concern was evidenced for improvements in senior services: 38% identified the need for enhanced services as great.

The 1988 community survey responses suggest that most community residents are not particularly concerned about social service impacts from the prison. And, although residents are generally unsatisfied with the adequacy of the existing social service delivery system, the majority assign more importance to improvements in other community services. With inmate families not moving to the town in large numbers, the pressures on the community's various helping resources have been sporadic and not overwhelming despite the requests for social service assistance from some. Nor has there been a documentable increase in the demands for substance abuse and mental health services, although

these may have as much to do with limitations of the service structure as with actual service needs. In the view of residents, predictions of substantial prison impacts on social services have not yet been borne out. Those impacts that have occurred are thus far indicators of some unknown future potential, and in their magnitude, not cause for any immediate concern.

This moderate appraisal may change. The predictions of adverse prison impacts in terms of increased interpersonal violence appear to have been realized, showing up in the crime rate increases noted in Chapter 10. These, along with perceptions of stress expressed by both residents and employees, may be the precursors of increased service demands in the future. In the meantime, social service concerns have remained the province of a comparatively small number of residents representing particular special interests. Most notably, these are the leaders and members of the area's churches, social service providers, and a handful of residents with more personal reasons for concern and involvement.

MEETING NEW SOCIAL SERVICE NEEDS - ONE-TIME PRISON IMPACT FUNDS

Clallam Bay Community Advisory Committee:

In 1987 and in 1988, Clallam Bay was the site of two different forums for discussion of social service impacts from the prison. The first forum occurred during the deliberations of the community's impact advisory committee. This group was explicitly formed to identify prison impacts on Clallam Bay appropriate for amelioration with state-provided one-time prison impact funds. Their focus was not limited to social services, but, given the above expectations, social service needs were included in their discussion. The committee solicited project proposals from the community. Under conditions imposed by the County Commissioners, one-time impact funds could not be used to support staff or any on-going expenses.

One proposal submitted to the committee, and eventually recommended for funding, was to set up a hospitality house for prison visitors. This proposal was modeled after such a house in Monroe, another Washington prison host community, called "Matthew House." Monroe's Matthew House provides care for children during prison visits, counseling for inmate families and friends, a single apartment for overnight accommodations for those traveling a long distance, a clothing bank, and referral to other area social services and assistance providers. Consideration of such a facility for Clallam Bay had been underway since before the prison opened, spearheaded by the Clallam Bay Presbyterian Church with participation by the community's other churches as well. Impact funds seemed a natural way to support costs associated with purchasing housing for this facility.

The Clallam Bay impact committee's discussion of some version of a Matthew House for their community contributed to a heated debate among committee members. For most the issue was not whether or not such a facility was needed in Clallam Bay. Members were familiar with inmate family members who were sleeping in cars and using other community resources. Rather, the dispute was about the

appropriateness of using the community's limited impact funds to assist inmate families. The argument against this has been noted before: such families and their needs are not viewed as the community's responsibility. In another familiar refrain, committee members also expressed concern about providing overnight lodging in competition with local motels, thereby reducing their benefits from the prison. "You should hear what I heard from two resort owners when they heard about the house for prisoners' families to stay in," reported one member. "They went cuckoo."

Facility supporters argued that without some way of meeting the additional social service needs presented by inmate families, the community would incur other loses, ranging from duplicative use of services to increased crime and family violence. "Whatever we do about this," argued one, "the problem is going to be here. We can say that we don't want to deal with it or we don't want to see it, but it's going to be here and somebody's going to have to do something about it." The community's experiences with some families taking advantage of existing, disconnected resources became an important aspect of the argument for setting aside some specific place to provide coordinated services. In the words of one committee member: "We need a central place where people can come to provide information and save the rest of us from having to deal with these issues."

The impact committee recommended that $30,000 be set aside to match other funding to purchase a facility. Still, of the 10 programs recommended for funding, the hospitality house for prisoners' families ranked 9th; at least one committee member remained strongly opposed to the concept while others were only marginally supportive. Even the County Commissioners questioned the inclusion of a project for inmate family members in the group of items for which impact funds were requested. For them too, there was a sense that the community had no obligation to assist these people, and therefore, meeting their needs was not an appropriate use of impact funds. During the six months following the committee's report, despite continued meetings among interested church members, the Matthew House project moved little closer to realization.

The community impact committee used prison effects on social services as their rationale for recommending the funding of other community projects as well. Several of these concerned the development of recreational opportunities for the community's new presidents. "The biggest concern with people coming in here is idle time," said one committee member. "If there's nothing to do the human services impact is going to be enormous." The consensus of the committee was that the prison would bring alcohol and drug abuse and mental health problems due to a "boom town" effect, and that expanding Clallam Bay's recreational alternatives would help deal with this. The supposed boom, however, was not thought to be the community's first experience with such problems. "What boom?" asked a committee member and long term resident. "There's only a boom here if you didn't see Clallam Bay before everybody left. We're just getting back to where we were."

Clallam County Human Services Planning Project:

In February of 1988, the county's Human Service's Department devoted a portion of the one-time impact funding awarded to it to support a human services planning project for the county's west end. The aim of the project was to identify human services needs in the area and to serve as a springboard for community organizing efforts directed to better meeting these needs. A group facilitator was hired to staff the project which focused on two communities: Forks and Clallam Bay. A series of public meetings were held in each locale, with each preceded by posted notices and mailed or telephone invitations to targeted individuals. Ultimately, community planning groups were formed in both communities. These groups continued meeting with the assistance of their own part-time staff person, also supported with Human Services Department prison impact funds.

Attendance at the initial Clallam Bay meetings tended to be small and erratic, with some different individuals present at every meeting. Eventually, a core group of attendees emerged, and included among these were supporters of the hospitality house concept from the impact funds committee and representatives from the churches associated with planning for this facility. The Clallam Bay planning group identified a wide range of human service needs, many of which centered around the lack of any locally based facility for service delivery and information access, a shortage of child care (particularly for prison employees), and the special needs of prisoner's families.

Consideration of the needs of inmate family members and newcomers along with those of community residents again gave rise to disagreement and resentment. One community resident stopped coming to meetings, explaining that they held nothing for her: "I'm tired of projects focusing only on prison people. It isn't right that newcomers get benefits and that the people who live in town don't get any." For others, it was only the inmate families whose needs presented difficulties, and meeting them was viewed as taking away from meeting the needs of the "base population." Still, as one committee member acknowledged, "we're responsible for them because we invited the prison here."

As the committee's deliberations evolved, they came together around a grand plan to combine the Matthew House concept, a local social services center, and a child care facility into a single complex. The availability of impact funds for the Matthew House project provided some stimulus for this combination. And predictably, the notion of providing services to family members and community residents in a single place was not a universally popular solution to Clallam Bay's social service needs. The following caution was voiced by one committee member:

> I feel there is resistance building in the community because of perceptions that people have about the prison and prison visitors. They see them as outsiders, and they don't want to go to a place where such people are being served. They won't support it if it's for both community members and prisoner families.

Representatives from the churches, the original sponsors of the Matthew House approach, had slightly different concerns. They felt services to inmate families and their special needs would be difficult to provide if combined with services to the general community. Other issues raised included funding sources and accountability, and the matter of religious versus secular assistance. Despite repeated efforts to combine services into a single program to meet social service needs of all types for residents and transients, inmate families and others, the two interest areas could not be reconciled. By the end of 1988, the church-associated group had formed a single-source organization for aiding inmate families, and was continuing to try to put together a feasible plan for a hospitality house for prison visitors. The community-based group had gone in a different direction: they had focused their attention on the provision of child care services, with housing of other social service programs set aside as a future adjunct to a day care center. The plan of neither group seemed very close to realization as of the close of 1988.

IMPACTS ON WELFARE SERVICES

State assistance ("welfare") for families and persons meeting poverty guidelines is provided through the Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS). There is no DSHS office in Clallam Bay, and those needing assistance must travel to Forks for services. Caseload information was obtained from the Forks office for DSHS clients according to the zip code of their residence, thus isolating clients living in Clallam Bay and Sekiu from others served through that office.

The number of clients living in the Clallam Bay area who receive welfare assistance of all types has gone up since the opening of the prison. Using as a baseline date July of 1985 and tracking to July 1988, clients served from the Clallam Bay area went from 42 to 58, an increase of 27%. This compares to a growth of 12% for the Forks office overall during the same period, or from 527 to 592 total clients served at any one time. These figures include some duplication of clients because counts are based on different services received, not on unique individuals. Eligibility for one service often means eligibility for others.

Duplication of client numbers is avoided by focusing analysis on a single service, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). This is the service that is typically referenced when the term "welfare" is used and is likely to be most representative of public assistance caseloads. During the same time period as used for the overall caseload counts cited above (July 1985 - 1988), AFDC clients living at Clallam Bay/Sekiu addresses went from 16 to 27, a growth of 69%. Total AFDC cases for the Forks office went from 230 to 243, an increase of just 4%.

Clallam Bay's adult population expanded during this same period by about 10%, an expansion that should <u>not</u> have contributed to a proportionate increase in welfare caseloads since it was largely in response to new local employment. Residents claim that their community's population of residents on public assistance has

increased because of inmate families, and, indeed, locally resident inmate families are typically receiving AFDC support. Others argue that the unmarried cohabitants of CBCC employees are on welfare, and some point out that the availability of low cost, subsidized housing (the new apartments) has drawn in new residents on public assistance from neighboring communities. Whatever the explanation, it also is apparent that some Clallam Bay families who were on public assistance prior to the opening of the prison are now self-supporting, either having obtained employment at CBCC itself or a job in the revitalized community economy.

Other indicators of poverty suggest that the overall needs of residents for assistance have declined. As example, there are fewer students taking advantage of the school's lunch and breakfast programs for low income families. The breakfast program's coordinator reports that participation has dropped to less than half what it had been.

Similarly, requests for help from Clallam Bay's food bank have gone down since the prison opened; "We're down 40 - 50% from previous years," claimed an individual responsible for food distribution, explaining this as a result of more people having jobs. The accounts maintained for the food bank show a decline of about 20% from 1986 to 1987 in the average number served each month; the average for 1988 is at the 1987 level. The impression of food bank volunteers is that transients are not using this service; it is rather the same local residents month after month. There is a feeling, in fact, backed up by proof of residency requirements to receive assistance, that transients should not be helped by the local program. A food bank volunteer told of having received a call asking to use food bank funds to assist a newcomer. "I told them no way was I going to do that," he reported. "The food bank money is for our people, our community; it's not for outsiders."

One is left with something of a paradox. It would seem that the prison has contributed to both increases and decreases in Clallam Bay's population of needy residents. The increases are from additional families qualifying for public assistance, some of whom are families of CBCC prisoners. The decreases are seen in the ancillary services the community provides for its low income residents, services that could be used by the above group as well as by persons not poor enough to qualify for public assistance but still relatively impoverished. While the growth in the most impoverished group has contributed to some strain on Clallam Bay's own assistance services, the decrease in those who are marginally impoverished has apparently more than offset this local impact. Improvements in the local economy have contributed to improvements in the standard of living of most residents.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE

There is some indication that problems associated with use of alcohol or illegal drugs have increased in Clallam Bay since the prison opened. This is seen in the increase in adverse behaviors often associated with alcohol use, such as disturbances (typically

in public drinking places or at parties) or domestic violence. Incidents of this type which were reported to law enforcement authorities were detailed previously. The comments of Clallam Bay residents and CBCC employees about such events and their association with excess drinking also suggest that these are prison impacts.

Residents and law enforcement officers point to frequent altercations in the community's bars and taverns between "prison people and locals." These confrontations are attributed by residents to the attitudes (superior) of employees; employees have the same complaint, and add the lack of alternative recreation. Both the absence of other public leisure time activities, and the stresses associated with prison work and living in Clallam Bay are felt to combine to produce problems with excess alcohol consumption among prison employees. One source reported an extensive "black list" of prison employees maintained by one local tavern; others note what seems to be frequent employee arrests for alcohol-related driving offenses (see below).

Such reports are balanced by those of others who complain that employees spend little money drinking because they cannot afford to. A tavern worker compared them with Indian drinkers (patrons of Clallam Bay's drinking places because of a dry reservation): "The prison people are much more restrained. They seem to be being very careful - not to get too drunk, not to create any problem." There also are qualifications applied when residents comment on the presence of illegal drugs and drug sales in the community. Residents remind each other that their community had drugs before the prison, and that the prison alone cannot be held accountable for them. The following comment from the 1986 community survey, done prior to any influx of new population, reinforces this point: "Drugs, theft and alcoholism are rampant in the area....Drugs are dealt freely in the streets."

Student Surveys:

A partial look at the question of the prison's effects on local drug use is found in the results of the two student surveys in the Clallam Bay Schools. In March 1988, all Clallam Bay students in grades five through 12 completed a questionnaire on their drug and alcohol use: 105 questionnaires were returned. A similar survey was administered to the same grades in the spring of 1986: 97 students completed questionnaires.

The prison has made little difference to school enrollment of older students, and thus the population for the 1988 survey included just 8 more students than that done two years before. The numbers of high school-aged respondents are effectively unchanged at 54. Still, the 1988 student survey does include a substantial number of newcomers to the area: 41% reported residency in the community for two years or less, compared to 17% in 1986; 20% of the students had lived in Clallam Bay for one year or less, versus 2% of those in 1986. One-third of the students in grades 5 through 12 live with a parent who is employed at CBCC; two-thirds of these students are recent residents in the community.

With the exception of beer and wine, which had been drunk at least once by 61% of the students, the majority of the young people responding to the 1986 survey reported never using liquor or any illicit drug. Altogether, 63% of the students had used illegal drugs and/or alcohol, with 27% of these using at least a few times a month. Such regular use was generally confined to high school students, with 43% (23 out of 53) drinking or taking drugs fairly frequently, and 81% having done so at least once. Cocaine use was infrequent, and most notable among a number of individuals in the senior class.

Users of any level of drugs or alcohol were more likely to see such substances as easily obtainable, a view that correlated with frequency of use. These same students also tended to be significantly more negative in their attitudes toward the school and the community, and were more likely to count other users among their friends. Frequency of use was unrelated to students' plans for further education or parental living situation, and students who had experimented or were more regular drinkers or drug users were more likely to be involved in school athletics and other activities than their non-using counterparts.

Looking at all drugs and alcoholic beverages together, there has been a reduction in regular use since 1986. This is coupled with an increase in experimental or occasional use: just 25% of the 1988 students had never used drugs or alcohol compared to 37% in 1986; 23% drink or use frequently, versus 27% in 1986. This pattern applies as well when alcoholic beverages and illicit drugs are looked at separately. Prior to the full operation of the prison and the influx of many newcomers, it was typical for young people in Clallam Bay to have had some experience with alcohol or drugs while still in high school. While a number of these young people used such substances frequently and even heavily, for most their use did not appear to cause any significant disruption in their lives.

The prison and the newcomers seem to have made little difference in this pattern. Some use of drugs and/or alcohol is more likely (and tends to begin at a younger age), but frequent use is less likely. This shift is especially notable for drugs, with only 4 students claiming to use marijuana regularly versus 15 regular users in 1986. Use of cocaine or crack, comparatively uncommon and mainly experimental in 1986, is noted by just half as many students in 1988.

The attitudes of the 1988 students toward their school and the Clallam Bay community are related to their involvement in drug/alcohol use, with higher levels of use associated with more unfavorable attitudes. This is comparable to what was found in the 1986 survey, but 1988 students are somewhat more negative and dissatisfied. Nonetheless, these students are even more involved in school activities than previously, and are more likely to have higher post-secondary education aspirations.

Conversations with students and their teachers support the survey findings that among young people, the prison has not created additional drug and alcohol use problems. If anything, the reverse

is the case. Both students and faculty do feel that there are more drugs in their community than before the prison, however, linking this increased frequency with adults, not young people. Some specifically mentioned drug use among prison employees, a behavior that a few students had explicitly and rather stereotypically anticipated in 1986. "It's a known fact that guards and their families are lower class, do drugs, are more trouble," claimed a student in 1986's senior class. "It'll just get heavy - they're heavy people."

There also was a perception that the drugs circulating in Clallam Bay were "harder" than in the past, and thus of more concern. The fact that there had been arrests for heroin came up in discussions with several different classes. Students were somewhat shocked by this event, pointing out that prior to the prison there was never heroin in Clallam Bay; they did not even hear about it. Law enforcement officers agreed with this assessment, linking the presence of more serious drugs in the community directly to the smuggling of drugs into the prison itself.

Drug/Alcohol Violations:

Area law enforcement actions against alcohol offenses and drug law violations are influenced by the same service difficulties restricting control of other criminal activities in the Clallam Bay area: low staffing levels and the requirement of broad geographical coverage. These factors reduce enforcement, and as a consequence, available reports are unlikely to reflect the true incidence. Further, Clallam Bay's rural character and intimacy make undercover work virtually impossible without outside staffing, and this is costly and infrequently employed.

The three year track of Calls for Service from the County Sheriff's Department (used for analysis of crime trends in Chapter 10) shows that reports of drug and alcohol violations in the Clallam Bay area are few in number, ranging from 0 to 3 for drug violations and drunkenness. Reports on DWI offenses indicate that they increased from 6 in 1986 to 11 in 1987, and then dropped back to 6 in 1988. These figures do not substantiate a particular problem with such offenses among CBCC employees. It may be that the reported involvement of prison employees in alcohol-related driving offenses occurred more frequently outside of Clallam Bay

In 1988, enforcement of drug law violations in the west end became a targeted objective of the county's multi-jurisdictional drug task force. The capacity of the task force was enhanced by the addition of an officer from the Makah Tribal Police (Neah Bay) and the Forks Police Department: the task force already included representatives from the Sheriff's Department. In 1988, the task force developed 4 cases in Clallam Bay, 6% of the total cases worked by the task force that year. These cases resulted in 7 arrests or citations, 13% of the total. Calls for service to the task force included 15 on incidents in Clallam Bay and Neah Bay, 4% of the total reports.

Neither task force officers or local citizens perceived this increased law enforcement activity as particularly significant, nor was its incidence seen as specifically related to the prison. The view was that Clallam Bay's law enforcement needs in the area of drug law violations had not been responded to prior to the increased task force activity in the community, and even with this activity, were still largely unmet. Further, although some residents noted increased local drug trafficking as a result of the prison operations, many also acknowledged that the community had had drug dealers before the prison, and it was hard to say whether or not current levels represented an increase in this.

Substance Abuse Treatment Services:

Information about requests for substance abuse treatment is similarly an unreliable indicator of incidence. Other than Alcoholics Anonymous (for which attendance records are not available), substance abuse treatment is not provided in Clallam Bay itself. Outpatient treatment services for Clallam Bay residents are delivered at the community mental health center in Forks - West End Outreach Services. Statistics compiled by this agency for services delivered to Clallam Bay area residents include those for persons living in Neah Bay as well. Since Indian Health Services also offers substance abuse treatment available to eligible clients in Neah Bay, few residents from there are likely to be included in these figures.

In 1985, West End Outreach delivered 229 hours of service to 18 clients from Clallam Bay/Neah Bay; 23 clients received 253 hours of service in 1986. Records for 1987 were maintained on a biennial basis, and show 27 clients receiving 297 hours of service for the 1987/88 biennium. These figures indicate an increase in clients from Clallam Bay of 28% from 1985 to 1986, with a caseload growth of 50% by July of 1988. Hours of service grew at a more modest rate: 10% between 1985 - 1986; 30% between 1985 and the end of the 1987/88 biennium. The same time frame also included an expansion in the substance abuse services available through West End Outreach, making it impossible to fully evaluate the implication of this growth in relation to community change.

It is the perception of area service providers (and many local citizens) that Clallam Bay residents have been historically underserved in regard to substance abuse treatment, and remain so. Whether there has been any real increase in service needs in the community since the prison began operations, above those associated with population growth, is more ambiguous.

HEALTH CARE

MENTAL HEALTH

Needs for mental health services were expected to increase as a result of the same factors that would influence the incidence of substance abuse problems: local residents would be stressed from rapid change; new residents from the community's isolation; and prison employees from conditions of their work. Although stress is a frequent topic of conversation among residents and employees, its manifestation seems not to have produced any particularly extraordinary demand on mental health services. As is the case with substance abuse services, however, the available data and its characteristics make this difficult to determine.

Mental health counseling is provided on-site in Clallam Bay at the Clallam Bay Medical Clinic through West End Outreach Services. Staffing of services at the Clallam Bay site has been somewhat erratic, ranging from one-half day to one full day per week and including periods of no services during staff cutbacks or staff changes. During the period of time under review, West End Outreach experienced several major transitions in staff, funding levels, and funding sources, all of which had some effect on services available to the Clallam Bay site. Clallam Bay residents also may and do travel to Forks to receive mental health services at the agency's main office. In the 1987/88 biennium, some 39% of the agency's Clallam Bay clients (25 out of 41) were seen at the Forks office.

According to records provided by West End Outreach, the level of mental health services provided to Clallam Bay/Neah Bay residents has actually decreased since the opening of the prison. The agency had 55 clients from these communities in 1985, and made 384 client contacts; in 1986, 29 clients were seen in a total of 324 contacts; and in 1987/88 (biennial records) 55 clients had 243 contacts. Of the clients served in 1987/88, 41 of the 55, or 75%, were Clallam Bay residents, with the remaining 25% from Neah Bay.

Overall, 19% of West End Outreach's caseload came from the Clallam Bay/Neah Bay area. Of these, 46% received services in Clallam Bay itself. At an average of 3.7 contacts per client, the number of contacts at the Clallam Bay site was lower than the agency average of 6.7. It is possible that the lack of anonymity afforded by the location of the clinic in "small-town" Clallam Bay led some clients to seek services out of town. The community mental health center in Port Angeles had no increase in Clallam Bay area clients during the study period. Private therapists do see some Clallam Bay area clients, some of whom certainly work for the prison, but there is no indication that there has been a disproportionate increase in mental health service demand.

Again, echoing the situation for substance abuse services, there is an impression among area service providers that the Clallam Bay community has fewer mental health services than it needs. How much this unmet need may have been added to by the operation of the Clallam Bay Corrections Center cannot be precisely identified. The prison has unquestionably produced some additional difficulties for Clallam Bay residents and has added to the

community's population some persons who, because of personal or work factors or both, may be expected to have above average social service needs. It also has improved the life opportunities for many residents either through new jobs or through an improved community economy and service structure. These may be balancing each other out.

PHYSICAL HEALTH

The Clallam Bay Medical Clinic:

The Clallam Bay Medical Clinic is operated by the Forks Hospital District, the same parent agency as for West End Outreach Services. The clinic began as a storefront operation in 1973, with primary medical services provided by a nurse practitioner. Funding for the clinic has been attained through a combination of patient fees, hospital district subsidy, and a federal grant for rural health services; in 1987, the federal funding ran out and since then, the clinic has been operating on a largely self-supporting basis.

The clinic serves well to illustrate the problems of the Clallam Bay community, the effects of the prison, and residents' hopes for more. The modern clinic building is another legacy of Clallam Bay's prosperity in the late 1970's. It was completed in 1978, just prior to the population decline following the cut backs in the local logging industry. From a peak of 3221 patient contacts in 1979, the number of patients seen in the clinic dropped precipitously to a low of 1868 patient visits in 1982, a 42% decline. From this low, the number of patients gradually increased, jumping over 3,000 again after the prison opened and continuing up from there. This rise, fall, and rise again is shown in Table 11 - 1.

In 1987, the number of patient visits to the clinic exceeded those received in 1979, and this despite the fact that the community's population has <u>not</u> recovered to previous levels. The clinic's fortunes began to improve with the promise of the prison, assisted somewhat by the needs of construction workers before actual operations began. The medical needs of summer tourists, and the improved tourist economy, also contributed to an earlier recovery by the medical clinic.

The clinic keeps a count of all new patients, a number which includes one-time summer visitors. Between 1982 and 1987, the number of new or first-time patients seen in a year effectively doubled, going from 205 to 408. The number of new patients seen during peak tourist months (July/August/September) accounted for about half this increase; new patients seen during the remaining months of the year made up the remainder. In 1987 and 1988, clinic staff also kept track of those patients known to be in town because of the prison, a group largely made up of employees who were new residents in the community, but including as well inmate families and even an occasional inmate. These "prison impact visits" averaged 34 patients a month.

These considerable improvements in the clinic's patient counts, and thus in its operational stability, have not had the

TABLE 11 - 1
CLALLAM BAY MEDICAL CLINIC:
PATIENT COUNTS

	Total Patients	New Patients
1979	3,221	511
1980	2,911	349
1981	2,595	273
1982	1,868	205
1983	2,165	248
1984	2,331	311
1985	2,495	259
1986	3,125	315
1987	3,478	408

Source: Clallam Bay Medical Clinic records

effect on clinic services most residents desired. This attitude of disappointment persists despite the fact that the services provided at the clinic remained unaffected during the period before the prison. A nurse practitioner continued to be available 5 days a week, with physicians from Forks also making weekly or bi-weekly visits to see patients in Clallam Bay. This continuation of service (and even some improvement insofar as frequency of doctor visits) still fell below the expectations of most residents for medical care in the community. The economic downturn in the local economy apparently interrupted what they had anticipated in the way of service increases, and the advent of the prison was viewed as a way to get these improvements back on track. Specifically, the residents of Clallam Bay wanted their "own" doctor.

Seventy-five percent of the respondents to the 1986 community survey selected a "full-time physician" as a desired service for Clallam Bay, a choice ranking just behind a "grocery store." The written comments accompanying this rating showed that it was not a newly identified community need, but rather one that dealt with what residents considered to be meeting basic needs. "Even though community size is small," wrote a respondent, "need good medical services available, more than what a nurse practitioner can perform." The lack of a doctor was more than a hassle (although some people noted the distance and time required to travel to see a doctor out of town); it was an issue of safety and security. "We need a full-time doctor who is here all the time including weekends and nights," wrote a resident. "I have small children and would feel safer knowing there was someone close."

This does not mean that residents were particularly critical of the health care available to them. Half the respondents to the 1986 community survey rated "general health care" in the community as good or excellent; with just 13% evaluating care as poor, services offered at the clinic were among the most positively viewed local offerings. The community appreciated the competence of its nurse practitioner, they just wanted a doctor.

With the re-opening of the grocery store, the residents' desire for a local physician rose to the top of the scale in the 1988 community survey: 95% of the respondents saw this as being something the community had at least a moderate need for; 81% viewed this need as great or critical (47%). CBCC employees were even stronger in their expression of the community's need for its own physician: 96% of the respondents to the 1988 employee survey cited some need, with 91% indicating this was a great or critical need (67%). In the 1987 employee survey, a local physician was the second highest need area.

These perceptions of need had been further heightened by the clinic's decision to hire a physician, a decision which was itself a product of the expanded clinic use since the prison had opened. Unfortunately for expectations, no doctor has been forthcoming for Clallam Bay. Active recruitment has produced few applicants and no takers, and in the interim, local medical services have suffered something of a setback.

The search for a physician communicated to the nurse practitioner that demand for his services may be short-lived. In 198_, he left the clinic to take the position of medical director at the prison, a position the prison had been trying itself to fill for several months since the first director had left. Although the clinic attempted to find a full-time replacement nurse practitioner, the active search for a physician made this more than usually difficult. For a time, the clinic reduced its hours, opening only when a physician from Forks was available; it has since filled its operating hours back to nearly a full-time schedule with the addition of nurse practitioners who commute from elsewhere.

Even before these setbacks, the lack of a resident physician in Clallam Bay had contributed to problems in recruitment of employees for CBCC or to prison employees opting for residences elsewhere. The prediction of one resident in early 1987 that "you're not going to get these people to live here without a doctor" has been substantiated by the actions of some CBCC employees. Families with a medically fragile member were unwilling to take the risks associated with living so far from emergency care. Others, like the parent quoted above, wished simply for greater security of mind in regards to health care access. Medical care is part of the standard by which a community's livability is judged, and a physician is essential to meeting such a standard. Without one, Clallam Bay is deficit in the minds of both its longer term residents and its newcomers.

Clallam Bay is not alone among rural communities in wanting a physician; it also is not alone in its difficulties in finding one. The hopes raised by the prison, and the contrast of community care with that available to prisoners, has made these deficits all the more painful and notable.

The medical clinic at the prison and its staff of one physician, several physician's assistants, and several nurses provides stark contrast to conditions in the community. For the most part prison medical services are not available to the community, although there are exceptions. During one medical emergency the ambulance crew took a dying patient to the prison gates in an effort to gain precious time over that required for transportation to Forks. Unusually cold weather had frozen the mechanism to open the prison gates and in a dramatic rescue effort, the prison's medical staff worked on the patient in the ambulance. These services would not have been available before, and, although the prison's medical staff do not practice in the community, its workforce does add to Clallam Bay's emergency response capacity.

Ambulance Services:

The contributions the prison has made to Clallam Bay's "community capacity" is nowhere more visible than in its volunteer ambulance corps. This is also an illustration of how, with directed effort, a failure in terms of realizing prison benefits can be converted into a success. The situation with the ambulance corps was discussed in an earlier chapter. The community expected

CBCC employees to volunteer for ambulance service, an expectation based on some explicit assurances as to prison staff capacity as Emergency Medical Technicians (EMT's). When no volunteers came forth, residents saw themselves as once again misled by prison promises, with existing and former volunteers particularly resentful. After a period of bad feelings, the administration of CBCC mounted a program to train its staff as EMT's and commit their services to the local ambulance corps. This has been a most effective public relations action, demonstrating to the community that in this regard at least, their concerns have been heard and responded to.

This also has had more direct benefits for CBCC since the prison is dependent on the same volunteer ambulance service. When transport of a prisoner for medical services is planned, a Department of Corrections vehicle is used to move the inmate to wherever care is delivered. In an emergency, however, the prison utilizes the local ambulance service, itself another service of the Forks Hospital District.

Records obtained from the Hospital District show 33 ambulance runs from the Clallam Bay area in 1985, 43 in 1986, 55 in 1987, and 79 in 1988. This represents a 140% increase in service usage. The prison accounts for only a small part of this increase: 3 in 1986 and 1987 and 12 in 1988. Prison transports do necessitate additional security precautions, taken care of by corrections staff, and this has presented minor logistical difficulties for the ambulance crew. At the conclusion of data collection, each transport done for the prison is paid for on a case-by-case basis and there is no formal contractual agreement between CBCC and Forks Hospital District for ambulance services.

CHAPTER 12
IMPACTS ON SERVICES TO CHILDREN

The residents of Clallam Bay frequently express their hopes for the future through the community's children. The decline in Clallam Bay's economy and its population raised many questions about the community's capacity to survive. Of particular concern was the decrease in the number of children living in Clallam Bay. Their loss from the population meant lower enrollment in the school and consequent difficulties in sustaining school programs. The loss of local jobs meant that those few youngsters who remained in Clallam Bay would have little choice in order to find employment but to leave town when they finished high school.

The prison held two promises in regard to Clallam Bay's youthful population. First, it promised to increase the numbers of children in the community by bringing in new residents and their families. Secondly, the prison would provide a source of jobs to keep young people living there. Other hoped-for prison impacts derived from these: the local school would expand its enrollment and its offerings, the educational (and the extra-curricular) program would be strengthened, and services and activities for young families and for children would be developed. These would reinforce the appeal of the community and further cement its generational continuity and ultimate survival as a viable place to live and raise a family.

As we have seen, Clallam Bay's population <u>has</u> grown, and this growth has been most notable among children. There has been a corresponding growth in school enrollment, need for child care services, and demands for activities directed to youth and their interests. There also has been change in these services because of these demands and because of other differences in the community's population brought by the prison.

EDUCATION

Clallam Bay and Neah Bay share a common school district - Cape Flattery - with administrative headquarters in Clallam Bay. Both communities have complete schools, Kindergarten through 12th grade, and because of the location of the Neah Bay Schools on the Makah Indian Reservation, provide somewhat different programs. As enrollment in the Clallam Bay Schools dropped along with a declining population, the balance between the separate school systems became more and more skewed in favor of Neah Bay. With this imbalance, the possibility of consolidating the Clallam Bay and Neah Bay Schools began to seem increasingly likely. Such potential consolidation was unwelcome and threatening to many Clallam Bay residents.

In the past, Cape Flattery School District had encompassed additional elementary schools in Sekiu and other outlying communities. These had all closed down with drops in population and a shift toward the centralization of education. Their loss continues to be remembered and lamented for these closures

represented as well the loss of much of what stood for community in these small places. Continued separation of Clallam Bay Schools meant continuation of a distinct place called Clallam Bay to many residents. The loss of a school, most likely the high school, would be just one more sign of Clallam Bay's demise as a community in its own right.

ENROLLMENT

In 1978, Clallam Bay Schools had a September 1 enrollment of 341. This was slightly above that of the Neah Bay Schools for the same year. Beginning in 1979, enrollments in Clallam Bay began to decline, dropping precipitously between 1980 and 1981, and reaching their lows in the years from 1983 through 1985. By 1983, enrollment in Clallam Bay schools was just 53% of its 1978 high. Enrollment figures are shown in Table 12 - 1. This table displays the turnaround in school enrollment since the prison became fully operational: as of October 1, 1988, student numbers in the Clallam Bay Schools are up 44% since 1983. Like the recovery of the population as a whole, school enrollment has not quite reached its previous, pre-industry closure levels; also like the population increases, it is not evenly distributed.

The greatest increases have been concentrated in the early grades. Indeed, enrollment growth in these grades began to improve in 1983, fueled by Clallam Bay's localized version of the baby boom echo. By the time prison employees started to arrive in town in 1986, the elementary class sizes had already begun to present some problems on existing use of space. A school administrator in 1986, looking at further increases from the opening of the prison, lamented that "It will impact us at our thickest area already." This proved to be predictive: enrollment in grades K - 4 has increased by 147% since 1983, going from 53 to 131 students in 1988.

Enrollment expansion in grades 5 - 8 has been more modest, growing from 53 students to 75, a 42% increase. In the high school grades, enrollment at the Clallam Bay Schools has not only not grown but has somewhat declined over the study period. The numbers of students in grades 9 - 12 in 1988 are down 27% since 1983, from 75 to 55. Compared to 1979, when the high school had 121 students, this drop is even greater. This very uneven distribution of enrollment growth has had a number of effects on the schools and their delivery of education.

First, there has been some problem with the distribution of classroom space. When Clallam Bay built its new high school in 1978, the size of the building anticipated a continuation and even an expansion of high school enrollments. Seventh and eighth grade students also were housed in the high school building. At the same time, an elementary gymnasium and a music and shop building adjacent to the high school were constructed. The economic problems associated with the timber industry followed immediately upon this optimistic construction effort, leaving Clallam Bay with a high school building larger than its needs. The design of this building, incorporating the "open concept" in which much of the

TABLE 12 - 1
CLALLAM BAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT CHANGE

Grade	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
K	15	16	23	24	32	20
1	13	20	15	29	24	37
2	7	14	15	18	27	26
3	8	11	13	20	19	27
4	10	8	10	16	22	21
5	15	11	9	15	16	26
6	16	14	9	12	18	19
7	10	17	10	13	14	17
8	12	11	14	11	14	13
9	15	13	8	17	13	14
10	23	17	12	11	23	11
11	16	23	13	19	10	22
12	21	16	24	13	20	8
Total:	181	183	175	218	252	261

Overall, school enrollment up by 44%:
- In high school (9-12), enrollment down by 27%
- In K-8, enrollment up by 94%
- In K-6, enrollment up by 110%
- In K-4, enrollment up by 147%

Source: Clallam Bay Schools.

floor space was left undivided, made the school seem even emptier with the reduced student population. Continued enrollment declines in the high school grades have not improved this situation.

Meanwhile, the growth in elementary enrollment has led to some critical space shortages. When enrollments were down, exceptionally small classes had been dealt with by creating combination grades, Ist-2nd, 3rd-4th, and so on. This reduced the need for classrooms. When enrollments increased, classes were separated, creating a demand for more space with no room for expansion. Excess floor space in the high school has provided the solution with the addition of partitions. First the sixth grade moved to the high school building, then the fifth, and now the fourth. Some parents, teachers, and community members have complained about mixing the "little kids" with the more sophisticated older students; others have found it to be no problem.

SCHOOL PROGRAM

Programmatically, the requirements for a high school curriculum and its diverse needs present the biggest difficulties for a small school. On the positive side, this means a low faculty-student ratio for many courses. It also may mean fewer offerings of more specialized courses, a situation that can be problematic for advanced students. Teachers at such schools must teach in several areas, and upper level courses may be presented on an alternating basis to combined classes. Specialty courses, such as in foreign languages and vocational programming, can be very difficult to provide because of small class sizes and required instructor expertise.

With a shrinking high school enrollment, it became more and more difficult for the Clallam Bay high school to maintain a teaching staff large enough to offer all essential courses. The growth in the enrollment of younger students and the placement of an increasing number of these students in the high school provided some solution to this difficulty. Clallam Bay's high school teachers began offering their specialties to students in the middle and upper elementary grades. This presents more instructional opportunities for some students; it cannot resolve instructional shortcomings created by the inevitable limitations of a small staff. In the past, some Clallam Bay teachers taught more than a single subject during one class period, thereby allowing some expansion of the curriculum. Such an arrangement puts additional burdens on teachers, and on students for independent learning, and seems to have been a poor substitute for more standard courses for many students Satellite instruction, utilized in these situations by other small schools, was talked about but had not yet been employed in the Clallam Bay Schools.

Resident Attitudes:

Respondents to the 1986 community survey were generally supportive of their schools. They rated the quality of education in Clallam Bay the most positively of all 16 services listed: 62%

saw education as good or excellent. Education continued to receive mostly favorable ratings from 1988 community survey respondents, with 54% giving it a good or excellent review. It was no longer the most highly rated local service however, coming in behind sewer services, public transportation, library, and the preschool. Still, in both surveys, education received the lowest number of unfavorable or "poor" ratings of any public or private service. While the school does have its critics and while individual instructors or administrators, or particular policies or programs, may be singled out for unfavorable comments, for the most part Clallam Bay residents are well pleased with their school.

Newcomers to Clallam Bay are sometimes more critical and express more uncertainty about the school and its offerings. Some potential new residents cited deficits in the Clallam Bay Schools as reason for living in a larger community and commuting to CBCC. The ages of children were important factors in these decisions. One employee spokesperson generalized that "people who have adolescent children are more likely to say that they don't want to send their kids to Clallam Bay Schools," and to live elsewhere as a consequence. He had heard no complaints about the elementary school.

For younger children in the elementary grades, the small class size and intimate relationship between town, school, and parents makes for a nearly ideal educational situation. One CBCC employee with two children in the Clallam Bay Schools expressed his view that the elementary grades were "excellent," and offered advantages and benefits to the child for these reasons. "When it was time to do the parent-teacher conference," he related, "the teacher came to our home... these things wouldn't be happening in a city or urban area."

The advantages created by smallness become deficits when older children are involved. The above employee was planning to move from Clallam Bay because of what he described as a lack of opportunities in the school for older students. He cited the lack of "technological resources" readily available to students, notably free access to and use of computers in the classroom. What he labeled as these "handicaps" to his child's future were not, in his view, compensated for by the benefits of closeness and small classes. Other parents noted the lack of a truly competitive athletic program (a victim of student numbers, not interest); still others expressed concern about what they saw as the low educational aspirations of the "children of loggers."

Nonetheless, results from the employee surveys showed that CBCC workers were, as a whole, also largely supportive of the Clallam Bay Schools. In neither the 1987 or the 1988 employee survey was the local school program one of the respondents' top priorities for needed community improvements. There were some attitude differences by employee residence, however, indicating that employees living in Clallam Bay were more favorable to the Clallam Bay schools than were those residing in other communities. Schools may well have been a factor in these other residence choices.

The shortcomings new residents or potential residents see in the Clallam Bay Schools may be contributing to a self-fulfilling prophecy, maintaining these very weaknesses. The small size of the high school is certainly the most significant factor limiting its curricular and extra-curricular offerings. So long as families with older children opt to live elsewhere to attain a more desired program mix, the Clallam Bay high school cannot grow, and thus cannot offer this improved program itself. With time, this situation could resolve itself as the more substantial elementary enrollment moves into the high school. Unfortunately for this scenario, other factors are at work keeping the high school small.

TRANSIENCY

When CBCC employees leave, it creates a turnover problem for the institution. As we have seen, this also creates problems for the community with lack of investment and involvement on the part of new residents who intend their sojourn in Clallam Bay to be a temporary one. Some of these temporary residents have children enrolled in the Clallam Bay Schools, and here too are experienced problems associated with transiency. Not least among these is the failure of enrollment increases in the lower grades to translate to increases in the upper grades as children age. Too few of these new students stay in Clallam Bay long enough for this to happen.

An elementary teacher remarked how erratic the enrollment increases had been, estimating that they had probably had a turnover that more than equalled the increase in students. The teacher explained:

> The kids come and they stay a couple of weeks, and then they leave again, and it's sort of in and out. It's really hard to teach under those conditions. You don't have much consistency in your class. One week there'll be 28 kids, and the next week 31, and then it's back down to 28, but they're <u>different</u> kids. It just keeps going up and down all the time.

While actual enrollment increases have been concentrated in the elementary grades, there have been new students and encounters with increased transiency in every grade. The 1988 student survey included children enrolled in grades 5 - 12. Forty-one percent of these students had lived in Clallam Bay for two years or less, compared to 17% of the 5 - 12 students in 1986. Individuals who had lived in the community for one year or less also had increased: 20% of the 1988 students were very recent Clallam Bay residents versus 2% of those in 1986. One-third of the survey respondents (35 out of 105 students) reported that someone in their household (usually one or both parents) worked at CBCC: 67% of these students are newcomers to the community. This suggests that there is some additional migration to Clallam Bay for other than prison work; it is likely that prison-induced economic improvements are factors in much of this movement as well.

The most extreme fluctuations in school enrollments appear to have occurred when the prison first started full operations or when it hired a number of new employees. Outside of these peak periods,

school staff report a less dramatic but still disconcerting movement of students in and out of the schools. In terms of overall enrollment, and thus in terms of state funding per capita, these fluctuations do not matter. They do produce additional demands for the school teaching and administrative staff, however. Each new student must be processed, with the appropriate paper work completed and compiled. "Kids come in and kids leave," explained one school employee, saying this was not really the main difficulty:

> I don't want to say anything about the people who work in the prison, but it seems like people come in and they make no provision for their children. They don't register them in school or anything: they just send them over here. We say, "I'm sorry, you're not enrolled yet. You have to be enrolled. Where's your parents? Where's your mother or your father?" And the parents are at work, or the mother is at work, and they're all living two families and three kids apiece in one of those apartments. It's just not a good home life: half the time there's no one to see if the kids are in school or not. It's real erratic for the kids, and they stay for a few weeks or a month, and then they're gone again.

STUDENT ATTITUDES

Young people echo the attitudes of their parents toward prison employees and their effects on the community. In 1986, before the prison opened, most of the school's classes were interviewed about their expectations of prison effects. Comparable interviews were conducted in 1988. Prior to CBCC, students hoped that the prison operations would bring jobs for local residents and prosperity to Clallam Bay. The experiences of construction and the initial hiring had made them skeptical about these actually occurring, however: "They promised a whole bunch of jobs to local people," said one student, "but they didn't hire them for building it."

The students were often ambivalent about the prospect of new residents for the community and more students in the schools. While welcoming the expanded services and programming that would result from more people, and looking forward to <u>some</u> new classmates, many students expressed concerns about any sizable influx of strangers. Especially among younger students, there was considerable reluctance towards seeing Clallam Bay change and grow. As with many adults, they viewed the prison and its employees as contributors to changes in their community that were unwanted. "We're used to it," said an older student of Clallam Bay, "and we know everybody, and new people would mean changes."

By 1988, many young people had directly experienced the disappointment of parents not getting prison jobs, and had suffered the economic consequences of this unemployment. All shared the community's sense of loss when employment went to outsiders, and the doubling of this loss when employees lived elsewhere. They felt this "wasn't right," and that these jobs should have gone to local people. For those whose parents had been rejected, the

hiring of others, whether from out of town or local, was judged somehow equally inappropriate.

In their experiences with Clallam Bay's new residents, young people along with adults reported that they had felt strangers in their hometowns. Many had encountered newcomers who expressed disdain for Clallam Bay, a disdain they took very personally. One teenaged employee of a local business lamented the loss of tolerance for her mistakes on the job, mistakes that local people never would have complained about because "they know me."

The prison administration had reportedly intervened to prevent the school's homecoming day theme from being that of "terrorists" because of its criminal connotations. This was an involvement in school events that students and teachers alike found inappropriate, especially since no one from the prison had ever accepted invitations to come talk to school classes. Students repeated the accounts of employee and administration arrogance towards the community that were first heard from adults, and reacted to these actions in the same way: "I really resent that," summed up one teenager after relaying a story about the prison getting a local restaurant employee fired, lamenting the power of "outsiders" over community affairs.

Students in the elementary grades were less positive about having new students in school and new residents in the community than those in the higher grades. This may be because these students and their classes have been those most affected by such newcomers. For these younger students, the sense of being among people they did not know was particularly troublesome. These children have never experienced Clallam Bay except as a small community of permanent residents. They saw some advantages from the prison in terms of jobs and new businesses, but they did not count the town's new residents among these. Older students also noted some sense of loss at the addition of strangers to Clallam Bay, but were more likely to welcome the contribution more students had made to school activities and to community vitality. Not surprisingly, high school students often wished there were even more newcomers in their age group.

"Prison Kids:"

For the students themselves, transiency also seems to have undesirable consequences, adding to the sense of new students as strangers who are likely to remain so. In the school as in the community, newcomers who work for the prison are categorized and labeled. The adults are known as "prison people;" their children as "prison kids." This designation is not used for long term residents whose family members are employed at the prison, and thus it is a way of sorting people both by employment and by length of residency.

In several classes, the new students (in <u>other</u> classes) were described by other students as "weird." Weirdness was defined in terms of dressing differently, having different attitudes, and sometimes being drug users or otherwise involved in illegal kinds of activities. These stereotypes of disrepute associated with

prison work had preceded the arrival of any employee children in the schools. They were not applied to the majority of the new students, who, while somewhat set aside from other students by their identity, were nonetheless largely accepted and incorporated into school life. The 1988 survey showed that newcomers to the school participated at the same high level in school activities as did more long term community residents. When a new student ran for an office in the student government in 1987, however, the reported reaction from many students who were longer term residents was a kind of "who does he think he is?"

Such attitudes are not lost on new students. One 9th grader related how this affected her initial experiences at the Clallam Bay Schools. She reported that instead of being generally accepting of her, people treated her as if she was some kind of "threat" to them - "like I was trying to take over" - and were more suspicious and less pleasant than she felt they would have otherwise been. "It's changed now," she concluded, "but I felt resented when I first came." Other new students were less forthcoming, but it is likely that they too had to overcome the consequences of being identified as "prison kids."

It is probable that the stigma of this identity was greatest for those who were children of inmates. Although there are no reports of major difficulties between these and other students, the association of some with criminal activities is likely to have reinforced negative stereotypes. More positively, because Clallam Bay and its schools are so small that face to face contact is inevitable, interaction based solely on stereotypes cannot long be sustained.

PROBLEMS & NEEDS

New students have done more than add numbers to the Clallam Bay Schools. They also appear to have added some additional problems and service needs. In the first case, there is considerable indication from the reports of school staff and parents that new students have added disproportionately to difficulties with discipline. These indicators cannot be confirmed by actual discipline reports or records. The school does not compile these in an orderly way and they were not available for review, nor would they have been particularly useful: policies for recording and reporting disciplinary infractions have varied during the course of the project.

Still, on the basis of repeated comments from school personnel in positions to be familiar with such problems, it does appear that new students are particularly troublesome. The families of corrections officers are singled out in these remarks, with further attention sometimes directed at the children of single parents.

One school staff person characterized the situation at school as "just awful," describing the losses that come with responding to new student needs:

> Kids who are doing well and just need a little bit of help, you don't have time to give it to them because you're focusing all your energies on these very disruptive, very problematic children. We didn't have as many of these kinds of kids before, and now they're taking up all our time. If the people in the community knew this, if they realized how much difference it makes in the school to have more problem kids, they would be really angry that their kids aren't getting the attention they should be getting. You have to ignore the good kids because you have bad kids to deal with.

Those who work at the school do not claim that Clallam Bay did not have problem children from problem families before the prison. Some would argue that the community had more than its share of such families, a consequence of the poor economy. There further was the impression that Clallam Bay's remoteness made it suitable as a refuge for people with problems. Several residents pointed out how dysfunctional because of drugs or alcohol or other problems were many other residents of the pre-prison community.

What is different because of the prison is the relative proportion of these children to students with more manageable needs. There also is a difference in how knowledgeably such children can be responded to. Before, the problem children were known, and their families were known, and through this familiarity, there was a sense of control, of knowing what to expect and how to cope. There is none of that knowledge with the new students. Their families and their histories are unfamiliar, and difficult to track. The school staff must attempt to respond in a vacuum, a kind of response they have not had to do before. The troubles of students now are without context, and in a community where imbeddedness is a way of life, this can be difficult indeed.

The new students seem to have brought with them other types of demands as well. Shortly after the first phase of prison hiring and the arrival of employees and their families in Clallam Bay, a few of the teachers were discussing the new students who had enrolled at the school: "A lot of them that we're getting these days seem to be really dumb," commented an elementary teacher, comparing them to stereotypes of Appalachian children. In more bureaucratic language, it appeared that the new students included a high percentage of children who would be designated as handicapped and as therefore entitled to special education services. This impression is supported by the counts of such students submitted to the state Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Information on the numbers of children enrolled in the school designated as handicapped and eligible for special education services was obtained from the state office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. This data is from yearly reports (submitted in December) for the Cape Flattery school district as a whole, and

includes Neah Bay Schools as well as those in Clallam Bay. Since enrollment at Neah Bay has not been affected by new residents (and in fact has declined as the result of the closure of a small military base on the reservation), any increase in special education students can be reasonably attributed to Clallam Bay.

Enrollment at Neah Bay Schools dropped 13% between 1985 and 1988; that in Clallam Bay increased by 32%. The numbers of handicapped students in the Cape Flattery School District first show an increase in the December 1987 report, the period after significant enrollment growth in the Clallam Bay Schools. By the December 1988 count, Clallam Bay enrollments had stabilized, but the number of children designated as handicapped in the District had further increased. At the same time, Neah Bay enrollments dropped significantly.

The relative proportion of handicapped children in the District grew from 11% of the enrollment in 1985 to 18% in 1988. In numbers of children, this is an increase of 76%. Some part of this growth can be accounted for by improved identification of student needs in the Clallam Bay and Neah Bay Schools themselves as a result of greater awareness of problems and more attention to diagnosis. School staff at Clallam Bay attribute some part of the increase in handicapped students to even better, and earlier, identification of needs in the larger school districts from which their new students often come. Part of the difference for the Clallam Bay School, according to one, is that "these kids need resource assistance assignment when they get here." This designation requires the school to provide appropriate services, services which are more costly than the regular education program and which are more demanding on staff.

It is for these reasons that school staff frequently see the prison as having brought more problems than benefits. Even the enrollment growth, looked forward to by most, has proven a mixed blessing because of its uneven distribution. A school administrator confided that if he had to rate the effects of the prison on the school, he would place it at "somewhat negative." The prison, he explained, has nearly doubled his disciplinary demands: "If you've got 25 new kids and 10 of them are problems, and you've got another 10 problem kids out of the rest of the school population, then that means having those new kids isn't helping you at all."

The increase in special education students also has produced additional administrative and instructional difficulties. The larger classes have increased the ratio of students to teacher, and the very small classes that once characterized the program at the Clallam Bay Schools now look more like the larger classes typical of most districts. Although there are disadvantages to being a small school, educationally it allows for a small student/teacher ratio, a ratio that is especially desirable for special education. The funding formulas used to allocate staff do not allow a continuation of these ratios when the school increases its enrollment. This same issue has led to changes in other classes as well. Formerly extremely small classes in some of the primary

grades are now closer to the average size of such classes for the state as a whole.

YOUTH SERVICES

ASSESSMENT OF NEEDS

Clallam Bay residents often disagree with each other and with outsiders over their community's assets and deficits. The isolation and lack of organized recreational resources that others may consider disadvantages, many local residents see as Clallam Bay's greatest strengths. When some residents talk about the need to provide "something to do" for new residents, such needs are discounted or seen as insulting by others. A 1986 community survey respondent wrote the following comment to explain why no improved services were identified as community needs: "If people want or need 'expanded services,' perhaps they shouldn't live in the country. Many people have moved away from areas with lots of conveniences to live in areas like Clallam Bay."

There is no such dispute about what Clallam Bay offers for young people: the majority of older and newer residents agree that the community provides little for its youth, and that these failings lead to many problems. In the 1986 community survey, respondents rated "activities for youth" as the community service most in need of improvement. Sixty-four percent of the survey respondents evaluated these services as "poor," a rating that was a third again more negative than that for any other local service.

"There is nothing out here for our kids," a respondent wrote in justifying this rating, a conclusion repeated by many other respondents. A common corollary to this judgement were the adverse consequences of such a failing. "The kids have nothing to do really but drink and drive," pointed out a respondent, while others cited problems with drug use, vandalism, and theft that resulted from the lack of alternate activities. "Need to keep youth occupied, busy to prevent problems," wrote one resident, and another: "The kids don't have enough to do, which results in the possibility of getting into trouble."

Residents seem generally to have accepted the premise that adolescents and teenagers need some sort of organized activity to keep them from engaging in other, less desirable activities. Several respondents predicted that the prison would contribute to these difficulties by bringing in more young adults, more people used to more activities and services, and with city kids or children of inmates, possibly even more problems. The need for youth services was, however, a pre-existing community deficit, not caused by the prison or community change. "We don't have any services for our youth and senior citizens since I've lived in Clallam Bay," maintained this long- term resident and 1986 survey respondent. "It is hard on youths, I had nothing to do but party and raise heck for something to do when I was young."

By the time of the 1988 community survey, little had occurred in Clallam Bay to change this situation, and survey respondents gave the same type of unfavorable ratings to the provision of

services for young people as they had done in 1986. Seventy-percent of the 1988 respondents evaluated Clallam Bay's existing "Activities for youth" as poor, 18% as fair, and 11% as good. Respondents ranked all the listed community services in order of those most in need of improvement: combining first, second, and third choices, activities for youth was the one most frequently cited, and was rated among the top three needs by 52% of the respondents. CBCC employees agreed with the attitudes of Clallam Bay residents: in the 1987 employee survey, 76% saw a great or critical need for more children's recreation programs; in 1988, 78% continued to see the same level of need.

ACTIVITIES FOR YOUTH

Clallam Bay residents attribute the decision of some employee families with older children to live elsewhere to the community's lack of activities. In fact, when school is in session, Clallam Bay appears to provide more to do for more young people than most communities. Each student in the 5th through 12 grade takes part in an average of four different school based activities: only 5 out of the 105 students responding to the 1988 student survey were not participants in some school activity. These levels are above those of 1986, when the average number of school activities per student was three. Generally, as grade level increases, so does activity participation.

Student attitudes toward the school and the community also are correlated with grade level, although in this case, the relationship is a negative one. In both the 1986 and 1988 student surveys, young people expressed their feelings toward Clallam Bay and the school along several five-point semantic differential scales. Their feelings did not significantly change during the two year period, and in both, younger students were overall more favorable in their judgements than older ones. Clallam Bay was viewed as generally "beautiful" and "friendly," but somewhat "boring;" the school was seen as largely "positive" and "motivated," but also "boring." Attitudes toward the school tended to be less favorable than those toward the community, and largely favorable attitudes in the 5th grade gradually and steadily shift to mostly unfavorable ones by the twelve.

Providing some support for community beliefs that relate recreational options to delinquent or deviant activities, as referenced earlier, is the relationship between the attitudes of young people and their involvement in drug/alcohol use. The student surveys found that higher use is associated with more unfavorable attitudes, with regular users of either drugs or alcohol significantly more likely to judge the school and the community as "boring" than non-users or those who use occasionally. This pattern was present in both 1986 and in 1988, but the 1988 students are somewhat more negative and dissatisfied than their 1986 counterparts.

It is in this context that the Clallam Bay community has mounted several efforts to provide more recreational outlets for its adolescents and teenagers. Again, while these are often

phrased in terms of responding to prison impacts, there is every indication that equivalent needs were present prior to CBCC's arrival and operation. Problems associated with newcomers, inmate families, or contact with "urban values" due to the prison may have brought these needs more to the forefront of community concern by drawing attention to any community shortcoming.

In 1987, the community impact funds committee included four recreational activities among the ten items it recommended for funding to the County Commissioners. A committee member summarized the committee's reasons for selecting these items by pointing out that "the biggest thing in all of this is the matter of occupying people's time. We need to find things for people to do." These several recreational proposals were viewed by members as making Clallam Bay a more appealing place to live and, by providing alternative activities, potentially reducing crime. Two of the proposals for impact funding, a public fishing pier and a community baseball field on the school grounds, were specifically intended to appeal to young people as well as adults. Only the baseball field seems likely to be realized in the near future.

Another community organization, the West End Youth and Community Club, also directed some energies to attempting to provide a better mix of recreational options for young people. This small community organization exists primarily as a conduit for receipt of United Way funds to support basic maintenance and operation of the Community Center. The center utilizes the former Sekiu elementary school, a designated historical building, and provides space for the community college's cooperative pre-school program, the senior citizens and Chamber of Commerce meetings, and other community events. A nominal rent is charged for use.

At the end of the 1987 school year, the Community Club met to consider opening a youth center in the Sekiu Community Center. The impetus for this idea was a mixture of pre-existing needs and expected new needs due to the prison. Apparently, a youth center had been attempted previously, but failed for lack of parental support and participants. This particular new venture was to be provided with the staff services of a Washington Service Corps trainee, a program to pay a stipend to young adults for working in some community project or service. A portion of the stipend is the responsibility of the sponsoring organization. The Forks Recreation Center had taken advantage of this program to staff its program, and the idea seemed initially feasible for Clallam Bay.

The project never got beyond the initial planning stages. First, the memories of some Community Club members were long, and included the details of previous failed attempts to provide youth programming at the Sekiu location. The expense of the required matching money also presented problems. Additionally, the project was very much opposed by the owners of a video arcade located in Clallam Bay, who argued that it represented unfair governmental competition with private enterprise. Included in their argument was the claim that their business could not sustain a competitor, and thus they would have to close. This argument has considerable salience in Clallam Bay, where a tradition of independence and

autonomy makes any public incursion into private affairs suspect. The project was soon dropped for lack of interest among most members, and, a few months later, the video arcade closed its doors.

At the end of 1988, Clallam Bay has a new video arcade, opened the previous summer. Like its predecessor, this serves as a gathering place for many youth, although its appeal and its number of machines are somewhat limited. There is no youth center, nor is there any other new activity for young people. Church groups continue to have meetings and events that attract some youth, the school when in session provides a wide range of others, and in the summer, employment in the businesses catering to tourists remains available to any interested young worker. In this mix if not in its scope, Clallam Bay is not too different from more populous places, and these too similarly lament the lack of programming for adolescents and teenagers and the dangers of idle time. As a Clallam Bay women put it, "Kids everywhere feel like they have nothing to do. Even in Port Angeles, with a skating rink and everything, they feel they have nothing to do."

ACTIVITIES FOR YOUNGER CHILDREN

Recreational activities for younger children are less often identified as a community problem. Clallam Bay's recreational alternatives, primarily informal and family centered, fit well with the needs of young children. When people praise the community and its features as "ideal for raising a family," it is the family with younger children they are referring to. In this place where everyone has known their neighbors, parents need have little worries about children's whereabouts. The children share this positive view of Clallam Bay. Interviews with students in the primary grades revealed a nearly uniform enthusiasm for the community and its offerings, and little desire for the arrival of newcomers as expressed by older, less satisfied students.

Prison impact funds have been used to construct playground equipment on the school grounds to provide an improved place for young children to play. The playground equipment project represents an interesting illustration of the development of interrelationships between the prison and community residents, and the healing of some of the rifts caused by siting. The individual who proposed the playground equipment project to the community impact funds committee was known as a strong prison opponent, who, quite pragmatically, viewed the distribution of impact funds as a way to improve the community. In the letter requesting funding she wrote that "There is no broader means of mitigating the prison impact than by selecting a public project which touches the children of the community."

The project became a joint effort between the school, the community, and the prison. It was completed with funding from prison impact funds, property from the school, volunteer labor from community residents, donated materials from area businesses, and the construction work of CBCC inmates. To add to its eclecticism, it was designated a Washington State Centennial Project. During

school hours, the playground equipment has been a welcome addition for the children of Clallam Bay.

CHILD CARE

It is outside of school time, or for children who are too young to be in school, that Clallam Bay continues to have shortcomings in meeting children's needs. Before the prison, child care services in Clallam Bay were generally provided informally in private homes by friends or relatives. The community did have a couple of women who cared for several children in their homes; all these homes were unlicensed and limited to the number they could serve. The only pre-school program was that operated through Peninsula College, and this required parent participation and was not available everyday. While residents were aware of some problems in this choice of services, particularly the absence of pre-school programming and day care combined, there was no sense that there was a critical problem for young families needing care givers.

The operation of the prison has dramatically changed this situation. The community's pre-existing child care services have proven inadequate to meet the needs of Clallam Bay's transformed population. Not only are there now more young children in the community, but the prison's employees include a number of single parent families as well as those in which both parents are employed. The opening up of more employment opportunities, whether in the prison or in the improved community economy, has increased demand for child care services among prior residents as well. There are simply more children who need some form of child care.

The advent of the prison led an area day care operator to consider expanding services to Clallam Bay, a consideration that was subsequently set aside for other projects. That it was worth pursuing became apparent early in CBCC's operations. Shortly after the beginning of medium security operations, local residents began to express concerns about the unmet demands for child care. There were reports of mothers exhausted from trading child care responsibilities during their respective shifts. There also were reports of children left unattended or unsupervised.

One local woman, frequently called upon as a source of information and referral by other residents and identified as such to newcomers, complained "I get people who call me every day who need to find a place for their children. The woman who does it is so swamped she just can't take any more." Other residents pointed out the need as well, including a prison administrator: "Child care hasn't really been an issue in this community because of people knowing people. With the single parents, you're getting people coming in now who don't have families in the area, they don't have families to fall back on, and they really, really need child care."

The kinds of care needed also have changed. Shift work at the prison creates a demand for child care during all hours, not just 9:00 AM to 5:00 PM or an occasional evening. Newcomers from more urban areas want more pre-school programming than Clallam Bay's

existing sitters have provided; they also seek the assurance of state licensure in a community where the care giver is a stranger to them.

Respondents to the 1988 community survey overwhelmingly evaluated Clallam Bay's current child care services as poor (56%) or fair (27%). Fifty-five percent viewed more child care services as a great or critical local need. Prison employee reactions to this need have been even stronger. In 1987, 72% of the respondents to the employee survey rated more child care services as a great or critical local need; 75% felt that licensed child care was a great or critical need. Respondents to the 1988 employee survey were even more dissatisfied: 81% rated the need for services as great or critical.

By 1988, child care had emerged as one of the top service needs of Clallam Bay. Both the prison's administration and local and county leaders played a part in this pre-eminence. For CBCC, lack of child care presented problems for employees, adding to the stress of working at the institution and identified as a contributor to employee resignations or transfers. Advocacy for improvements in child care services was a posture with wide community support, and thus a plus for prison-community relations. This was a community improvement that did not have the taint of elitism or city ways, and the prison administration gave an early endorsement to every potential resolution of the community's need for more services.

The prison even conducted its own survey among its employees to identify the specifics and severity of child care needs, and with an eye towards possibly establishing a care center at CBCC. With just 35 employees responding, the survey cannot be used to assess need overall, although respondents may disproportionately represent employees with child care needs: respondents' families included 48 children under the age of 12, and 24 families indicated a need for regular care of some type. The employees did not favor a facility at the institution itself, and staff writing the survey results concluded that a service for employees only would be counter-indicated given community efforts to expand services in Clallam Bay. The report concludes that the feelings of local residents "...are that if CBCC establishes its own day care center, the community could not support a private industry and it would appear CBCC was not socially supportive of the community."

The community group which had formed around meeting human service needs also found a comfortable position in seeking to add child care services. Again, a child care facility encountered none of the drawbacks and disagreements that accompanied other service needs (discussed in Chapter 11). This was a project that would clearly benefit long term and newer community residents alike. It was not to be realized in 1988, however, despite considerable organizing effort on the part of the community human services group. The potential of a private provider opening a licensed service in Clallam Bay (the same provider who had expressed interest earlier) put a hold on progress of any public child care service supported by impact funds.

CHAPTER 13
PRISON OPERATIONS AND SECURITY

The great majority of what a prison does and is takes place inside, behind its walls, hidden from the view of all but its residents and its employees. The general public is denied access for security reasons, and thus denied familiarity with prisons and what they do. For most of us this is fine. Prisons are part of society's dirty work, and while we generally accept that they are needed, we prefer not to know too much about them. We are aided in our ignorance by the reluctance of prison officials to release much information, a reluctance born of experience with what is perceived as negative reporting. The public is seen as being most interested in scandal and wrong-doing; positive accounts of what goes on in a prison do not sell newspapers. There is among prison employees at both the administrative and custody levels a sense of being misunderstood by those who do not do the same work. This impression fosters a corrections subculture and further isolates those who work in prisons from the civilian community.

This secrecy, separation, and isolation are generally accurate descriptions of the place accorded to prisons, their inhabitants and their workers in American society, but the image they give is also incomplete. Prisons are not separate from the communities where they are located, but part of them. This is true whether they wish it to be so or not. And it is especially true where, as in Clallam Bay, the prison so dominates the local landscape.

Except for the now rare situation where staff live at the institution, information about internal institutional goings on is carried outside the prison walls everyday. Occupational groups who form subcultures are also by definition part of the larger culture as well. Employees who are residents in the host community as well as residents who are employees pass on whatever is of interest about their workday to other residents of the community. Since employees, like the general public, find more interesting those things which go wrong those which are more routine, the information they bring out of the prison is generally precisely that which the administration would rather have unreported.

Residents of the host community also may have opportunity to have direct and indirect contacts with inmates themselves: every prison utilizes civilian volunteers as an essential component of its religious and recreational programming. In Clallam Bay, the minimum security work crew has been available to do community service work in the town and medium security inmates may be assigned community projects to complete inside the prison. Inmates also have the option of contributing their labor or resources or both to benefit some local or national charity.

Thus far, this report has focused on how a prison impacts its host community by looking mainly at what goes on in the community itself as a result of the prison's operation and presence. What happens in the prison has not been much of an issue. It has become evident, however, that not only does the prison affect the community; the community affects as well the prison. It influences

hiring, staff turnover, employee morale, and ultimately institutional functioning. There is yet another path of reciprocal relationship which occurs between a prison and its community when aspects of its internal operations interface with the activities of residents.

This chapter is concerned explicitly with how what happens inside the prison also affects the community. The impacts come full circle, fitting a classic feedback model in which all parts are connected in some way to all others. This is not solely a negative interaction. There are in this relationship a number of positive benefits for both. In both blessings and their opposite, these prison/community -community/prison interactions are of greatest significance where the community is small and the prison is proportionately large. It is under such circumstances that events in one are most likely to count as events in the other. This is the case in Clallam Bay.

INMATE IMPACTS

PRISON VOLUNTEERS

Several Clallam Bay residents are among the more than a hundred volunteers who work with inmates at CBCC. Local residents go to the prison most typically as part of their church, assisting in bible study or religious instruction for a single or a small group of inmates. These religious activities are the most common way in which volunteers are used at CBCC and other prisons. The bulk of such work is done at CBCC by residents of other peninsula communities, but persons from Clallam Bay are at least proportionately represented among religious volunteers. Athletic teams which include Clallam Bay residents have played prisoner teams on occasion; the group of local residents formed to sing at community Christmas and Easter performances have appeared also at the prison.

Clallam Bay residents have been involved as well with the prison's Alcoholics Anonymous programs and with a reading and writing discussion class. This last, organized and led by a Clallam Bay resident inmates refer to as "the Renaissance man," resulted in the publication of a book of inmate writings and, for a time, a column of similar content in the Forks Forum. He writes that "I've benefitted greatly from the classes I teach at the prison and am pleased with the response of the inmates in my little program. Hopefully, some of them will return to society as happy and productive members of the community."

A number of the local volunteers were very opposed to the prison coming to Clallam Bay but were nonetheless eager to give their time to aid inmates. The Clallam Bay Presbyterian church held a training session for volunteers just prior to the beginning of the interim operation which was attended by about ten Clallam Bay residents. Twenty-five respondents to the 1986 community survey indicated they planned to do some form of volunteer work with prisoners or their families.

This interest had little outlet during the interim operation. The operational demands during the first months the prison was opened delayed the beginning of any organized volunteer program. The man quoted above took this as evidence that CBCC was not interested in community volunteers, a view that was reinforced when the first superintendent broke three appointments with him to discuss the topic. Other residents held similar doubts about the institution's openness, although the opportunities for volunteer programming improved slightly during the course of the interim operation as the institution become better staffed and better organized.

A full-time staff person was hired in 1987 as "community involvement coordinator." The job responsibilities of this position included volunteer programs, and with it staffed and with full prison operations, CBCC's use of volunteers became more similar to that of other institutions. The prison does offer a somewhat less diverse volunteer program than at other prisons, a matter perhaps of the distance required for some potential volunteers to travel. A former CBCC volunteer talked about the strains placed on regular participation in any CBCC program by the commute from elsewhere in the county. Despite this, the CBCC staff report no particular problem recruiting volunteers to mount an adequate program, although there have been some difficulties in certain program areas.

For Clallam Bay residents who volunteer at the prison, their work with inmates is part of their overall commitment to help others. Some of these same residents are active as well in other volunteerism in the community. The prison does not seem at this time to be taking away from energies that previously were invested in serving the needs of residents of Clallam Bay itself, although the potential is there. The Department of Corrections and CBCC give their volunteers many strokes, culminating in an annual recognition banquet and local and state awards. This plus the relatively greater "glamour" of working with inmates than with the poor or the disabled or the elderly makes the prison's volunteer program very competitive. With limited people resources, this could be a problem. Countering such a draw on community resources is the fact that several CBCC volunteers are prison staff and newcomers to the area, and the greatest balance of all is found in the <u>increase</u> in Clallam Bay's own volunteer pool through the work of CBCC inmates.

INMATE COMMUNITY SERVICE

It has been the policy of CBCC's administration to make available to area non-profit organizations the labor of inmates. This labor may come from the minimum security work crew maintained by the institution to do work outside CBCC's perimeter fencing or from medium security inmates working inside the institution itself. All projects are subject to availability of the workforce, since needed work for the facility is given first priority. Any funds or materials required to complete a project must be provided by the project's recipient.

Since CBCC began operation, there have been a number of very visible and very welcome projects completed for Clallam Bay organizations. The first of these was the donation of firewood to senior citizens in Clallam Bay. The wood was obtained during clearing operations in the woods immediately surrounding the prison. Rather than being burned, it was cut into appropriate lengths and delivered free to seniors identified as in need by the Clallam Bay Senior Citizens Club.

Subsequent projects have included the construction of a trailer/booth for use by the Little League and other community organizations. The old trailer these groups had been using for years as a refreshment, ticket and souvenir sales booth was burned in a series of arsons in Clallam Bay in 1986. Using the frame of the burnt trailer and materials purchased and donated in Clallam Bay and elsewhere, an inmate crew working inside CBCC constructed a handsome new trailer, complete with wood siding. Inmates also have painted and made repairs to the community hall in Sekiu, and painted the Clallam Bay Medical Clinic. Most recently they worked in cooperation with local volunteers to construct a set of playground equipment on the school grounds. The materials for this project were primarily paid for with prison impact funds.

Now when Clallam Bay service clubs and groups discuss their plans or interests in future projects, the potential for incorporating inmate labor is generally part of their considerations. The proposed community baseball field and daycare centers are examples of this. The estimates of how much these projects would cost to construct included, from the beginning, the involvement of inmate crews in constructing or installing important pieces of their design. In the minds of many residents and as stated by one, "that's what inmates are for - to do work for the community. That's what we have them here for, so they can contribute to the community."

The prison administration sometimes has a somewhat different view of why inmates are in Clallam Bay. Projects wanted by community groups do not always come at a convenient time and sometimes entail more work than there are inmates available to do. Residents do seem to see inmates as their personal work crews for local projects, a view that CBCC does not discourage but sometimes has trouble fulfilling. Although this service has never been advertised as such to the area's non-profit or governmental organizations, word of mouth has brought in a waiting list of projects for completion.

The majority of these projects are located in the community of Clallam Bay, an arrangement in which benefits from the prison are finally being distributed as that community's residents believe is appropriate. A respondent to the 1988 community survey added to his completed questionnaire a long list of ways in which the prison had failed to contribute to the community as promised. At the end of this litany of disappointments, he added that "Ironically, the inmates themselves have done as much for the community as anything else - painting the clinic - community hall -firewood for senior

citizens - a new trailer for the little league - these are visible benefits."

SECURITY AND CONTROL

Security and control dominate the functions of a prison, and their maintenance is in many ways the primary activity expected of an institution by both the public and corrections practitioners. CBCC was built with features which were designed to maximize its performance of these functions, and the institution's technological advances in this regard are the main highlights of any prison tour. When CBCC temporarily functioned as a minimum security facility, the operational problems encountered were the results of this construction emphasis. It was an institution nearly impossible to operate without priority attention to security and control of inmates.

During the public hearings that accompanied siting of the CBCC, questions about institutional security were intermixed with concerns about adverse population and lifestyle impacts and the overall theme of undesirable community change. In these latter topics, residents of Clallam Bay were worried about events and people located outside the prison - undesirable newcomers, lack of jobs, increased demands on social services and so on. In regard to the topic of institutional security, their worries were of two types: internal security and its potential for breakdowns, and escapes.

A number of concerns were expressed about prison operations and their likely shortcomings during the siting process for CBCC. Residents objected to what they saw as the negative effects of isolation, few visitors, and heavy rain on inmates. These were not concerns of a strictly humanitarian nature. Inmate dissatisfaction was felt to be linked to greater inmate unrest, more aggression, and potentially the occurrence of riots or disturbances. No one seemed to believe that any ensuing inmate uprisings would be large enough to engulf the town, but there were a great many questions about difficulties of access for any needed additional force to regain control of the institution, the area's limited existing law enforcement capacity, and other problems due to distance and inclimate weather.

Once the prison was opened and operating, these operational concerns became the stuff of rumor and gossip for a much broader segment of the community's population than was the case during siting. Information from CBCC employees about the status of prisoner discontent, acting out, and potential unrest was widely circulated by and among former proponents and opponents alike. The prison was identified as a "powder keg," continuously on the edge of some kind of an explosion. Residents perceived it as a "dangerous" place for those who worked there, a perception supported by employee accounts of prisoner assaults, some of which also were reported in the newspaper.

The community's image of life inside the walls was formed largely by these anecdotes and stories, accounts which tended to

confirm the stereotypes of prisons prevalent in movies and television programs. Their information, however, came from people who were indeed in a position to know: a substantial proportion of CBCC employees, especially those in custody positions, had their own concerns about the safety of CBCC's operations and made these known to others in the community.

EMPLOYEE PERSPECTIVES

CBCC employees, especially those charged with custody of inmates, were likely to believe that the prison was understaffed. In the 1987 employee survey, 90% of the respondents agreed (55% strongly) with a statement that the institution was understaffed. In the 1988 employee survey, the proportion viewing the institution as understaffed was 93%, 98% for those working in custody positions. Employees in custody positions also were more likely than other staff to feel CBCC's inmates were poorly controlled - 54% in 1987 and 53% in 1988. A majority of employees in both surveys agreed that a shortage of inmate programs made their jobs harder (69% in 1987; 65% in 1988). Again, custody employees found more fault with institutional arrangements than those in other positions.

The added comments of survey respondents explicate these feelings. "CBCC is very understaffed on Correctional Officers," wrote one employee in 1987. "Thus security risks are high, making our job much more dangerous and very stressful." Wrote another: "There is a serious lack of programs and activities for inmates, thus creating anxiety, tension and trouble." A respondent to the 1988 employee survey sounded a warning in this comment:

> There is no security or security requirement where the inmates are concerned. The definite impression is that our administrator thinks this is a treatment facility. Make no mistake!! It is a prison, and I wish they would wake up to the fact before someone gets killed.

More inmate programming is planned for the prison, with the aim to have every inmate either at work or in an educational program every day. It has taken time to develop work programs other than those necessary for the operations of the institution. Educational programming has been handicapped by a lack of sufficient designated space; this shortcoming has been rectified with remodeling of some of the area originally set aside for prison industries. As for staffing, the level at CBCC is a product both of the budgetary allocations for positions determined by the Department of Corrections and the degree of staff turnover. When an employee leaves, the position may be vacant until a replacement can be hired, and training needs may take new employees off the job for one month or longer. An employee on the 1988 survey maintained that "the shortage of staff is dangerous. People are getting burnout with overtime."

Some of the comments added to surveys by employees related CBCC's staffing level to Clallam Bay and its characteristics, as in the following 1987 employee survey comment:

> I feel that the prison is very understaffed and is a danger to the people who are employed there. Also get good officers and staff and they leave for lack of housing, social activities and shopping accommodation.

The difficulties of the job combine with unfavorable reactions to the community to add further difficulties to the job by increasing employee turnover. Turnover is clearly not just a problem for administrators, nor is it of concern solely because of community transiency. Frequent staff changes also adversely affect those who remain on the job, making it more likely that they too will decide to leave. A respondent to the 1988 employee survey remarked:

> There is tremendous staff turnover at CBCC. A large part of it is from the prison being sited in such a remote area. However, I believe some of it is because of real or perceived ill treatment at the hands of "management"--understaffing, stonewalling employee concerns--giving lip service to need but not resolving issues.

Employees' perceptions of the institution's staffing levels are not shared publicly by the administration, who note that this is a common complaint at every prison. They argue that staffing levels are adequate because they fit the formula decided on by the Department. Similarly, the tension between custody and rehabilitation referenced above is not unique to CBCC. The multiple goals a prison is attempting to serve are not always accepted by line staff whose principal and personal concerns are naturally enough with maintaining order. What makes these and other staff criticisms significant here is not their truth or falsity but their effect on the views other Clallam Bay residents hold about the prison. Residents hear that employees feel the prison is a dangerous, poorly run institution, and this image then becomes their own as well.

Working at Clallam Bay Corrections Center was a job that many employees nonetheless liked many aspects of. In the 1987 employee survey 89% agreed, 34% strongly, with the statement that they enjoyed being part of a new institution. Seventy percent of all respondents indicated they would recommend a career in corrections to others. In the 1988 employee survey, the item 55% of the employees listed as what they liked most about working at CBCC was some aspect of the work itself; 22% indicated they liked best the people they worked with; 12% preferred qualities associated with the newness of the institution. These things too are communicated to the Clallam Bay community.

Information about what it is like to work at CBCC and any occurrences there that employees judge to be consequential or interesting will be passed on to the residents of the prison's host community. This information is not all negative, and when it is, it is not necessarily passed on through malice (although it sometimes is). Rather, these are the everyday exchanges of

community life in a small town, and even though many employees remain separate from the mainstream of this life, their conversations with each other and with non-employee residents are elements within it. What employees say has become the primary way the community in general obtains information about "what's going on up on the hill." There are few other sources.

CBCC's community advisory committee is a vehicle for communicating with the community which even its members doubt. Several have indicated that they believe they are told only what the prison's administration wants them to hear, and few take any routine effort to pass even these messages on to other residents. Clallam Bay residents seldom hear from prison officials about what they feel is their prison and therefore their business. And when they do, the content of any message is often dismissed as an effort at public relations and thus biased. Thus, the prison's publication and distribution of a quarterly newsletter to all Clallam Bay and Neah Bay mailing addresses (begun in 1988) while welcomed by residents, is not viewed as a very reliable source for information about the "real" event taking place at the prison.

In addition to the effects prison operations have on employees and through employees on the community, Clallam Bay residents have another reason to be invested in the operational stability or its lack at CBCC. As the town's major employer, it dominates the life of the community. Whatever happens at the prison also happens to Clallam Bay. Residents feel a need to know that is out of all proportion to the utility of the information or its route of transmission. Employees tell them what they want to hear. This does not mean they want to hear the prison is in disarray. This is not the case at all for most. Rather, they want to hear what is <u>really</u> happening at this place that now has such significance to the community's present and future.

When the messages are negative ones, and when they raise questions about the institution's ability to perform its most critical functions, Clallam Bay residents are concerned. They are concerned for the safety of employees who are part of their community. And more than this, they are concerned about the operation of a prison that is also now part of their community.

ESCAPES

Perhaps the most critical point of any prison/community relationship is likely to occur when the physical boundaries between the two are broken during an escape. The breakdown of institutional security that any escape inevitably communicates justifies community interest in more mundane aspects of prison functioning.

Before the fact, however, Clallam Bay residents generally did not view inmate escapes as a particularly likely prison impact, and the expression of any worries about their occurrence was a comparatively minor theme of the siting hearings. Corrections officials responded to resident questions about potential escapes with soothing information about search and protection procedures,

escape rates at comparable facilities and experiences with escapee behavior. They stressed that the prison at Clallam Bay would be a new and state-of-the-art facility, and could be expected to have even fewer escapes than the modest rates reported for other Washington medium security facilities. Most residents of Clallam Bay accepted these assurances of low or minimal risk, including those still uneasy about the consequences of other prison-brought community changes.

These attitudes are shown in the results of the 1986 community survey, conducted during the interim operation and prior to any escapes. Out of a list of 15 expected prison effects, risks from escaped prisoners ranked 9th overall and 6th out of 7 negative impacts listed: it was selected as a likely prison consequence by 38% of the respondents. Further, while those who identified themselves as opposed to the prison were more likely to expect such risks to occur than proponents, this remained a definite secondary issue to concerns about increased demands on law enforcement and social services and other more direct community change issues. When respondents characterized their feelings about having the prison in Clallam Bay on a semantic differential, 37% felt it was more safe than dangerous, 36% more dangerous than safe, and 27% in between. Asked to select a single word from the 18 used in the semantic differential scales that best characterized prison operations thus far, the dimension of security seemed almost incidental: two persons felt the institution was "dangerous," two felt it was "safe."

The interim operation of CBCC as a minimum security facility, and the reduced security necessarily associated with that, made CBCC particularly vulnerable to having escapes. The first superintendent of CBCC noted the difficulties in running CBCC as a minimum security facility because of the construction of the institution and the proximity of the community: with residences located less than a mile away, there was little leeway for recapture before any escapee reached a populated area. He characterized his task as that of attempting to maintain a "delicate balance" between what was appropriate for the inmates and staff and what would work best for community security. If there were to be an escape, he said he would be "embarrassed," an apt reaction to the way CBCC had been repeatedly presented as a place where security considerations were paramount from the ground up.

CBCC ESCAPES AND RESIDENTS' REACTIONS

Interim Operation:

In July of 1986, the inevitable happened and the first inmates escaped from CBCC. The two escapees, who walked away while working with a crew outside the prison's walls, were apprehended several hours later without incident while trying to hitchhike out of Clallam Bay. They were passed on the highway by a Sheriff's Deputy, who then contacted CBCC staff to pick them up.

Some local residents appeared unworried by the escapees; others expressed anxiety and some anger about implied promises for security not being kept. One Clallam Bay resident was stimulated

by the escape to complete his community survey, to which he added the following comment:

> We and our extended family were all opposed to a nearby prison, but it's here now, and we can't let it infringe on our lifestyle and especially our outlook. At this moment, there are two prison escapees at large. Unless they left by way of boat or plane, they passed by one house where my wife was home alone, another house where our daughter lives alone, and another where our daughter-in-law and three grandchildren were. We didn't panic; we just loaded our guns!

On the whole, residents were most concerned about delays in communication and procedures for notification that an escape had occurred. Many Clallam Bay homes, most notably those closest to the prison, were excluded from the routes taken by prison staff to advise local residents and businesses to be on the alert. This was contrary to the assurances given residents during siting that there would be some formal arrangement established to keep residents informed in the event of an escape. The absence of any such a system was another illustration of how siting promises would not necessarily be fulfilled. The escape led one woman to observe: "So they just flat out lied to us. They lied about all kinds of things. So now we don't have any way of getting notified when there's an escape." Several residents expressed retrospective anxiety about their behaviors while the escapees were still out, recalling being in their yard, or, in the case of one woman, leaving the car with the keys and the kids in it while she spent ten minutes in a store.

Another inmate escape occurred in September and the inmate was again quickly apprehended. Communication with the community and with local law enforcement agencies was more rapid on this occasion, but Clallam Bay residents were still upset about the absence of blanket notification procedures for local citizens. Residents began to feel that there was no real interest in informing them, an attitude that was again generalized to include other indications that CBCC would rather not include the community in its planning or actions. This attitude continued to be prominent during three subsequent escapes during the interim operation.

A resident who had been opposed to the prison reported an argument she had with a prison administrator about the reasons for community opposition to the prison's siting. The administrator maintained that residents were opposed to the prison out of fear, and that such fears were unjustified and thus so was opposition. The resident expressed her opposition as having been based on the prison creating undesirable changes in her rural lifestyle, but pointed out that "with all the escapes we've been having around

here, maybe I should have been worried about escapes!" Later, she had this to say about how CBCC was communicating with the community about its escapes:

> Not knowing is worse than having them happen, but it's like they don't want us to know. They don't want any of the bad information to get out. They want to keep us uninformed, don't want to talk about these things. They want to keep it all under their hats.

Shortly after the first escapes this same resident remarked that she did not "need to know when somebody escaped - I just got 12 dobermans." This half joking remark was typical of the reactions of numerous residents. Their fears and concerns were deliberately trivialized through humor as illustrated in the following episode. In July of 1986, CBCC sent a large contingent of vehicles to be part of the parade at the community's mid-summer festival, so many in fact, that they dominated the smaller-than-usual field of participants. One truck displayed a banner reading "CBCC appreciates all our communities," a message which was received largely with silence. The reaction of one resident to this display of the prison motor pool: "They should have had some escaped prisoners march in the parade."

Medium Security Operations:

The prison shifted to medium security operations in February of 1987. The community remained somewhat "escape-conscious" however, and a system to provide community notification about prison escapes was selected in July of that year as one of ten projects to be recommended by a local committee for the receipt of one-time prison impact funds. Seventy households eventually asked the prison to notify them by phone if an escape occurred.

Respondents to the 1988 community survey were asked if their household was on the list of residents to be notified in case of escape: 64 indicated it was. Some of these respondents would be routinely notified because of being staff at the prison, their ownership of local businesses, or their connection with some local agency or service. Most identifying themselves as on the list had replied to the prison's request for those wishing to be contacted, and listed two interconnected reasons for this. They were concerned with security of their homes and family and wanted to take additional precautions or they perceived their residence as being in a particularly vulnerable location.

Respondents to the survey who indicated they were not on the notification list also gave their reasons. For more than a quarter, knowledge about any escape would be obtained from another source, either through employment of themselves or a family member at the prison or a local business or through the community grapevine. "We will hear soon enough from neighbors," wrote one resident. And another: "Because news travels fast; you wouldn't need to be called. Everyone else does."

Nearly a third of the respondents who were not on the notification list reported that they did not feel endangered by an escape. For most this was because they perceived their residences

as located off any escape route; for others it was the proximity of neighbors; for a few, it was lack of concern about escapee behavior or its risks. Nearly 20% of those who said their households were not on the list did not know such notification was available, and many added that they would like to be included.

This wish for inclusion may have had something to do with the fact that in March of 1988, CBCC had another escape. This inmate was not part of the prison's 15 man minimum security work crew who did tasks outside the prison and occasionally in the community. He was assigned to a job at the facility's sewage treatment plant, located outside the prison walls, and, after what proved to be a carefully planned escape, simply walked away from his job. Delays in reporting and then verifying his absence gave the inmate considerable lead time, and ultimately he was tracked to and seen in the area of concentrated population around Sekiu.

For three days, a combined search force of corrections center staff and Sheriff's Deputies patrolled the area, searched vehicles at road blocks, and followed up reports of strangers or suspicious activities. On one occasion, they went door to door, looking in yards, garages, and houses. There were several confirmed sitings of the inmate during the first days of the search, as well as a number of cases of mistaken identity. Heightened security awareness affected the judgements of residents and searchers alike. Two local men were accosted by law enforcement agents and spent a terrifying few minutes until they could prove their identity; one woman walking on the beach with her daughter saw a "stranger" disappear into the brush - the arrival of the search party brought the realization that it was her neighbor, also out for a walk. Missing lunches and articles of clothing and a break-in in the area all were taken as evidence of the escapee's movements, with normal events such as a barking dog reinterpreted as significant and frightening.

Corrections and law enforcement officials decided the escapee had left the area and called off the search after five days. For their part, local residents had made a similar decision several days earlier, and were starting to find the continuation of roadblocks and search procedures rather tiring. Most residents subscribed to the theory that any escapee's first priority would be to get out of Clallam Bay, a view that was also promoted and maintained by corrections officials and staff. The inmate was recaptured about a month later near a former residence in another part of the state.

While the search was going on, residents' reactions ranged from amusement at the perceived ineptness of the searchers ("it was like the keystone cops!") to flight. At least two women went out of town to stay with friends until the search was over; others maintained a siege mentality, curbing the movements of themselves and especially their children. The area newspaper reported the incident as CBCC's "first escape of a medium security prisoner" (Peninsula Daily News, March 15, 1988), but did not otherwise highlight any threat to residents.

The majority of Clallam Bay residents appeared to respond to the concerted and extended and localized search for this escapee with some anxiety. It rather dramatically made them aware that there were potential risks associated with their new industry. One woman noted how the previous escapes had not really affected her and she had given them little thought, "it was like, okay, so there's a prison in town. No big deal. But this one really hit home." Residents also were frustrated at what seemed to be the frequency of escapes from a prison that was supposed to be so secure. "I think they should keep those buggers on the inside of the wire!" added one resident on his 1988 community survey.

Respondents to this survey (distributed in June, three months after the escape) were asked their reactions to the March escape. Seventy-three percent reported they were concerned about the safety of local residents during the escape, 32% very concerned. Many acted on this concern by arming themselves (one local store owner joked about a dramatic rise in gun and ammunition sales as being good for his business). Almost all Clallam Bay residents took some additional security measures with their children, homes, and possessions. This anxiety was shared by corrections and law enforcement, who privately acknowledged that the potential for hostage taking during such an extended search was very high.

All of this was not lacking in entertainment value. The disruption in routine, the involvement of local areas in the search, even the thrill of possible danger made the escape exciting if not welcome. A school employee explained her response to the escape to a classroom of elementary students as follows:

> It was so exciting to have something like this happen, it was like everybody was energized. It's usually really boring around here and you guys complain that nothing happens, and here were people around and search lights and dogs and just energy and excitement.

The week following the escape, a previously scheduled survey (the 1988 student survey) was administered to students at the Clallam Bay Schools, grades five through twelve. While most students felt the prison had had a neutral (45%) or somewhat beneficial (33%) effect on the school, the escape was a common topic of their written comments. These and follow-up interviews with most classes gave multiple examples of parents curtailing movement and implementing extra safety precautions while the search for the inmate was going on. The children of CBCC employees were seen as being particularly vulnerable and were not left alone but "guarded" by another adult or sent to someone else's house while their parents were at work. "I wish it would go away," one young person wrote about the prison. "When a prisoner escapes (which is often), I am not allowed to go home by myself."

Perhaps most tellingly, students' attitudes toward whether the prison was more dangerous or more safe (as measured by a five point semantic differential scale) were clustered closer to dangerous: 52% felt the prison was dangerous, 32% placed it halfway between dangerous and safe. These feelings were most marked for students who did not have family members working at CBCC.

This account of resident unease during what by corrections standards was an atypical escape has an interesting footnote due to another medium security escape in May of 1989. In an portion of the prison's recreation area blocked from view of the guard tower by the addition of a handball court, and during shift change, two prisoners attempted to scale the prison's double row of razor-wire topped fences. Both were equipped with homemade protective gloves. One prisoner cleared both fences; the other turned around and went back over the fence after scaling the first one. He was identified by his torn clothing and cut hands when the guards arrived. The escaped inmate was seen disappearing into the woods.

That night, while the search parties were out in force, the escapee broke into a garage at an isolated house and stole a motorhome while the occupants of the house were sleeping. He somehow avoided or cleared the roadblocks set up around Clallam Bay. He was located the following day in a city several hundred miles away when his attempts to get assistance from a former girlfriend led her to contact police. Another stolen vehicle, a police chase, and an accident later, he was back in custody.

The search for this inmate was much more muted than that which followed the previous escape, despite the drama of his break-out. He was not thought to be in any populous areas and so was considered by those conducting the search to be less risky to residents. His rapid recapture put a swift end to the whole episode.

The reactions of Clallam Bay residents also were more subdued. People did, as with previous escapes, alter their behavior during the period the man was thought to be in the area - staying inside, restricting children, loading guns and so on - but there was a sense of unconcern, even routine, about their reports of their actions. The predominant theme of residents' comments in the days immediately following the escape was not risk or threat but the technical details of the escape itself and the theft of the motorhome. Even the victims of the theft were purportedly more concerned about the damage done to their vehicle during the inmate's flight than any danger they may have been exposed to while it was being stolen.

Some individuals who were most distressed during the previous escape again expressed considerable fear and anxiety, but even they modified these expressions with resignation and acceptance. Their level of upset seemed reduced several notches by a sense that such experiences were inevitable with the prison as co-resident. Theirs was an uncomfortable acceptance, as shown in these remarks by a woman who described herself as "of course upset" by another escape. "It's not right to have to live where both kids are in bed with you and your guns are loaded at night because you're afraid....We probably will stay here and we're going to have to live with that, but it's awful, it's just awful."

LIVING WITH RISK

The reactions of Clallam Bay residents to CBCC's first escapes seemed to focus on operational issues around communication with the community. The nearly immediate recapture of the escapees and the concentration of the searches away from people's homes did not necessarily lead to residents feeling secure, however: many residents wanted immediate information on escapes so they could take what they felt to be proper security measures. The need for such measures was amply illustrated by the 1988 escape and the subsequent protracted search around and inside residents' homes. Security fears were not generated by these experiences; simply confirmed by them. The circumstances of this escape were atypical and reactions of all involved were accordingly heightened. They were not, on reflection, qualitatively different.

The reduction in community reaction to the most recent escape can be attributed to its following the same less dramatic pattern of the earlier ones. Residents used their awareness of the escape as a reason to modify their behaviors and increase their personal security precautions, but they were not faced with nor did they need to react to any indicators of immediate danger. There was an additional factor present in reactions to this escape that was not seen previously: for at least some residents, these behavioral modifications toward greater security were on-going.

When concerns about institutional security were first brought up during the siting hearings, it seemed that they were largely just a means for prison opponents to illustrate Clallam Bay's unsuitability as a prison location. Their continuation as an issue after the prison was sited and is operating must serve some other purpose. It is a fact that there have been problems with employee morale and staff turnover at CBCC. There have been indications that inmates were poorly controlled and that inexperienced staff were unable to respond appropriately to crises. There have been several occasions when inmates have been locked down, and numerous reports of assaults on employees by inmates. And there have been multiple escapes, two of which occurred when the prison was operating under medium security conditions.

The escapes that have occurred at CBCC have had some lasting consequences on the community of Clallam Bay and the lifestyle of its residents. 1988 community survey respondents were asked if they had changed any of their regular behavior because of prison escapes: 37% indicated they had. The majority (65%) of the changes that residents made involved increased home security - locking doors, windows, and cars, leaving lights on, and similar cautions.

Concerns for security also have contributed to a heightened mistrust of strangers and some uncertainty in extending what previously was nearly automatic trust. For urban residents, such behaviors are routine; in Clallam Bay, they represent a change from the more casual procedures followed previously. "This used to be a community where you didn't need to lock your doors or take the keys out of your car. Now you dare not do otherwise," lamented a

survey respondent: "My husband has been a lifetime resident here and now he has to sleep with a loaded gun by the bed."

Like this woman's husband, many Clallam Bay residents had begun keeping a weapon ready for defense. Both 1986 and 1988 community surveys included a question about whether a loaded weapon was kept in the home (with hunting one of Clallam Bay's principal recreational pursuits, simply possessing a weapon is very common). In 1986, 32% of the respondents reported they maintained a loaded weapon; in 1988, 45% indicated the same. Those who reported keeping a loaded weapon were significantly more concerned about their safety during the 1988 escape than those who did not, and a majority responded in the affirmative when asked if this arming was in some degree a response to the presence of the prison. "We keep weapons in the house when we never did before," noted one, a sentiment repeated by another: "We keep 4 loaded handguns in various locations of our home. We never had them loaded prior to the prison being constructed here."

Regular medium security operations and full staffing of CBCC were largely completed by the fall of 1987. By the time of the 1988 escape and the subsequent community survey, Clallam Bay residents could judge the effects of the prison on the community on the basis of its actual contributions or detractions. Respondents to the 1988 community survey gave the prison's medium security operation mixed reviews: 28% rated its effect on the community as somewhat or very beneficial; 39% evaluated the prison's impact as neutral; and 33% viewed CBCC as having a somewhat or very negative effect on Clallam Bay. Respondents who rated the prison's effects as negative were significantly more concerned about the 1988 escape than those who saw CBCC as beneficial.

This should not be taken to mean that prison supporters were not concerned about institutional security or felt unthreatened by escapes. According to the 1988 community survey results and residents' comments, the great majority of all those who live in Clallam Bay find what happens inside the prison of considerable concern and interest, and when security breaches extend outside, they back up these concerns with some level of protective measures. Those who feel and act differently do so not because they see prisons as benign and escapes as without risks. Rather, they are likely to be more confident of the competencies of prison and law enforcement staff and in the construction and technology of the institution. They also are more likely to view their residence as outside any probable danger zone, or to rate their personal characteristics (such as age or possessions) such that they would not be of interest to any escapee.

Some residents resent this new requirement to exercise caution: "Living in a prison town," points out one person, "should not have to mean that I have to be afraid to go out to my garage." Others are more sanguine, identifying some loss of security at home as a trade-off for the increased economic security of the community. After noting the prison's contributions to the local economy, this 1988 community survey respondent added that "It is true the crime/drug rate will rise, however, we must expect some

negative aspects. Nothing is free." Another resident makes the same calculation of prison pluses and minuses and comes up with a different conclusion: "Most of the time I can ignore the prison," said this woman, "but when there's an escape, it makes me realize the price the town paid to stay alive. I know we needed jobs, but I think it's really sad the prison was the only way we could get them."

Escapes and issues of institutional control have clearly contributed to changes in the way many Clallam Bay residents perceive and respond to their personal security, but they are not the only prison impacts to produce these more defensive, less trusting reactions. Residents respond similarly to other consequences of their prison. Perceived and actual crime increases, the presence of unknown new residents in the community, and the adverse behaviors of prison visitors, locally-resident inmate families, and prison employees themselves
all seem to necessitate some greater attention to security; all seem to indicate the loss of a certain lifestyle; and all, together and separately, reveal the changes brought to Clallam Bay by the prison.

THE PRISON AND THE COMMUNITY

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

In the small towns and communities most often selected to host corrections centers, a new prison is an especially powerful agent of community change. Many of these changes are economic and in the form of more jobs, more income, more expenditures. Such financial improvements are linked to improvements in the quality of life (Eberts 1979), and prison proponents and promoters do well to trumpet these. There is more to change than the economy, however, and more to the quality of life than jobs and business.

In Clallam Bay, opponents to prison siting worried that promised economic improvements would not come to pass. They also worried that other things would come to the community because the prison was located there, things like increased stress and crime, a climate of distrust, an influx of residents who had no concern for the community's values, and a general deterioration in those characteristics that had made their community a satisfying place to live. It would appear that both prison advocates and those opposing it were correct.

Clallam Bay with a prison is not the same place as Clallam Bay before the prison. It is still a nice place and in many ways a better place, but it is different. Some of these differences, including some which are the result of prison benefits, are not positive for all residents. Other changes have been negative, but again, the magnitude of their deficit has varied for different residents. The preceding chapters have detailed the specifics of the ways in which the prison has changed Clallam Bay. We look briefly here at the consequences such changes have had for the community overall, and through these, for the lifestyles of its residents.

PUBLIC LIFE

To most observers, Clallam Bay seems relatively unaltered by the prison. The new sidewalks, the reopened supermarket, the several new businesses have not markedly affected or improved its appearance. It remains a community of rather undistinguished stores and residences loosely clustered along a highway. Its main claim to aesthetics continues to be the features of its natural environment. It is still bustling with tourists in the summer, and in the winter, with gray skies and few pedestrians or cars, looks lonely, depressing, and largely deserted.

The Clallam Bay Corrections Center is not visible to most community residents or visitors. Except for its light pool at night and the sign identifying its access road, the physical plant of the industry does not intrude on Clallam Bay. With the road to the prison located before most residences and the core of town, few residents see the buses bringing in new prisoners or the movement of marked vehicles heading off on out of town business.

The appearance of life as usual belies the fact of some definite changes brought by the prison to the public character of Clallam Bay. Information about volunteer activities at the corrections center frequently appears in a column in the Port Angeles paper devoted to regional news. On the first two Christmases of the prison's operation, the paper printed human interest stories about "life behind the walls." There are occasional letters to the editor from inmates published in both this and the Forks paper. The personals columns also show signs of the nearby institution: every now and then there is an advertisement from someone with a CBCC inmate identification number and return address seeking a female correspondent.

The most obvious sign of the changes in Clallam Bay is the presence of prison personnel. There is more traffic on the roads leading to Clallam Bay around the times of shift changes, and, although the roads are still uncongested by urban standards, the increased traffic volume has been linked to some accidents. Also in association with shift changes, one sees employees in uniform driving through town or stopping off at the post office or store. This presence of uniformed persons annoys some residents, providing an unpleasant reminder of the new industry. Wrote one such resident on the 1988 community survey: "I know it's silly, but I'd like to see the employees not be so obvious by wearing their uniforms off the job. Less chance of making snap judgements (on my part)." Others find it reassuring that the major indicator that the prison is in town is this transient sight of its employees. Shift work also has subtly changed the timing rhythm of the town, increasing its late night activity and weeknight business.

Residents also see signs of the prison in the sight of customers wearing business suits at local restaurants or stores. Such attire is appropriate for CBCC administrators and officials from the Department of Corrections and other agencies - it is seldom worn by local residents, being unsuitable for logging or fishing and unnecessary for other business. One CBCC administrator, whose suits and ties had been repeatedly sneered at by Clallam Bay residents, pointed out how loggers have their own uniform in jeans and hickory shirts - he was simply wearing his. In reality, in this small town where most people are well known to each other, CBCC employees are identifiable simply by being different regardless of their attire. Their tendency to associate with each other in Clallam Bay's drinking and eating places underscores this ease of identification.

The transiency of many prison employees has brought other changes to the public life of Clallam Bay. Post office employees report that there are so many new residents, they now look at the box numbers to sort the mail where previously they knew the names of every resident. Credit is more difficult to attain at local businesses and check cashing privileges are likely to be more circumscribed. These restrictive financial policies are not typically applied to those who are "known" to be reliable local residents but they do represent a shift in the community's previously more open practices. Such changes were not considered

necessary in the past, despite the large number of visitors who were in the town during the summer. This willingness to accept everyone as worthy of trust (at least superficially) undoubtedly contributed to Clallam Bay's reputation as a friendly place.

Clallam Bay still is considered to be a friendly place. The community surveys included a set of scales to assess respondents' feelings about the community. The scales made up a semantic differential, using paired words with opposing meaning, one positive and one negative. The same words were used in 1986 and 1988. In both years, respondents were very favorable towards Clallam Bay across all scales; 1988 residents were very slightly less favorable than 1986 ones. Length of residence in the community influenced the strength of favorable feelings. Residents of three years or less (25% of the survey sample) were consistently less positive (although still uniformly favorable) than longer-term residents.

Asked to select the single word from the scales that best fit their views about the Clallam Bay community, 82% of the 1988 community survey respondents chose a word with positive meaning. The most frequently picked words were "friendly" (28%), "enjoyable" (20%), and "beautiful" (19%). This generally duplicated the answers of the 1986 community survey respondents to the same question. Again, recent residents were somewhat less positive in their feelings than those who had lived in Clallam Bay before the prison: 36% selected a negative word to characterize their attitude to the community (the most common being "boring") compared to just 13% of longer term residents.

PRIVATE LIFE

The effects of the prison on the private life of residents of Clallam Bay has varied depending on the residents' association with employees or institutions directly affected by the institution. Some of these effects have been positive for those involved; others have been negative. As example, families with children in the schools have had to deal with changes in the schools, including the benefits of increased enrollment and student diversity as well as their deficits. The prison has been felt in the private lives of virtually all residents through their relationships with the range of other community services described in the preceding chapters. Those who work at the prison or whose close family members do so, are obviously more affected by the institution itself than residents without such direct institutional contacts.

Most negatively, many if not most residents felt themselves threatened or at least restricted during prison escapes. There was a similar sense of risk generated by the burglaries charged to inmate family members. There are some residents, such as those quoted earlier, who find their view of Clallam Bay and their lives there irrevocably altered by these and other undesirable prison impacts. When such negatives are occurring or are recent, there are many living in Clallam Bay who probably see the prison as a net loss for the community and their lifestyle. For most residents

most of the time, however, the prison's impacts on their everyday existence are minimal.

This usual absence of effect is facilitated by the absence as well of the prison as an actor in most community events. The institution is not represented in most settings; when prison employees are at club meetings or parties or other gatherings, they are there as individuals and largely treated as such (this is not true for members of the administrative staff, and is a factor in why they do not live in Clallam Bay). Coupled with the general lack of employee involvement in the community (except with each other), this means that Clallam Bay residents seldom need to intimately interact with the prison or those who work there.

If they wish, the majority of Clallam Bay residents are able to continue to live their lives largely as they did before the prison opened. This is particularly the case for people who have resided in the community for many years, and have, as the following woman reports, "already seen a lot of changes." For people such as herself:

> Everything that goes on is sort of exterior to them. Their lives continue the same regardless of new people coming and going. They really aren't affected by it. For me, my pattern of behavior in Clallam Bay is pretty much set; the prison hasn't changed it.

Similar sentiments were reported by numerous residents, including those who opposed as well as favored the siting of the institution. The prison can usually be ignored in the pattern of everyday life. The routines of work and socialization need not take it or community newcomers into account, and most go on as before. The deficits of the prison's operation are there, but for most residents, they are not particularly or usually visible. Prison benefits tend to penetrate the fabric of daily life much more readily, showing as they do in employment and new faces in town and the return of the grocery store.

The predominant sentiment may well be reflected in this comment from a resident active in community affairs. "From where I am," he said, "in terms of my living arrangements and my lifestyle, I haven't seen that the prison has brought in any negatives at all. It's made no changes in my life except bring in some more jobs." While this view may be altered by future events, and while residents are usually ready and able to express stronger feelings when requested or when circumstances require it, the usual place of CBCC in the private lives of Clallam Bay's residents is in the background.

IMAGE AND IDENTITY

One concern which was raised during the siting hearings for CBCC was that the community would become known as a "prison town," an image seen as much less desirable than that associated with its other industries of fishing or timber. The fear was that tourists would avoid a destination known in this sense, and the community would gain one industry only to lose its other. There are some persons, non-residents of Clallam Bay, who appear to have adopted

this pejorative sense of the community. One such is a CBCC employee from Port Angeles who wrote on his 1988 employee survey that "I used to love Clallam Bay, when it was a fishing village. Now that it is a prison town, I wouldn't dream of living there."

Residents of Clallam Bay itself seldom express this view. Their limited involvement with the prison and its usual impacts on their lives, as described above, permit those living in the community to see the town as relatively untainted by its new industry. This perspective, which admittedly makes it easier for them to retain their residency, is reinforced by the views of people visiting Clallam Bay for its other attractions. The tourists continue to come to Clallam Bay for the fishing and the wilderness: for them, the prison is mostly just a road sign about which they know little and care less. The community and its offerings remain appealing in their own right, an appeal documented in the records of retail revenues from tourism: the contribution of tourism to the community's economy has consistently and substantially increased each year since 1985.

There are other ways in which Clallam Bay has indeed adopted a prison-centered character, however. This is not in the unfortunate connotations associated with being a "prison town," but in the investment of community residents in their industry through identifying with its needs. In early 1988, a resident complained to the county commissioners about the noise made by the "jake brakes" of logging trucks passing through town. The focus of complaint was the potential disruption caused to the sleep of prison workers, who, because of different shifts, would need to sleep during the day. A similar concern for specific needs of CBCC employees was seen in the efforts to develop child care services with extended hours. On the several occasions when the main highway between Clallam Bay and Port Angeles has been closed by slides or washouts, the problems this poses for commuting prison employees have been added to those noted for visiting fishermen and other tourists.

One change brought by the prison was the outlawing of hunting in the area immediately surrounding the institution. This had reportedly been a prime hunting ground for deer and elk; its closure seemed symbolic of the clash between the Clallam Bay as it had been traditionally and the new community with a prison it was becoming. It also represented some further loss of residents' control over their lives. Resentment over the closure was widespread, and the signs noting the affected boundaries were immediately targets of vandals with guns. In the spring of 1988, prison administrators reported several incidents of apparent poaching inside the posted area. This news was greeted by one local leader as an indication that people in Clallam Bay were becoming comfortable with the prison in their midst. Others agreed, pointing out how poaching was common practice on the west end: the inclusion of the prison lands could be taken as acceptance of the institution and its property as just another part of potential hunting territory.

Clallam Bay's residents are conscious of the particular issues associated with CBCC and its employees and are gradually incorporating these into their own decision making. To a lesser extent, this is happening as well in other Clallam County communities where prison impacts have occurred. For those living in Clallam Bay, this adjustment reflects both identification with the industry and the familiar wish to derive some benefits from its presence in Clallam Bay: e.g., the resident worried about logging noises disturbing sleep rents housing to CBCC employees. This combination of motivations makes for a powerful incentive to bring the prison and community together.

There is another indicator of melding which is less positive in its messages about the relationships between the prison and Clallam Bay. From the beginning of Clallam Bay's association with corrections, there have been those who warned that the community was putting its independence at risk by inviting in and hosting a large institution. As one man testified at the public hearings prior to siting the prison: "The massive impact on our small population can easily make Clallam Bay not a town with a prison but a prison with a town. The institution will envelop and dwarf us." CBCC's first administrators predicted that corrections employees would "take over" Clallam Bay within a few years, and although this has not occurred, there are areas of community life in which CBCC staff or their interests are dominant. Membership in the local Lion's Club is half or more prison employees; in other organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, the deference and attention given to CBCC representation reveals the significance of the industry.

In such forums, the community seems much more a suitor of the prison than the other way around. It is the community which is courting favor by worrying about child care and shift work needs; it is the community which solicits and seeks out prison participation and approval; it is the community which compromises the way things had been done for new ways more compatible with those of corrections. The prison's administration <u>has</u> been responsive to a range of community needs, but in all cases these have been at its convenience: community work done by inmates occurs only when institutional work is not necessary; attendance at community meetings, when it occurs, is an assigned duty subject to being superseded by more important business.

In a management sense, this is an appropriate and even necessary way of doing business, and one naturally expects operational concerns to take precedence over those involving community relationships. But when they do, the community is usually the loser and any sense of partnership with the institution is little more than an illusion - sustainable only so long as it is in the interests of the institution to do so. Residents feel they are being tolerated but not included, and feel as well that they are powerless to do anything to change this. The prison is too big, controlled by extra-local forces, and too important to community survival.

There have been many unfulfilled promises made about CBCC to the residents of Clallam Bay. Meeting some of these promises was unrealistic, but in other cases, failure to follow through on assurances was simply a matter of greater convenience. It often appears that assurances made to the community are of little consequence, unnecessary to follow through on and certainly not worth any compromises. In 1987, an outside observer posed a question about the prison that before and since has occurred to numerous residents. He asked "What do they need the community for anyway after they've got the prison there? After they get everyone hired, then the prison is the community."

Incorporation:

One feature of the community which contributes to its lack of influence over the prison is the fact that it is unincorporated. Without a formal identity and socially approved leaders, Clallam Bay as an entity effectively does not exist. Corrections personnel have consistently found themselves frustrated by encounters with "community representatives" who contradicted each other. The dissention which accompanied prison siting was one product of this ambiguity of representation, with claims and counter-claims about community attitudes unable to be verified through any official leader.

It is not surprising that prison administrators have often opted to define the community as encompassing the entire west end (or more) of Clallam County, and to interact with it primarily through elected and appointed officials at the county level. Residents of Clallam Bay are frequently forced to do the same. Having to work through the county to accomplish things in the community is not always satisfactory. County level agencies and officials always have other clients and constituents whose problems and needs are likely to take precedence over those of Clallam Bay, if only because they are more numerous. This underscores the animosity many residents feel toward county services and their distribution in Clallam Bay.

The absence of any cross-cutting organizing structure in Clallam Bay has put an extra burden on those organizations which <u>do</u> exist in the community to be more than they are perhaps capable of being. The Clallam Bay Chamber of Commerce has come to be the de-facto representative body in the community. Its diverse membership extends its capacities well beyond those of business promotion, but without any official standing in other areas of endeavor, its actions are subject to rejection by other residents. The Chamber membership also sometimes finds itself at cross-purposes between community promotion and the needs to deal with community problems.

It has been particularly difficult for Clallam Bay to bring together its population to take action on new needs. The slow development of the child care center and the limited response to needs of inmate families are both consequences of this difficulty. The inability to develop additional housing is yet another example: there is no government to spearhead the search for an investor or to stand behind a loan. Every project is necessarily done by

volunteers, who, despite good intentions, find their time competed for by other projects and the necessities of daily living. With no professional or paid staff, every step of any project requires an enormous investment of these most ephemeral voluntary resources.

These difficulties are not always recognized by those accustomed to working with the resources of bureaucratic entities. They are identified not as problems of Clallam Bay's structure but as signs of resident disinterest or apathy. This view is seen in the comments of a respondent to the 1988 employee survey, who wrote that:

> ...the lack or absence of local government has made it even more difficult for the community to respond to the inevitable changes, consequences, and challenges. And only a very small minority of the local population are willing to take any initiative to do anything about the problems and needs. The population as a whole appears to accept the status quo.

The residents of Clallam Bay are split on the prospects of the community becoming incorporated. For many the question of financing essential services makes incorporation seem prohibitive; others appear to wish to avoid the additional taxes incorporation would entail. The supporters of incorporation point out the additional prison benefits which would have come to the community if it had been formally chartered, citing particularly state one-time prison impact funds. These moneys were distributed through the Clallam County commissioners; some were spent outside of Clallam Bay and all were subject to restrictions many residents found to be unreasonable. The potential for accruing more in the way of prison benefits has stimulated resident interest in incorporation. An incorporated Clallam Bay which encompassed the population of the prison within its boundaries would receive a share of state sales tax revenues for that population. This could amount to a considerable sum.

The prospects of the community incorporating do not seem to be immediate. The same problems created by the absence of any local government also act to perpetuate it: there is no consistent group of individuals with sufficient structure and support to effectively pursue to conclusion the collection of information needed to make a successful bid for incorporation. The Clallam Bay Chamber of Commerce has on several occasions empaneled a sub-committee to research incorporation. Difficulties in data collection, lack of resources, and diverse opinions about incorporation among the Chamber's membership have handicapped the committee's progress. Community residents seem equally divided on the issue.

Respondents to the 1986 and 1988 community surveys were asked their opinions about Clallam Bay incorporating. In 1986, 33% were positive or somewhat positive, 36% were neutral, and 31% were negative. The responses of residents in 1988 were little different: 36% positive, 30% neutral, and 34% negative. 1988 respondents who had lived in Clallam Bay for three years or less were significantly more favorable than longer term residents toward incorporation, with 46% positive or somewhat positive. As these

newer residents become more involved and invested in the community, there may be more movement towards its incorporation. There are serious questions about the viability of such a move; without it, however, the community has few prospects for playing a very active role in determining its own future.

EXPECTATIONS AND JUDGEMENTS

It can be stated as a truism that most people really do not care for prisons, and correspondingly, would rather not have a prison located in their home town. The inherent undesirability of prisons as neighbors has, in the past, made them rather difficult to site. That communities now compete for selection as prison locales is not due to any major changes in the corrections industry and its desirability. It is more often the result of increasingly limited alternatives for comparable economic growth in rural areas. Even where prisons are welcomed by their host communities, it is because of what they can give, not because of what they are.

Corrections facilities must somehow earn community acceptance; they can do this by fulfilling their role as economic benefactors. The industry stigma, however, requires more than simply an accumulation of positive returns for this to occur. Positive returns also must outweigh any negatives, and this calculation is very much a matter of circumstances and judgements. The conditional quality of a prison's admittance to a community means that its outcomes are constantly subject to review and reconsideration. The occurrence of new negatives, or a decline in the magnitude of positives, may lead to a very different evaluation of a prison's worth. Community residents are more likely to evaluate the effects of a prison favorably when they feel its benefits have been sufficient to outweigh its inherent disadvantages. When these advantages are not strong, or are not clear cut, the disadvantages loom larger in comparison.

In Clallam Bay, the prison was a controversial solution to a serious economic problem. For no resident was it the optimal answer for resolving the loss of jobs and population the community had experienced, and thus even proponents had to convince themselves that what the prison would do to benefit the town was more significant than any deficits it might also bring. With construction behind them, residents who had been opposed to the prison joined proponents in a tendency to prefer the favorable rather than the unfavorable scenario of possible prison impacts. In this way the residents of Clallam Bay generally adopted a set of expectations which made the best of their future.

These positive expectations did not stand alone. Always alongside them, ready to take their place in the forefront of prison effects, were the negative possibilities also associated with a prison. Although Clallam Bay residents did not want to see these unwanted things happen in their community, for many they seemed a very likely prospect. The preceding chapters have documented the mixture of benefits and deficits brought to Clallam Bay by the Clallam Bay Corrections Center. They also have reported

on the attitudes accompanying these outcomes. We are looking here both at what happens and at what counts. While these tend to be related to each other, they are not always perfectly aligned. Some things matter more than others and events are evaluated differently depending on this, one's previous attitudes, and the co-occurrence of other events.

Respondents to the 1988 community survey were given a listing of prison impacts and asked to select all those they believed had occurred as a result of the prison's operations in Clallam Bay. Respondents to the 1986 community survey selected from a nearly identical list those things which they expected to occur because of the prison. Previous chapters have singled out particular aspects of these pre and post assessments to illustrate residents' expectations and judgements on specific issues. The full comparison of 1986 and 1988 survey responses is in Table 14 - 1.

In the first survey, respondents were reacting to their best guesses of what the prison would bring, guesses which were strongly influenced by their attitudes towards prison siting and the reverse. The events of construction and the first few months of the interim operation also had an influence on residents' expectations: disappointing early returns from the prison translated into rather less optimistic projections of prison benefits than might have been elicited right after siting. In the second survey respondents had available their knowledge of what the prison had actually brought to Clallam Bay, but here too, the selection of outcomes was influenced by more than the actual impacts themselves.

Overall, respondents to the 1988 survey were rather more positive and more uniform in their assessment of prison impacts than those answering the 1986 survey. A majority of respondents to the 1988 survey agreed on the occurrence of five prison impacts, two representing positive events and three negative ones. There were two items checked by a majority of 1986 respondents, both negative. With one exception, fewer 1988 respondents saw negative prison effects as having occurred than were expected by 1986 respondents.

Crime and security issues are identified in the 1988 survey as the main area of negative prison impacts. The effects of the escape and search a few months previously show their continued significance in the majority's selection of "risks from escaped prisoners" as a prison impact. This was the only negative impact selected by more 1988 residents than expected by those in 1986. Similarly, it can be presumed that the relative recency of certain crimes and their association with the prison shaped the selection of these other issues as dominant prison impacts.

It is such current events which receive the focus of attention and concern; others, perhaps equally or more significant in their community consequences, go unattended or fade from prominence. This tendency does not just reveal itself in responses to public surveys. In the winter of 1990, for example, after a period in which there had been no dramatic or symbolic local crimes, the prison's effect on crime rates and law enforcement needs was given

TABLE 14 - 1
RESIDENTS' EXPECTATIONS & JUDGEMENTS OF PRISON IMPACTS ON CLALLAM BAY

PRISON IMPACTS	1986 %	1986 (N)	1988 %	1988 (N)
MORE DEMANDS ON LAW ENFORCEMENT	70	(165)	61	(138)
MANY NEW RESIDENTS IN CLALLAM BAY	50	(118)	58	(130)
JOBS AT THE PRISON FOR CURRENT RESIDENTS	33	(78)	56	(127)
INCREASED CRIME	45	(106)	54	(121)
RISKS FROM ESCAPED PRISONERS	38	(89)	51	(115)
MORE DEMANDS ON SOCIAL SERVICES	61	(145)	44	(98)
A MORE TRANISENT COMMUNITY	*		43	(97)
NEW BUSINESSES IN CLALLAM BAY	43	(101)	41	(92)
MORE JOBS IN THE COMMUNITY	42	(99)	37	(83)
AN IMPROVED COMMUNITY ECONOMY	41	(96)	36	(82)
MORE DRUGS AND DRUG USERS	46	(109)	29	(66)
A REVITALIZED COMMUNITY	32	(75)	29	(65)
A LESS DESIRABLE LIFESTYLE	33	(79)	26	(59)
INCREASED PROF/"MIDDLE CLASS" POPULATION	30	(72)	20	(45)
A NEGATIVE COMMUNITY IMAGE	39	(92)	19	(42)
TENSION BETWEEN PRISON STAFF & OTHER RESIDENTS	*		18	(41)
IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SCHOOL	27	(65)	10	(23)
TOTAL N's =	237		225	

Source: 1986 & 1988 Clallam Bay Community Surveys

scant attention at a public meeting to discuss prison impacts. The focus rather was on increased demands for social services. These needs had been brought to the public attention by the organizing activities of several local service providers. The continuing efforts to open a community operated child care center also directed attention to social service issues.

Identification and evaluation of prison impacts is influenced as well by prior expectations. 1988 respondents were more likely to see new residents and local jobs as a prison impact than their 1986 counterparts had anticipated, but were slightly less likely to see that the community had experienced economic improvements. These rather restrained assessments of community gain are not so much lack of awareness as lack of satisfaction that these gains are in fact what they should be. The very real and substantial improvements in terms of local jobs, school enrollment, and the overall community economy which are due to the prison are discounted in significance because they nonetheless fall short of initial expectations. The consequences of these heightened and unrealistic expectations have been noted repeatedly in earlier chapters. Once again their effect is to diminish the perceptual significance of prison benefits, and by doing so, to heighten the significance of deficits.

MAKING THE BALANCE

This process of evaluation is never completed. Even where prisons have been in place for many years, residents continue to review their judgements of prison effects. Changing circumstances always seem capable of upsetting previously satisfied host community residents. Internal disruptions and dangerous escapes were found to be responsible for changing residents' attitudes toward their prison in two communities referenced in the research (Hodge & Steheli 1988; Zarchikoff 1981). In another, where a long-established prison had recently expanded, local merchants complained about their disappointments with prison purchases and their expectations for more in a manner identical to their counterparts in Clallam Bay (Farrington & Parcells 1989). As corrections systems have found, the fact that a community has apparently adjusted favorably to having a prison is no guarantor that expansion or additional prisons will be similarly received. Each effect is looked at in context and that context includes an unstable mix of both objective and subjective factors.

The residents of Clallam Bay have been involved in a process of weighing diverse prison effects against one another ever since they first contemplated getting a prison. This does not end when the prison opened nor after it has been operating for some set period of time - it is ongoing. It seems that residents of communities which have prisons are continuously assessing the pluses and minuses of their industry. During the first years of a prison's operation, this assessment is particularly meaningful. When Clallam Bay residents engage in such computations of whether or not their prison was worth its costs to them, whether the pluses outweigh the minuses, they are trying to determine as well if the

community of Clallam Bay remains a place they want to or are able to live.

When the prison first opened, the limited number of effects available to make this computation led to heightened significance of those few which were available. Thus many residents viewed CBCC as "disappointing" in the 1986 community survey because its construction and interim operation had apparently done little to improve the local economy. This was a tentative evaluation, however, and for most, hope for future benefits under full operations served to balance the equation. Similarly, the operational problems and escapes which occurred during the minimum security operation could also be viewed as interim, and their risks and implications discounted by the expectation that things would soon change. With the prison fully operating, residents' assessments of prison impacts continue to change and adjust as events and reactions to them occur.

During the course of the project, both prison proponents and opponents were at times heard to espouse attitudes both favorable and unfavorable to the prison's effects on Clallam Bay. Negative evaluations were especially prominent during the interim operation, an outcome of the absence of prison benefits. With full operations and more positive happenings in the community, reactions still varied according to the current issues in town and personal considerations. It is in these latter that one comes back to the different valuations individuals placed on what it meant to live and work in Clallam Bay when the prison was first proposed. The split over economics versus lifestyle which characterized the siting debate also differentiates responses to the operating prison.

In the end one comes down to values. This is a direct result of the diversity and spread of prison impacts across both positive and negative outcomes. One cannot, on the basis of these outcomes, come down firmly on the side of pluses or minuses without recourse to what sorts of impacts matter most. While there have been many benefits for the community, these have not been so great that they unambiguously tip the balance in favor of positive impacts. And, although negatives have not been as great as many feared, their weight against reduced benefits is nonetheless substantial.

The predominant attitude in Clallam Bay is one which gives credence to some losses in personal comfort and community ambiance and some increase in risk, but finds that these and other negatives are outweighed by prison benefits. Residents holding this view do not ignore adverse impacts, and may even be found among the leaders of movements to improve services, reduce crime, or otherwise ameliorate various negative prison effects. They do value more highly the good things, such as jobs, an improved economy, and a restored population that the prison has brought, and they also lead efforts to try to increase these benefits.

This assessment includes the sense that without the prison, conditions would have been much worse. The following comment by one resident and prison proponent makes this comparison explicit.

Asked in 1988 if he felt that it was worth it to have the prison he replied:

> It was worth it for me because I didn't have any other options. Without the prison, my chance for survival was slim and none. I would have lost everything: I would have lost my business and my property and that would have meant starting over again at my age. That would be really hard to do, so I had to have it. Yes, I would do it over again because I had no other choice.

In the equation of such residents, the drawbacks associated with the prison are regrettable but acceptable. This attitude is, it is important to note, one which allows one to make the best of a done deal. The prison is in place: this balancing of positives over negatives is a way of coming to terms with it. Individuals and families who had been opposed to the prison also have often moderated their previous animosity to its operations. Some work at CBCC, others have benefitted from its operations in other ways, and others are involved in support of volunteer or social service efforts to improve outcomes. "I was opposed to the prison," wrote a 1988 community survey respondent, "but as long as it's here, we might as well learn to live with it. And I think they're trying to learn to live with us." As one observer of the community pointed out, people are "more prepared to be positive toward an institution which is providing them and their families with jobs."

There are, in addition, some number of residents who do not find the negative effects outweighed by the positives. For these persons, the prison effects equation comes out with a minus sign. These residents, too, see both sides of the equation, acknowledging that there have been prison benefits as does this woman: "That's right. There are jobs. And it's true that the town is better off than it was. But it's also harder to live here than it was; it's also scarier than it was." With one-third of the school's students living with a family member employed by the prison, Clallam Bay's young people also are trying to balance gains against losses from the prison in their assessment of its effects, an effort reflected in this comment: "It helps Clallam Bay, I know, but people keep escaping and that's dangerous, and I hate to sleep at night wondering who will escape."

Some residents who judge the effects of the prison to be disproportionately negative will leave Clallam Bay; some already have. "We plan to sell out and move," wrote a 1988 community survey respondent, "too much apprehension." Another returned their household's 1988 census response card with the following message:

> We are moving out. We have found the prison to be a wet blanket on an other wise nice town.
>
> 1) prisoners' families created a mini-crime wave;
> 2) possible escapes make us nervous;
> 3) guards are unfriendly and aloof in town.

Others are reconsidering their commitment to the community. One long term resident told of his acceptance of the prison's presence in Clallam Bay, but added, "If I had a chance to leave, I

would, and I never thought I would say that." He explains as follows:

> I just don't like the atmosphere of the place. It's different, it leads to a different kind of mentality and it's not what I want. I had always thought that I would retire here, live here all my life, but I don't know for sure now. There's lots of nice people who have come in, and some of the kids are really good kids, but there's also a bad element that I don't like.

Leaving Clallam Bay is not an option for everyone, particularly since so many have already sacrificed so much in order to remain there after the local economy went down hill. Most residents, even those whose judgement of the prison yields a negative, must therefore somehow come to terms with the prison and its effects. This adjustment may be a grudging one, as shown by the changing views of a resident who was opposed to the prison but went to work there for economic survival. In 1986, the resident expressed these views: "I think that this is the worst place in the world for a prison. It has done nothing but hurt my home and birth place. I am bitter and stuck in a job I don't like. But it pays the bills." Two years later, his views about the fit between the prison and the community were unchanged, but less strongly expressed and more moderated by the acknowledgement of its contribution to his making a living and therefore remaining in Clallam Bay. "It's been nothing but bad for the town," he said; "It is okay for me."

An easier route to acceptance is found by residents who are able to re-evaluate their previous judgements. For others, it may be a matter of treating most prison effects as so much background and not usually consequential to their everyday life. Both styles of accommodation are greatly facilitated by periods of relative quiet in the prison and the community. If there are escapes, it is better if they are "well-mannered" like the most recent one, and it is especially preferable if they occur infrequently; if there are crimes, it is best if they are routine and do not notably involve inmate families or employees. Add improvements in some community services and time to adjust to change, and contrast all of these with the economic difficulties experienced by other small communities, and it becomes ever easier for Clallam Bay residents to see their prison as an overall benefit.

INFLUENCING PRISON IMPACTS

The results of previous research on prison impacts were reviewed in Chapter 2. These earlier studies identified a range of both positive and negative prison impacts, even as were seen in Clallam Bay. The strength and direction of these impacts in other prison host communities were found to be influenced by six primary factors; the same factors have made a difference in prison impacts on Clallam Bay as well. They are: 1) the relative sizes of the community and the institution; 2) the location of the community in

regard to inmate origins and employee origins; 3) the host community's capacity to provide needed services, housing, and other amenities; 4) institutional security level, length of inmate sentence and inmate demographics; 5) institutional arrangements concerning inmate community work, releases, and visiting; and 6) the local history of the institution, such as siting disputes and promises, community needs, and the incidence of escapes and their consequences.

FACTORS SIGNIFICANT IN CLALLAM BAY

In Clallam Bay, the inmate population of CBCC at its initial rated capacity was just under half that of the civilian population of the surrounding community. The prison is by far Clallam Bay's main employer and its employees have been the principal reason for the restoration of the community's economy, population, and year-round retail business and service vitality. These benefits are of such magnitude because the community is proportionately so small. The placement of CBCC in a large city would mean the same number of jobs and purchases but these would not have equivalent significance.

At the same time as the community's size allows it to enjoy the benefits of having the prison, size also is the factor which leads it to experience more of the institution's deficits. With such a small stage, any increases in crime, any offenses committed by employees, any arrival of inmate family members, and so on, are of the same considerable importance as prison benefits. Clallam Bay is a community which had numerically few crimes before the prison - the addition of only a few more can lead to substantial percentage increases. The proportionate significance of negative events is no more subjective and no less meaningful than that of positives created by the same circumstances, and both are magnified when prison impacts are the primary reasons for community change.

Prison benefits for the community of Clallam Bay have been reduced by the residency of employees in neighboring communities. While this choice of residence retains the benefits of prison employment in Clallam County, the significance of these employees to a larger community such as Port Angeles is less than it would be for Clallam Bay. The remoteness of the institution has led to some difficulties in staff recruitment and retention, difficulties which have translated into undesirable impacts on the community in some cases. Turnover among employees means transiency for the community where they live; stress on and off the job may lead to problem behaviors and increased service needs. The remote site of CBCC also reduces the numbers of visitors to the institution. This means fewer positive impacts for the community from purchases made by such transients; it also means an inmate population more estranged from their families and normal life and thus potentially less cooperative with prison requirements. This too contributes to employee stress.

The most important factor reducing positive impacts to the community of Clallam Bay has been its own capacity. Clallam Bay does not have sufficient, suitable housing for all prison employees

to make their residences there. The benefits of such residence necessarily go to other communities, albeit typically ones in Clallam County. Prospective Clallam Bay residents also opt for other communities which are perceived to have better services, schools, and shopping. In regard to these, Clallam Bay has not been able to utilize its competitive advantage of proximity to the institution for lack of housing. Improvements in transportation linkages between CBCC and other communities further erode Clallam Bay's capacity to attract prison employees as residents.

The information available from other locales on the relocation of inmate families to the host community suggests that this is affected by a variety of factors, including closeness of the institution for visiting and length of the inmate's sentence. In the majority of prison sites, including Clallam Bay, inmate families have not moved to the community in any substantial number. Clallam Bay is a long drive, but it is close enough to the state's population center to allow a one day visit. Inmates are likely to be at CBCC for only a few years, housing is hard to find, and the small community means no anonymity is possible for families.

These factors appear to have limited the movement of family members to Clallam Bay. Where it is worth their while to move closer - such as when sentences are lengthy, visiting requires extended travel, housing is available, etc. - one would expect to see more families follow the prisoner. Even if CBCC changed its inmate classification to include those with lengthier sentences, the numbers of inmate families in Clallam Bay itself should remain small. With visiting allowed only on weekends, families have even more reason than employees to settle in nearby communities rather than Clallam Bay, and thus any negative impacts resulting from their relocation will likely be dispersed.

Other institutional arrangements have added to the benefits received by the Clallam Bay community. The availability of inmate work crews inside and outside the institution has enormously expanded the public service capacity of the community. Projects located in Clallam Bay itself have thus far dominated the requests for donated labor, an outcome in part of limited awareness outside Clallam Bay that the service is available. Most inmates seem not to remain in Clallam Bay or Clallam County when their CBCC sentences are completed. Without friends or family members also in the area, and without the urban attractions which most are accustomed to, it is unlikely that this will change.

Finally, impacts of CBCC on Clallam Bay have been very much influenced by the unique events which preceded its location and followed its operation. The community dissention accompanying siting is perhaps the most typical of these: arguments about the benefits and deficits of getting a prison seem to be common occurrences. They have, however, long lasting consequences. I am not talking here about lingering personal animosities, although these are present, but rather the shadow cast on subsequent perceptions of impact by previous controversy. Clallam Bay residents were pre-disposed to expect too much from their prison, a way of compensating for having to deny likely deficits or having

to accept these in order to remain in Clallam Bay. When these benefits were below anticipated levels, it was hard for residents to accept their value, and harder yet to put negatives into perspective.

The circumstances of the interim operation and the several escapes are less likely to be repeated in other communities. In Clallam Bay, the delay of benefits caused by the reduced interim operation added to the weight of over-expectation by drawing out the realization of any significant benefits. Escapes have more transitory impacts, and depending on the circumstances of their occurrence, may have modest or major effects on residents' concepts of the prison and their lives along side it. They underscore the tentative nature of any community's accommodation with a corrections facility. Negative events which are unique to corrections can tip the balance of the relationship between a prison and its community towards the negative. This is true even when such events are confined within the institution, as is the case for riots, or when outcomes are benign, as with most escapes.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT

The impacts of the Clallam Bay Corrections Center have been reduced from what they could have been by the context in which they occurred. One aspect of this context is that of unrealistic expectations. The prison came to the community as its saviour, a role magnified even more by the prison's delay in starting full operations. Under these conditions, even positive outcomes did not meet expectations and their meaning and implications were discounted. This discounting elevated the significance of negative impacts, further detracting from residents' satisfaction with prison impacts. Residents became skeptical of prison benefits and accordingly see every prospect for gain as one which should be pursued. Corrections workers and community newcomers find themselves met with hands out, not in welcome but in what is perceived as avarice.

Judgements of prison impacts on Clallam Bay could have been more favorable if actual prospects of prison returns had been more rationally calculated. Doing this would have required prison proponents to restrain their boosterism during siting and corrections officials to point out more clearly the prospects for minimum rather than maximum returns. Neither of these actions is likely during the series of exchanges which mark the siting process of a disputed facility. The very process is designed to escalate claims and counter claims about prison benefits and deficits; its managers are not some objective third party but the agency whose vested interest is best served by finding the siting to be appropriate and the community to be agreeable. Obscuring deficits and exaggerating benefits may facilitate a successful siting; it does not, however, contribute to a successful operation.

COMMUNITY CAPACITY

Community capacity is seen in the presence of local housing, businesses, and services of which the purchase, rental, or use will lead to prison benefits. Without these available in the host community, prison benefits must of necessity go elsewhere. Clallam Bay's capacity to realize prison benefits is limited. Pre-prison assessments of these factors were overly rosy, another consequence of the dispute over siting and the emphasis on high expectations.

The weaknesses of community capacity tend to perpetuate themselves. The very economic problems which led the community to seek a prison preclude it from being able to invest in community improvements necessary to benefit fully from its operation. Clallam Bay's residents and businesses have few resources to invest in new housing or business and service expansions. This situation is exacerbated by Clallam Bay's unincorporated status, its isolation, and its air of deterioration brought about by years of neglect. Outside investors look at the community and see little potential return; local residents have had their investment income siphoned off by the need to wait for prison benefits.

The unrealistic assessment of Clallam Bay's prison prospects meant that community residents had no incentive to pursue ways of rectifying the community's shortcomings or make other changes to enhance prison benefits. The planning and perhaps building which could have taken place during the extended period between siting and full operation was given over to little more than waiting. After the prison was opened and capacity deficits were recognized, the County and the area's economic development organization reacted with some modest assistance when requested; some proactive steps were taken by those concerned with negative impacts to respond to these. In most cases, both types of efforts were inadequate or ineffective.

The result for Clallam Bay has been that the community's accrual of prison benefits was doubly curtailed by its lack of readiness or ability to take advantage of them. Clallam Bay was prepared for prison benefits to come naturally and automatically once the facility opened; in reality, achieving these benefits still required the community to continue working and continue changing. Siting was defined as the end point of getting the prison, but its conclusion should have marked the beginning of a second process necessary to acquire prison benefits.

COMMUNITY/CORRECTIONS CONNECTIONS

Public relations between a corrections facility and all outsiders to the industry typically consists of controlled releases of information, favorable if possible. Local public relations efforts often include the use of a community advisory committee to serve as a formal conduit between the prison and the local residents. What we see in Clallam Bay is that these and other such efforts are all in place, generally do as they are intended, and nonetheless leave the residents feeling largely ill informed and unconsidered. What we further see is that the institution is as dependent on the community for its operational stability as the

community is dependent on the institution for its economic well being. The failure to engender a feeling of mutuality and common cause between the prison and the residents of its host community is therefore one with serious consequences for both.

The consequences of this situation are more than those created by the feelings of Clallam Bay residents that they are looked down upon and their interests neglected (although this is an issue in itself). The consequences go directly to the prison's capacity to function adequately, and shortcomings in this show up in turn in the community's receipt of prison benefits or deficits. Clallam Bay shows that prisons are far from total institutions. Problems for employees in the community - poor housing, limited recreation, few non-institutional contacts, or the long commutes which an effort to avoid these dictates - become problems for the institution in the form of employee stress, poor morale, and high turnover. These create additional strains on the community, leading to further difficulties for employees and so on.

The connections required between corrections facilities and communities are more than the sharing of land and essential utilities. Prisons operate best when their workforce is satisfied on and off the job. Rather than disdaining the community's residents, the institution should be courting them. On those occasions when CBCC has reached out to the community, they have found an eager reception. Residents want to be included in the scope of the prison's interests, and when they are, are better able to come to terms and cope with any negatives it may bring. It is on those issues such as child care, where they have had verbal support and backing from the prison, that Clallam Bay residents have been most successful in making community improvements. If CBCC as both an institution and through its staff had been more directly active in these efforts, it is likely that a resolution of child care difficulties could have been achieved much sooner. Unfortunately, it is not the practice of public industries to invest financially in such endeavors. This makes it even more critical that the relationship between employees and community residents be developed and nurtured.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR PRISON SITING

Past experiences with siting opposition and the present impetus for new prison construction have sometimes combined to push aside many of the guidelines for prison location suggested by Nagel (1973) and others and adopted by the American Corrections Association. Resident support has been left as the premier selection factor, with other issues either set aside or left to residents themselves to provide. In many states, it is small, rural communities which are seeking out and being selected as sites for prisons housing as many as two thousand inmates. These are the communities that want and need prison benefits: unfortunately, these also are the communities where prison deficits will most likely occur as well.

By far the most significant of the factors which influence prison impact is that of relative community and institutional size.

In small communities with large prisons, or in cities where prison size is proportionately large, both positive and negative prison impacts are heightened. Under such conditions, the specifics of any or all of the other factors take on greater importance. Where the prison is proportionately large for community size, impacts may still be largely positive if employees are primarily local residents, and sentence and inmate characteristics, and/or institutional policy, discourage family relocation. Communities with expanded capacity to derive benefits from new residents and to serve any additional needs also can have largely favorable effects from a prison, regardless of proportionate size.

Community acceptance of the prison during siting is important, but its presence does not necessarily protect against subsequent negative judgments of prison effects. If community capacity is insufficient to allow anticipated or significant benefits from prison location, if the location of the town or the conditions of incarceration are such that they increase negative effects, or if, through bad luck, policies, or management, prison disruption and prisoners themselves spill out to adversely affect the community, initial favorable attitudes may be eroded. Community support for having a prison is no indicator that residents have not considered potential deficits from the industry; they have, and will recognize these and respond negatively if they occur.

None of this means that those small or rural communities who want prisons should therefore not be considered for prison siting. Prisons may well be the best and in some cases the only prospect for community survival. It does mean that the selection of small communities as prison locales should include more careful assessment of the factors noted above, and alterations in these where indicated. Prisons with inmate populations equal to or exceeding those of their host communities generate the most unstable mix of positive and negative impacts. This needs to be taken into account both before and after site selection.

Prison siting is a situation in which both the concerns of opponents and the hopes of proponents are realistic assessments of potential and likely prison effects. The prior research on prison impacts and the results of this study substantiate the validity of either viewpoint. More importantly, however, they suggest the factors which affect the greater realization of either hopes or fears. In some cases, these factors can be altered by community changes prior to prison opening. For example, construction of additional or more appropriate housing for employees, selective hiring practices, restrictive institutional practices, or needed improvements in community services could do a great deal to increase the likelihood of favorable impacts in some locales.

The message for communities considering prisons and for corrections officials considering communities is to take such steps as are feasible to swing the balance of the effects of having a prison toward the positive. Some negative effects may be inevitable consequences of the industry. So are some positives. Neither their uniform occurrence or their significance is predetermined, however. Increasing the positives that can be

associated with a prison decreases the evaluative importance of any negatives that also occur. Similarly, taking action to eliminate or control negative impacts allows the institutions' benefits to be judged as primary.

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM CLALLAM BAY

There are a number of things we can learn from the experiences of Clallam Bay to apply to the more general question of what is likely to happen when a prison first locates in a small town. Among these is the very positive message that, on the whole, prisons do tend to benefit such host communities rather more than they harm them. The proponents and supporters of prisons are unlikely to be in error about the types of contributions this industry can make to the development and economy of a small town; they are more likely to have overestimated the extent of these contributions and to thus be disappointed in their totals. Still, even with disappointment, it is probable that the prison will mean a notable improvement in the local and regional employment prospects and through this, an improvement in the lives of many residents.

There is good news from Clallam Bay for prison opponents as well. The deficits of having a prison are likely to be modest in most cases, seldom exceeding a community's resources to cope and respond. While their association with the prison makes all these disadvantages notable, they are as much products of other population characteristics as of the prison itself: age, background, socioeconomic status, and stress and other consequences of rapid change are all playing a part in their occurrence. Many prison deficits are transitory; some, such as escapes, are likely to recur; others will be resolved as the community and its residents adjust to the new industry. For most residents, the good that comes from a prison will outweigh the bad, and the compromises that its presence may entail in their lifestyle will not destroy that lifestyle. Regrettably, this will not be true for everyone.

The following recommendations are made with the preceding major conclusions in mind. Recommendations necessarily deal with problems and how to resolve them, and thus give a rather negative view of events and their outcomes. One should remember that, on the whole, Clallam Bay seems to have gained considerably more than it lost from becoming host community for a prison. A main point of this report and of the recommendations is that even these gains were less than they could have been, and these losses therefore greater. Prison impacts have been positive for Clallam Bay; they could have been very positive, and the fact that they were not constitutes another deficit.

These recommendations are not written for Clallam Bay but for other communities like Clallam Bay which may be just getting a prison. In some cases, Clallam Bay could still benefit from their implementation. The recommendations are not particularly ambitious and should be able to be accomplished with minimal additional

investments of resources or personnel. Some may require statutory change to be implemented. All are directed towards the Departments of Corrections responsible for siting and operating prisons.

Corrections already has an awesome and difficult responsibility in managing what are usually ever expanding prison systems. One should not wilfully add to this. Nonetheless, this responsibility presumes another, and that is the management of prison impacts. This does not mean that Corrections should act as some sort of guarantor for favorable impacts or relief agent in the case of negatives. Responsibility for management of impacts implies no more, and no less, than the application of reasonable effort to shape their outcomes. Some assumption of this additional role for Corrections is already implied by its investments in the siting process, the establishment of on-going and one-time prison impact relief funds in some states, and the usual formation of community advisory committees.

Since impacts are both positive and negative, and since many benefits accrue to the local area because of a prison's siting, some sharing of this responsibility with local authorities is appropriate. Corrections, however, should take the lead role in facilitating positive impacts for prison host communities and taking steps to reduce or ameliorate negative ones. Recommended actions are given here as suggestions to consider for improving prison impacts. Hopefully, the contents of this report will have lead the reader to consider numerous other potentials for improvement as well. So much of what happened with prison impacts in Clallam Bay seems a matter of neglect or ignorance. With little effort, with few adjustments, things could have been very different.

1. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT DEPARTMENTS OF CORRECTIONS ENSURE THAT THERE IS FOLLOW-THROUGH AND CONTINUITY IN REGARD TO POTENTIAL IMPACTS ON THE HOST COMMUNITY BETWEEN THE SITING OF A PRISON AND ITS OPERATION. TO FACILITATE THIS, IT IS FURTHER RECOMMENDED THAT A WRITTEN AGREEMENT OF EXPECTATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES BE DRAWN UP BETWEEN COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES AND CORRECTIONS AUTHORITIES FOLLOWING SITE SELECTION.

There needs to be some formalized procedure for community residents and corrections officials to come to consensus on what can be expected from each when the prison comes to town. Obviously, the environmental impact statement does not do this, but it is a start. After siting, drawing on the materials incorporated within the environmental impact statement, another document should be developed between the community and the Department of Corrections. Where the community is unincorporated, county authorities could serve as its representative; ideally, their decisions would be ratified by a vote of community residents or residents could be elected to represent the community.

This document could constitute an agreement of understanding about what assurances were made during siting, how these would be carried out, and what conditions would apply to them. This should

not be binding in practice but in principle: where something must be made different or not done, an explanation and some additional assurances should be forthcoming. Perhaps by being required to put their expectations in writing, residents would be more realistic; for corrections, perhaps they would be more inclined to consider community expectations if they had them in hand; for both, the need to review and agree on the particulars of anticipated impacts and reasonable responses to these might help establish what needs to be a relationship of continued communication and informational exchange.

2. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT DEPARTMENTS OF CORRECTIONS AND COUNTY AND OTHER GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATIVES ASSIST HOST COMMUNITIES TO DEVELOP THEIR CAPACITY TO RECEIVE PRISON BENEFITS. THIS ASSISTANCE COULD INCLUDE TECHNICAL AID, LOW COST LOANS, GRANTS, OR INVOLVEMENT IN JOINT PROJECTS.

The prospective prison host community usually receives a great deal of assistance during siting, up to and including that offered by the professionals hired by the Department of Corrections to assess the environmental impacts should a prison be built. It is after the siting process is concluded that the community often needs additional assistance to follow-through on these findings. Ideally, assistance will be available before the prison begins operations.

This assistance may involve no more than help in planning and organizing existing community resources or advice in how to identify and access appropriate external resources. Some form of program to offer low interest government loans to encourage needed development may be necessary to finance capacity building in communities with limited investment appeal. Partnership projects in which the department of Corrections and local government, agencies, or organizations combined resources would be excellent ways to expand community capacity and also foster good relationships. Where these might be prohibited by statute, statutory changes should be sought.

3. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT DEPARTMENTS OF CORRECTIONS SUPPORT ACTIVITIES DESIGNED TO INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY AND ITS RESIDENTS QUALIFYING FOR PRISON EMPLOYMENT OR RECEIVING OTHER PRISON BENEFITS.

With jobs for local residents one of the primary selling points for prison location, it is important that any barriers to employment be reduced. In most cases, actual preferential hiring of local residents over more qualified non-residents is neither possible or desirable: it is both, however, to improve their competitive prospects.

After some initial problems, CBCC has put in place a number of steps to enhance the potential for corrections employment of local applicants. The most innovative of these involves a joint venture with the Department of Employment to qualify displaced timber

workers for corrections officer jobs. The program includes course work and an on-the-job internship. It is conceivable that a similar program could also work effectively to better prepare local residents for other prison positions. A partnership with the area community college, for example, might be helpful to train clerical workers to meet the rather specific requirements for state employment. Other steps, including workshops for personnel department staff on sensitivity to rural/urban differences, could also be helpful.

Area businesses and suppliers also may need some assistance to attain contracts for prison purchases. Again, there is no suggestion here that procedures favoring low cost should be waived to benefit the local community. Workshops and informational materials available through the institution aimed at area businesses and suppliers could increase local competitiveness. Criteria for awarding contracts also might benefit from a review to see if factors in which local merchants often have an advantage (e.g. timeliness, accessibility, flexibility) are unfairly excluded from consideration. Finally, area businesses might be able to better meet, and benefit from, employee purchases of supplies or equipment if they were advised in advance of their features.

4. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT DEPARTMENTS OF CORRECTIONS REFLECT THE HIGH PRIORITY OF PRISON/COMMUNITY RELATIONS BY DEDICATING PERSONNEL TO THEIR IMPROVEMENT AND MAINTENANCE. IT IS FURTHER RECOMMENDED THAT THIS COULD BE BEST ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH CREATION OF AN OMBUDSMAN-STYLE POSITION FOR THE INITIAL PERIOD OF PRISON OPERATIONS AND DURING ANY MAJOR OPERATIONAL CHANGES.

This recommendation recognizes the importance of the host community to prison operations. In many ways, this is not news to corrections, and most prisons have one or more positions whose responsibilities include public relations and contacts with community groups. What is not present in most of these current arrangements is any very effective way of dealing with situations in which the interests of community residents and those of the institution are potentially incompatible and require compromise. What the community needs is someone part of corrections whose role is to represent its needs in such situations so that they will be taken into account and conflict resolved.

The ombudsman presents a model for such a mediator but it need not be strictly followed. The primary need is for some consistent community voice and consideration during decisions affecting the community's well being. Community advisory committees, although they serve a worthwhile purpose in general prison-community relations, do not have sufficient institutional standing to do this. The community needs an advocate, and, since the community itself may well be comprised of residents with divergent views, this advocacy is best carried out by some third party.

EPILOGUE

In any research project, there is always a point at which one must declare the conclusion of data collection and thus an effective end to the inclusion of further information. For this document, that point was reached from mid-1988 through about the middle of 1989, depending on the type of information and the source. Such an extended period of closure was necessary in order to incorporate the many different data sources on which this report is based. After these times, whatever happened in Clallam Bay was not considered for analysis. Normally, this cessation of research activity is rather easily accomplished when the study is of a time-limited event or when the researcher leaves the field and can no longer receive information. Neither is the case for this project.

The prison continues to affect Clallam Bay, the community changes in response, and as CBCC itself changes, so do the effects on the community. My residence in Clallam County puts me in position to become aware of major events affecting Clallam Bay and the prison through reports in the newspaper; scarcely a month goes by that I do not hear of these and more personal items from encounters with Clallam Bay residents doing business in Port Angeles, contacts with employees living here, or reports from others who have such contacts. This is a small area and, even as in Clallam Bay itself, news travels.

It has as a result been rather difficult to write sections of this report without incorporating awareness of subsequent occurrences which added to or altered them. I have tried to keep my research period separated from that devoted to analysis and writing, but I cannot resist giving an update through this epilogue. Recent changes in CBCC, Clallam Bay, and in the area's economy may have considerable effect on prison impacts, their positive or negative directions, and their evaluation by residents. The findings and conclusions which have preceded this are not superseded by these events but it is likely that they will be altered. We learn again that assessing prison impacts is an on going and never ending process, always subject to reconsideration as conditions contributing to impacts change.

PERSISTENT PROBLEMS AND THEIR RESOLUTION

The Clallam Bay community still suffers from an absence of housing and lack of development of other amenities which might better satisfy its current and potential new residents. Every plan put forth to date for constructing more low to moderate income rental housing has not been realized. There are prospects for construction of several more expensive rental units, but these will do little to rectify the community's main housing needs. The business community in Clallam Bay is slowly improving its offerings and some additional businesses are planned for construction. There has been some expansion of recreational or free-time alternatives through college courses offered at the prison and open to other residents.

CBCC employees have recently had yet another reason for wanting to live in Clallam Bay. A slide along the main highway to Clallam Bay closed the road for more than six months in 1990, causing employees living in Port Angeles to add nearly another hour to their commute using the alternate route. The highway had been opened scarcely two months when another slide again necessitated its closure. Winter weather will delay repairs until the summer of 1991 at the earliest.

There has been more progress in the area of services. A child care center, administered through the school district and constructed and equipped with one-time prison impact funds, opened in the fall of 1990. The medical clinic finally found a physician willing to practice in Clallam Bay although he does not live there.

Turnover among prison employees has remained higher than that at other state institutions but is reduced from the 40% levels present during 1988. This relative stability among employees has allowed for more stability in residency and led to greater investment in the community among those living in Clallam Bay. Some are beginning to make the community their home, and as such, to care about its problems and make these their own.

EXPANSION

During the siting of what would become the Clallam Bay Corrections Center, residents of the community questioned whether accepting a 500 bed prison would subsequently mean that they would be hosting a much larger facility. The pattern in other Washington prison sites when more inmate capacity was needed had been that existing prisons tended to become larger and new prisons were built in the same locale as previous ones. Residents also worried that once the prison was in place, its custody status would be changed so that more serious offenders would be housed there. For both, residents received assurances that such events were unlikely, certainly not intended, and if they were to be proposed, would be brought again before the community for consideration.

When CBCC was built, both residents and corrections personnel were struck by its security features. Although supposedly designed to house medium security inmates, its features were already entirely suitable to contain closer custody prisoners. The prison was not even open before rumors began that CBCC's inmates were actually maximum security or that a shift to maximum security was imminent. There also were early rumors that the institution's capacity would be expanded. CBCC's administrators publicly acknowledged the institution's appropriateness for close custody housing, and the first superintendent encouraged thoughts of expansion. All residents were not adverse to the prospects of a larger CBCC: prison proponents, disappointed by the extent of their returns from the existing facility, were hopeful that a bigger facility would better fulfill their expectations. Throughout the project, residents repeatedly reported "on good authority" plans for the prison to increase its inmate population.

By 1990, rumors of both sorts came closer to reality. Washington's inmate population has been growing more slowly than

that of most other states for reasons related to sentencing changes and their implementation. This is no longer the case. In a few years, the corrections system will be excessively over-crowded and the state is beginning a period of new construction and existing facility expansion. CBCC will add new living units to increase its capacity to 900 inmates: pending their construction in 1991, the institution has already begun double-bunking and is projected to reach that population while still using the existing facility. A majority of CBCC inmates will be classified as close custody.

The residents of Clallam Bay heard about the expansion and custody change intentions through both official and unofficial sources. A series of public hearings was promised to consider the environmental impacts of the additions. An impact assessment firm was hired by the Department of Corrections and held what was labeled as a "scoping" meeting in Clallam Bay in the early spring of 1990, an apparent preliminary to the public hearings process. Close to 100 people attended the meeting, including representatives from the Department of Corrections and CBCC's administration. The meeting was dominated by Clallam Bay residents expressing their anger about various prison impacts, including lack of local jobs and law enforcement assistance, and their concerns about increased social services needs caused by the prison.

Departmental representatives were pointedly asked if the attitudes of community residents towards the expansion would have any effect on whether or not it occurred. "What happens if we don't want this?" one resident asked. The response was that the legislature had appropriated money to pay for the expansion; the message was that the views of residents were not a factor in its outcome. The meeting ended with a promise of further opportunities for input. There have been no other public meetings (they are not required by law), and preparation for the expansion is well along. The county also is preparing another request for one-time impact funds.

The residents of Clallam Bay learn once again that their concerns and consideration of these are not of much interest to the Department of Corrections. It is a too familiar story of promises unkept. There are some reasons to skip the public hearings: it is likely that resolution of most of the complaints of Clallam Bay residents is improbable, and that many of their public statements would be restatements of existing concerns and prior resentments. At the same time, it is possible that some residents' concerns could be resolved, and further, that opportunities to air and listen to grievances about the prison may contribute as well to some unanticipated chances for resolution of even old issues. Without hearings, these will not occur. Without hearings, the gap between the community and the institution grows wider. Talk <u>is</u> cheap, especially when the expansion decision has already been made, but talk also is communications, and in Clallam Bay, this is sorely needed.

The larger size of the expanded institution and the lengthier sentences of its inmates present some questions of their own. Without improvements in its own capacity, Clallam Bay will be able

to attain few benefits from the increased staff. The institution itself will become even more dominant in proportion to the community, but with few prospects for any more new residents, Clallam Bay's involvement in this dominance will be even more peripheral than it is currently. It is possible that a higher percentage of inmate family members will move closer to the institution, but these persons too will find little room in Clallam Bay and must live elsewhere in the county. There is some indication that Forks has already received a substantial number of inmate families; Forks also is likely to be the Clallam County community in the best position to have residents seeking jobs and be the residence choice of new employees.

The approximately 100 additional CBCC jobs brought by the expansion are particularly significant for the county's west end workforce. This is an area still largely dependent on timber and timber related jobs, and it has already been adversely affected by environmental protections and restrictions associated with the spotted owl. Predictions for the area's economic future have been grim, and the prison has been the one bright light in an otherwise gloomy picture.

Prison jobs for displaced timber workers provided the primary incentive for efforts by the city of Forks and the county commissioners to have another medium security prison sited in the area, this one in Forks itself. Economic benefits from CBCC figured significantly in decisions to seek a new prison. The Department of Corrections, which in 1990 solicited bids for the sites of its new prisons from interested communities, eliminated Forks as a potential locale early in its selection process. For those Forks residents who had concerns about adverse prison impacts such as crime and community change, this was welcome news. Many others, facing an uncertain economic future with no viable employment alternatives thus far identified, saw the loss of a possible prison as another negative. The county commissioners recently petitioned the state to reconsider Forks as a prison site.

A year previously, a prison also was considered for Clallam Bay's other neighbor, Neah Bay. This facility was to have been a minimum security work camp, making use of the recently vacated buildings left in Neah Bay by its former Air Force base. In this case, officials from the Department of Corrections approached the Makah Tribal Council to use the Air Force site as an institution. Although the tribe had not at that time located another tenant for the base despite extensive efforts, and although unemployment on the reservation is high, there was a very mixed response to the offer of an institution. The matter was put to a vote by tribal members and soundly rejected. The experiences of Clallam Bay with CBCC were given as a prominent reason for this, with many Neah Bay residents apparently particularly reluctant to risk the kinds of lifestyle changes they saw in that community.

Prison impacts in Clallam Bay have been used to inform decisions about prison siting in other communities as well. I receive phone calls from residents of other potential prison host communities from around the country requesting information on the

prospects for their community. The Clallam County commissioners and the Washington State Department of Corrections also have distributed information developed from this project. As in the cases of Forks and Neah Bay, information from Clallam Bay is used by prison proponents and opponents alike to either promote or block prison siting. For Clallam Bay itself, the decision about getting a prison is past; the final impacts of that facility on the community remain very much an open question. For the sake of Clallam Bay's residents and for that of Clallam Bay Corrections Center, I hope the balance continues to be made on the positive side.

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