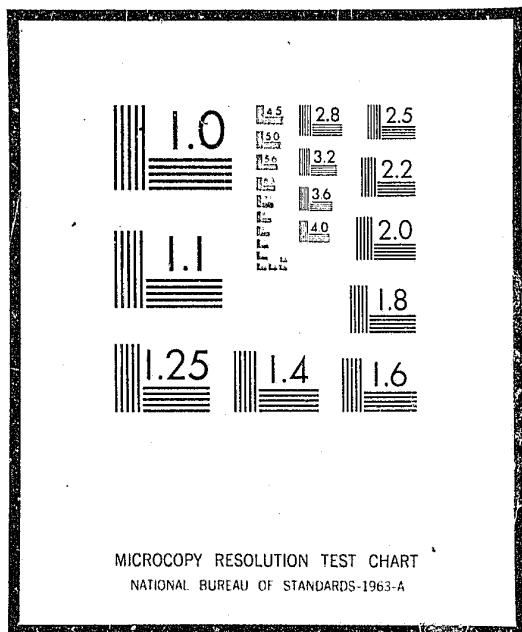


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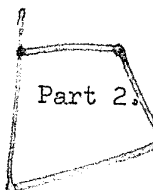
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FINAL REPORT

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FINAL REPORT



Part 2. RESEARCH PRIORITIES IN CORRECTIONAL ARCHITECTURE
Proposals for the Physical and Social Organization of Prisons

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31712
READING ROOM

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This section of the report presents 27 proposals for design changes within the present penal system of the United States. It is our belief that these proposals are among the most important ones that could be researched by the Justice Department. In each case, the form of the research would be as follows: the specific proposal would be instituted in some facility or community and the effects of such a change would be measured against a control facility. Thus in our format we couple social and physical design recommendations with research priorities. We take this course, because research proposed and carried out in isolation from design nearly always turns out to be useless.

After years of working in this discipline it has become clear to us that the most valuable research arises directly out of our intuitions for changing and humanizing the environmental situation, i.e. our design instincts. Research that is carried out in isolation from these instincts, as if it were something that ought to come prior to design decisions always ends up collecting dust; it rarely helps to create a sound empirical basis for changing the environment.

Take, for example, our recommendation for a hierarchy of social space. One might argue that it is already a design, that the research is not yet "in" on the subject. Would it not be better, this argument might go, to do research around the issue of social space in prisons, without preconceptions about the design--is it not more scientific to let the proposals grow out of the research findings?

Let us follow through this line of argument. Suppose we recommend research on the social uses of space in prisons. We suggest investigations be set up to find out the places where social life transpires, and what it is like; we interview inmates to find out which places they

use, which places they like and dislike, what changes they would like to make along these lines. Now, suppose we have done a thorough research on the issue, and we have all the data before us, from several institutions. What have we learned?

We might have learned that a certain kind of interaction occurs in the yard; that prisoners most enjoy the sociable hours at the dining hall; that some prisoners have good relations to guards, and enjoy talking with them, and that others don't. We might even have learned that a large number of prisoners would like access to a reading lounge. These are possible "findings." Let us take them as such, for the sake of example.

According to the argument, now is the time to derive the design implications. What does the data tell us about changing the situation? What can we tell a designer who is about to make designs for a new facility? We can tell him, "The yard is important for casual interaction, so be sure to make a pleasant yard, with places to sit and talk around it. Also the dining hall is very important in this respect--so try to make it conducive to social life. A reading lounge would improve things, as well; many inmates expressed a need for such a place."

Let us imagine how the designer might respond. "Thank you. What you say is very fascinating. But I'm not sure the implications are correct. Certainly I want the facility I am designing to be better than the existing facilities which you have studied. But I have been thinking about this problem of social life, and I think I have

come up with something: since some privacy as well as some small group relations are so crucial, I want to design private quarters for each person, and group these private places in threes and fours around a little common space--a place where small groups can gather and read and play cards, even eat together if they wish. That seems to me to be the direct way of handling this need. And if I create such a design, I wonder if people will then use the yards in the same way as you describe. Won't the prisoners do their serious reading in their private quarters, and use the small common spaces for reading the paper and magazines? And what you say about the dining hall. . . true, it is an important social moment--but again, may not my scheme, coupled with small kitchens per 12 men, do the job far better?

In general, I am worried that what you are telling me is not directly useful. Certainly it points up the need. But the implications you draw suffer from 'tunnel vision.' Really, they are not the sound empirical findings I need. What I would like to know, is this: Has the scheme I offer (which, I must say, makes far more intuitive sense to me than your recommendations), been tried before? How does it work? If I present it as an alternative, will people prefer it? Perhaps the small groupings are too small. Might 6-8 per lounge be a better figure, for any reason? What do you have to say. . .?"

We repeat: Research that is carried out in isolation from design instincts, as if it were something that, for scientific reasons, ought to come prior to design, usually ends up collecting dust. Such research is of no help in creating a sound empirical basis for changing the environment.

It is for this reason that we have coupled our best ideas, for the social and physical morphology of prisons, with our recommendations for research. They are indivisible. The research comes into play automatically, in the train of the design instinct. Separate them, and each is diminished.

The one danger of such an approach, is the danger of overwhelming preconceptions. Bad designers and scientists can sometimes get stuck with a formulation, and "bend" the findings to corroborate it. This is a danger in every creative enterprise, and it must be dealt with directly, by making every formulation so clear, that empirical work can falsify it. If a design idea is not falsifiable, it is not clearly stated, and it cannot be researched. We have tried to make each of our recommendations falsifiable, and we have suggested for some of them the research required to either corroborate or prove it false.

To summarize: Design instincts give rise to ideas for changing the social and physical organization of the environment. When such an idea is formulated very clearly, it can be proven or disproven empirically. Separate design from research and both suffer. The research-design unity we describe is the only possible basis for gradually making the environment more human.

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1. SMALL PRISONS

Size alone creates a vicious circle of security and threat, and the outcome is more crime.

When inmates are detained by the thousands, in huge prisons, far away from their communities, they are more dangerous, both individually and as a mob; and so the security is more severe and impersonal, and then the prisoners do become bitter and dangerous. It is a vicious circle and, of course, the fact that such a situation actually breeds a criminal population is well-known.

Another problem inherent in the size of the institution is bureaucracy. When the number of inmates gets very high, the red tape and administration associated with the prison programs becomes unwieldy, impersonal and impervious to change. Apparently, the size beyond which bureaucracy sets in, is quite low. McGee, in his study, The Non-Prison, sets the number detained at any one facility at around 50. Many more, he claims, runs counter to the spirit of a constructive, rehabilitative community. Others have set the figure slightly higher, but there seems to be agreement in the order of magnitude; much beyond 100, and the impersonal, red-tape atmosphere sets in.

Recommendation:

On an experimental basis, create some new prisons which are very small. Never let the number detained in any one facility grow greater than 75-100. This will require the sharing of certain facilities in the community - rather than special provision for the institution (e.g. handball courts, library, classroom).

Researching these small prisons is of the highest priority. Two kinds of research are relevant. First, and most important, ascertain the rehabilitation potential of a small prison. The straightforward measure is recidivism. Compare recidivism records for the small prison with those from the larger, facilities. Ramsey Clark cites an experiment along these lines that has already been done. Recidivism was lowest for a small community prison, as compared with a rural work farm and a large penitentiary. What is not clear in this experiment is how much of the effect was due to the size factor alone. But if further experiments show that size is an important factor in rehabilitation then the idea of many small prisons must be brought directly before the public.

2. FEW DETAINED, MOST PAROLED

Only a small percent of felons require detention, and its blanket use prevents rapid rehabilitation and breeds crime.

Excessive detention of a man past the point at which parole or semi-parole is reasonable actually generates criminality. The idea that a prison is a place of penance is a social myth - it has no basis in fact. (This is substantiated in many sources, for example; Karl Menninger, The Crime of Punishment, N.Y. Viking Press, 1968.)

Likewise, the existing programs of mass detention, with little discrimination between types of offenders, have a confusing effect on the public at large. On the one hand it lets them polarize easily and unrealistically between "good citizens" and "people behind bars." On the other hand, they notice that the crime rates go up, that the expense of crime to the taxpayer is increasing, and they become fearful. They conclude that more detention is required. Unfortunately, it is not clear at all to them that detention breeds crime and that out of self-interest alone they ought to support programs where most of the offenders are paroled.

What the public does not understand is that only a small percentage of the convicted are actually dangerous for the public safety. The estimates of the percentage who do require detention range from 5 to 15%. Furthermore, it is clear that rehabilitation has the best chances of success under conditions of minimum detention and coordinated halfway house programs.

For rehabilitation to become a reality, those who are detained must be in contact with a larger body of men who are on parole or semi-parole. This will give the detained prisoners the sense that rehabilitation has some real chance for concrete rewards. On the other hand, this contact will be a reminder to the parolees of the consequences of parole violations.

Recommendation:

Use each prison primarily as a halfway house. Give the parole program several phases, from daily work at the facility, to only occasional contact with it. Let these "out-prisoners" outnumber the inmates in a single facility by about 4 or 5 to 1.

Make a concerted study of community attitudes toward such a recommendation. Try to break down stereotypes and mis-information with a series of presentations, through the media, of the actual case: Make the community confront the fact that wholesale detention, practically speaking, is not in their best interests - it leads to more crime and it increases their tax burden.

3. LECTURE ON THE COMMON LAW

Not enough attention has been paid to the effectiveness of moral suasion, reason, and confrontation with community views toward crime, preventing second offenses.

Often in the case of minor first offenses, the judge chooses not to jail the offender but rather to offer a lecture and warning in the hope that this will prevent a second offense via guilt, fear and perhaps the awakening of social responsibility. But these admonitions come from a judge, not from the community which confers status and recognition to the man. We can imagine a logical extension of the idea of a warning lecture, to include the notion that the community itself should be the agent to confront the first offender with the problem raised by his offense. We can imagine that this approach would be effective with a certain class of offenders, such as theft, vandalism, illegal business practices, assault and battery, and perhaps even the sale and use of narcotics.

Following conviction, the judge could sentence the man to a stern lecture on the Common Law before the community. This would consist of several hours of seminar on Law and Society by the local Law School Professor and in the presence of about a dozen "Significant Others" from the convict's community. These could include, for example, his parents, old teachers, friends, the person robbed or beaten, the oldest person in the community, and youngsters old enough to understand the discussion.

Several functions would be served by such a procedure. In the case of the offender, he would have the opportunity to hear the rationalization behind the law. Even if this had no effect on him, he would have the opportunity to hear what his community had to say about his offense. Shame would no doubt play a large role in a proceeding such as this, but more important would be the realization that the community no longer offers status and recognition for such illegal acts. In terms of the community, the lecture would not only be educational, but would alert them to the fact that they have a potential problem on their hands in the personage of this first offender, and that some attention being paid to the problem now, might save the community considerable difficulty later on.

Recommendation:

As a social experiment, institute a program of lectures on the Common Law in the presence of significant members of the community as an alternative to jail.

We could see a small, long-term comparative study of the subsequent histories of first offenders in a single community-jailed offenders vs. lectured-to offenders. This could most easily be accomplished by choosing a single community wherein the cooperation of the judge and local leaders and professors could be marshalled.

4. COMMUNITY PRISON AMONG LOCAL FACILITIES

Remote location of prisons severs the links between a man and his family, friends, and community, rendering rehabilitation more difficult. For the vast majority of convicted, the only way to be helpful (to them and to society) is to deal directly with the problem of them-in-their-community. The problem is really twofold: How does the man have to change, and how does the community have to change?

For rehabilitation to become real, the prison itself must be located in the milieu in which the offender is expected to adjust in a socially acceptable form. One of the greatest problems with the present prison system is that those men who are finally released are ill-prepared to re-enter into normal community activities due to their long absence from "the scene of the crime." The experiments in California (recently discussed by Ramsey Clark in his new book Crime in America) yield overwhelming evidence for community prisons. Three types were studied - community prisons, rural prisons, and penitentiaries. Recidivism was drastically affected only by the community facilities.

In the last analysis, the community itself must begin to take more responsibility for its own local crime problem. This means community-staffed prisons and community cooperation with the men halfway between the prison and total freedom. This kind of community responsibility is only possible when the prisons are very near the community they serve. A community prison can build directly on the real possibilities in the area - there is no need to fabricate new programs when they already exist. For example, family therapy, local jobs, classes at local schools, libraries, and commerce in the local marketplace. Of course, if it turns out that in a particular case that getting away would be helpful to the inmate, then a transfer to a more remote facility could be arranged.

A final reason for community prisons; in huge institutions people from various subcultures are thrown together. Clique and racial antagonism are inevitable. The subcultures are at each other's throats and it is easy for the guards to use this situation to manipulate prisoners (Jackson, George, Soledad Brother).

Recommendation:

Locate prisons in communities, among community facilities such as markets, schools, offices, shops, and libraries. Make it possible for inmates to use and work in these facilities on a more or less normal basis.

Document the desocialization and disculturation that occurs when inmates spend long periods of time removed from the community. This physical separation from the larger society coupled with the unique

conditions in the prison often produces a "tunnel vision", an intense concern with immediate conditions of food, housing, visiting privileges, etc. and a concomitant loss of interest in the outside community. Using anthropological field methods, it would be possible to compare the concerns and conversational issues among community based prisoners and those in remote institutions. Continue to monitor a comparison between community-based and remote institutions in terms of community attitudes and willingness to participate in rehabilitation and parole duties, family stability, and recidivism rate. A controlled experiment could be set up by sending convicted felons from a single district with good rehabilitation potential either to conventional institutions, halfway houses, or day-night facilities. Some good studies along these lines already exist, but there is always need for more of them.

Note.

This recommendation could be implemented by developing procedures for adult offenders similar to those used by the California Youth Authority whereby the county receives a certain amount of money for each juvenile who is convicted of a felony who is not sent to a state institution. The county can use this money for camps, hostels, or other community facilities. This would involve pilot programs in which the prison equivalent funds could be used for vocational training in the community, as supplemental living expenses where an urgent need exists, living expenses at a halfway house or hostel, as well as parole supervision. In the long run it may be far cheaper for the state to give the felon with a good rehabilitation potential a fraction of the amount it would cost to keep him in a state institution in order to rehabilitate himself in the community.

5. URBAN RESOURCE CENTER: VANGUARD FOR COMMUNITY PRISON

Conservation camps are effective for many inmates, but the communities from which they come don't benefit from these man-hours of labor. At Camp Sierra in California selected inmates are given several months of forestry training and then sent out to minimum security camps under the joint supervision of the Departments of Forestry and Corrections. The camps provide a valuable service to the state in maintaining forested areas and recreational grounds, and particularly during critical fire periods.

One can imagine urban counterparts to the conservation camp. Rather than constructing campgrounds and forest trails, their efforts would be directed toward constructive work in the mens' communities - rehabilitating old buildings for community services, making parks, and perhaps helping to create the first phase of the small, community prisons with the attendant services woven through the community (see Proposals 1, 3, and 5). Some prisoners might find this far more satisfying than cleaning up campgrounds in remote areas since the results would be part of their normal community life.

As the program developed, these urban resource centers might include, as well as renewing the community physically, working with human problems directly. For example, there are many young children in the streets who could benefit from a relationship with adult males. It is all too tragic that a disproportionate number of minority group males are in prison while children in their districts grow up fatherless and increasingly resistant to adult authority.

The success of such a vanguard effort in the urban core would demonstrate to the community that not only is it possible for inmates to "do their time" in the community safely, but that the community can really benefit materially from such integration and cooperation. The success would make the concept of a community prison acceptable to the community and would encourage them to help in its realization.

Recommendation:

Announce a program of grant awards to state departments of corrections to establish urban resource centers in the core areas of large cities. These centers would be small in size, perhaps no more than 50 inmates in any single one. All inmates would be convicted felons who had served time in other institutions and had been carefully selected on the basis of willingness to obey minimum custody restrictions. There would be a one or two-month training period to deal with such items as simple construction techniques, plumbing and repairing faulty wiring, and painting. The program should be seen as a step toward decentralizing the huge, existing penitentiaries into small community facilities.

6. BOUNDARY LOCATION

Where there are definable communities, and some rivalry between them, a small prison facility located and identified with one community will be unacceptable to the others.

When people from the rival community are referred to the facility, there may be conflicts of territory. The people from the outside group will never feel right there; their friends and family will be less likely to visit.

A very similar problem developed in the location of Community Mental Health Centers. People from outside the community with which the center was identified felt uncomfortable using it - even though it was not far away (see "Boundary Location: Community Mental Health Centers" Clyde Dorsett and Freidner Wittmen, Center for Environmental Structure, January 1970).

Even where there are no strong rivalries between communities, people will inevitably resist the location of a prison right in the residential heart of their neighborhoods. The question is, how can the facility be part of the community, and yet not play upon existing rivalries and concerns for the integrity of the neighborhood?

Recommendation:

In locating a small community prison, first establish the boundaries of the existing residential communities, and find out which ones are antagonistic toward each other. Locate the facility in the boundary between such communities; never in the residential heart of any one community.

Boundaries are usually made up of a combination of fast streets, commercial facilities, parks and open space.

7. WORK WITH WHAT'S THERE

Often a new institution comes into a neighborhood, tears down some old, loved places, and replaces them with a sterile building, of dubious value to the residents.

The residents of the neighborhood were never asked; no serious attempt to involve them in the decisions of where to locate and what to build, was ever made. This kind of process breeds contempt for the institution among local people; and sometimes it leads to organized protest.

There is a way to locate an institution in a neighborhood that does not have these consequences. That is, start very small, perhaps using existing facilities, involve local people, and build up gradually, as part of the fabric of the neighborhood.

This approach has a number of advantages. It gives the institution a chance to experiment with programs more flexibly, since a great deal of money isn't invested in a facility from the outset. It gives local people who are interested a chance to come forward and become part of the institution. It does not scar the historical continuity of the neighborhood; most important, in the case of prisons, it gives the people involved with the facility, the staff and inmates, the opportunity to work at defining and building the institution gradually.

Recommendation:

Start small, making use of existing facilities in the area. Begin with a small staff, few inmates; establish lines of communication with the neighborhood. Make interested people a part of the decision-making. Develop the facility gradually, again with the people there making the decisions, perhaps with guidelines from the Federal Government, by repair of existing structures, incremental construction of essential new facilities.

8. PRISON CREATES A COMMUNITY SERVICE

The physical isolation of a prison can lead to difficulties in its relationship with the community, and make the process of reintegration, for a released prisoner, quite painful.

The fact that a prison is located in a community does not guarantee good integration. In the community around the prison false stereotypes may develop about the nature of the inmates, the kinds of programs the prison runs, and even the character and duties of the staff. Such a situation can retard effective work furloughs, halfway houses, and conjugal visiting programs. Neighbors may complain about the location of halfway houses, employers will be reluctant to hire ex-convicts.

At Larned State Hospital in Kansas, where criminally insane patients were housed, the solution to strained community-hospital relations was the development of joint programs. Some joint sharing of facilities such as sports arenas, galleries, and space for night classes, would be in the interests of both the community and the prison.

If the prison, as an institution, actually meets the community half-way in providing such facilities, the chance for good relations is enhanced.

In addition, the service provided by the prison can create useful work for inmates. They can help staff the facility, maintain and repair it, and invite the community to use it.

Recommendation:

Create a facility, at the edge of the prison grounds, to be used by the prison and the community alike. For example: A gym, a library, classrooms; make a concerted effort to invite the community to use the facility; let the inmates play a central role in running the service.

Once such a community service has been established, the research required is obvious and important: Will members of the community use the facility? Under what conditions? If people do use it, do their pre-conceptions of prison break down? Does their use of the facility promote community involvement in other rehabilitation programs?

9. SELF-HELP GROUPS IN PRISON

One of the most heartening developments in rehabilitation is the organization of people, who once suffered from the abuse of alcohol or drugs, with the goal not only of helping themselves, but of assisting others. In the drug abuse field there are several successful institutions for treating addicts and drug abusers staffed at least in part by former addicts with the assistance of professional staff. For several years Synanon ran a program at Nevada State Prison.

Contrary to what is often believed, many of these organizations are quite decentralized, and there is considerable variation between the activities, interests, and sense of responsibility between local chapters. While some local units of A.A. would be reluctant to supervise the day-to-day operations of a prison rehabilitation program, others would be pleased to do it.

It would be worthwhile to have at least one or two pilot programs involving a substantial number of ex-inmates as rehabilitation counselors. They should not be recruited as individuals but as members of self-help organizations. In order to resist the temptation of bringing in contraband or relaying messages, both of which they are likely to be asked to do, they will need commitment to group goals and purposes which can best be supplied through organizations such as Synanon or Seventh Step.

Recommendation:

As part of any prison, set aside a series of shop-front-like spaces and meeting rooms. Make them available to groups like A.A., Synanon, Daytop Village, or the Seventh Step Foundation. Security arrangements remain the responsibility of the prison administration, but give the sponsoring organization considerable latitude in the physical layout, staffing, and program of their unit.

Ideally, these shop-fronts should be part of the surrounding community, and not buried within the prison; at least, they should be like a necklace at the edge of the prison, facing into the community, so that they are available on a normal basis, like other shop-front services, to prisoners, ex-prisoners and the interested public alike.

We could then ask the following kinds of questions: Would such groups use these facilities? Would they be willing to take a role in rehabilitation? Would such programs be effective?

10. PRISON GRADIENT, PUBLIC TO PRIVATE

The physical layout of most prisons today discourages any interaction between the institution and the surrounding community.

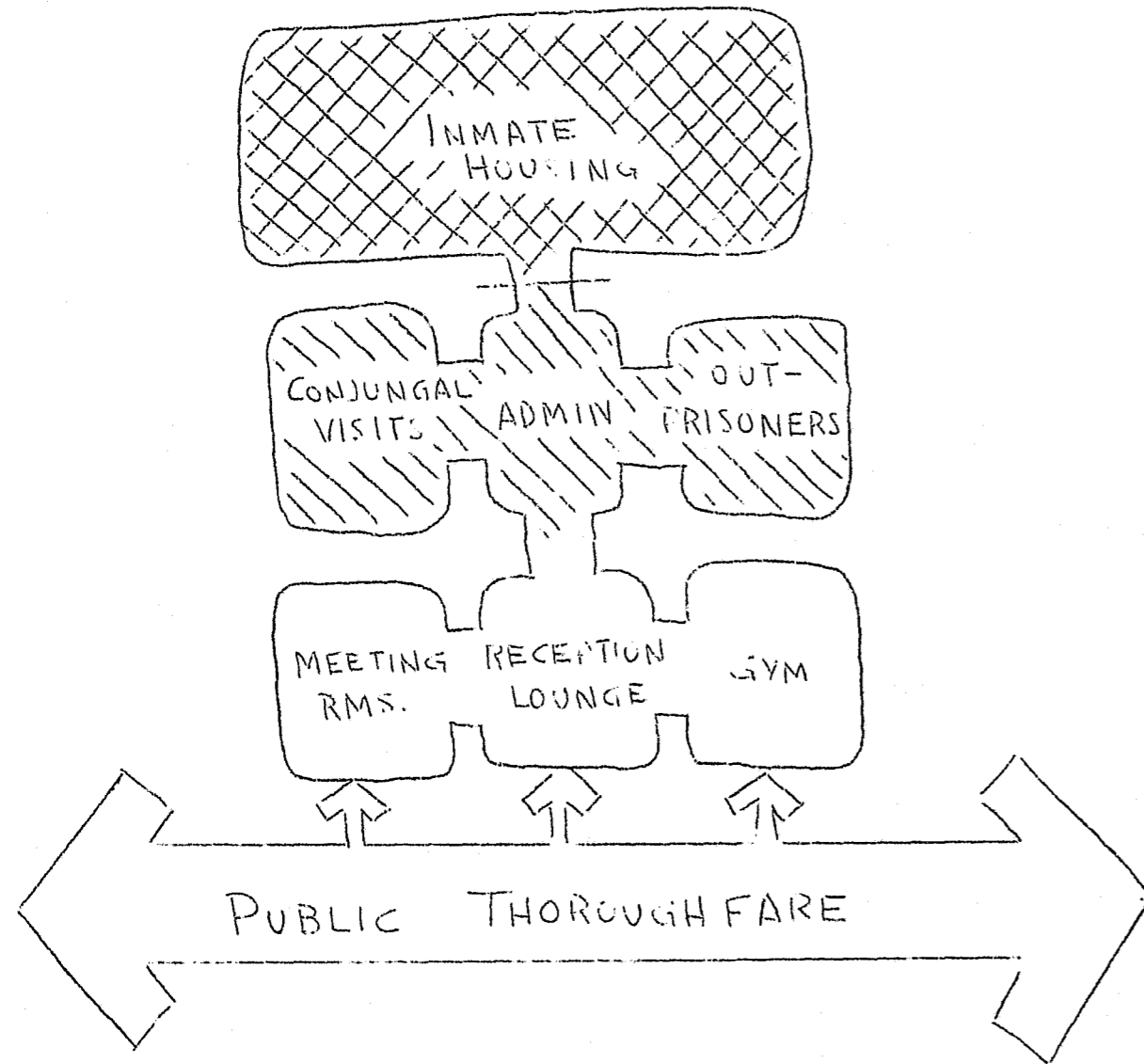
A visitor to the institution for any purpose must pass first of all a security check. Thus, even if such an institution possessed some facility for the joint use of the community, staff, and out-prisoners, it would not be used due to the intimidating character of the initial security. The physical layout of prisons must encourage such interaction both to enlist the surrounding community's participation and help, and to provide gradual levels of involvement for the adjusting inmate.

Those parts of the prison which one first encounters upon entering the institution should be those with which the community will be most involved, and which involve no security (lounge, community service, and meeting rooms). The next group of parts are those in which the community and prison personnel interact strongly and which involve some level of security (administration, conjugal visits, and out-prisoner facilities). The third level will consist of the housing for the inmates which will require the most security. This gradient from community-oriented spaces to inmate-oriented spaces will make possible the interaction which is so essential to rehabilitation.

It is important that the prison's "face to the community" consist of those facilities which the community will actually want to use spontaneously. This will prevent the facility from taking on the appearance of a Bastille or garrison. It will be naturally accepted as part of the community if the parts directly fronting onto the public thoroughfare can be used simply and without the necessity for a security check.

Recommendation:

Arrange the parts of the prison along a gradient from the most community-oriented and least secure, to the most inmate-oriented and most secure.



11. HIERARCHY OF SOCIAL SPACE

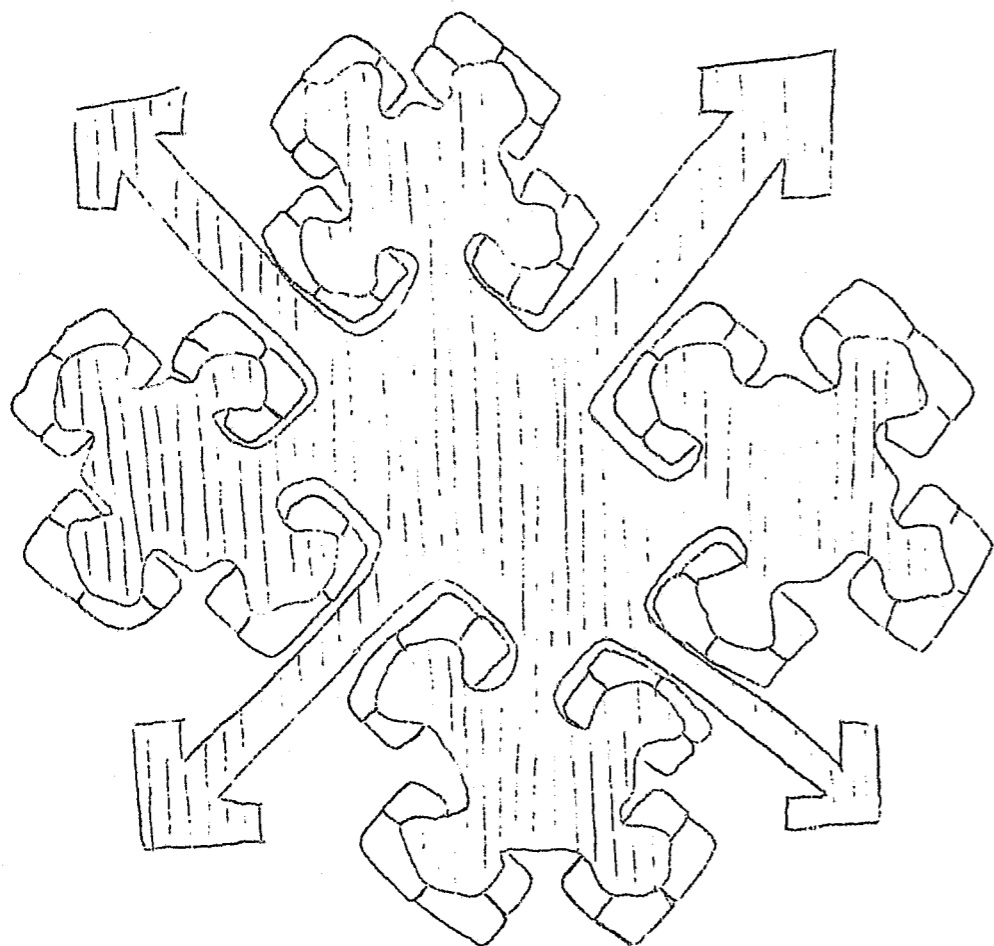
No one level of social interaction is enough; people need the chance to be alone, a chance to be with a few others, and a chance to be part of a large group.

People housed in an institution have a desperate need for all the different levels of social life. They need a place which is exclusively theirs, where they can be alone; they need places where groups of four to eight can get together; and finally, there is a need to be part of a group of at least sixteen.

No one level of interaction, by itself, is enough. Each man needs the possibility of finding such group sizes around him, and must be able to choose among these various levels. Interestingly, the dorm housing arrangement doesn't enable this. Since one man can disturb all the other's privacy, no one feels that privacy is possible. Two men cannot talk together without feeling that it is possible for an outsider to suddenly intrude and interrupt. The same is true for a discussion among 4 men. And a large discussion is not possible among 16 men because there is no common ground. The meeting will have to be held around a few men's bunks and they will feel that the whole group is in "their" space, and will not welcome such a big meeting. It is too much to expect that the men will rearrange their living space to facilitate meetings of these different sizes. Unless such appropriate spaces are already there close at hand, the discussions will simply not take place.

Recommendation:

Create a fluid hierarchy of social spaces. Give each person a private, lockable, personal space - large enough for another man to come in, and sit down for a talk. Collect these personal spaces roughly into fours, with a common space, with a table, coffee, etc. Collect these four-somes around a larger common space for 16-20. Make this large common space big enough for everyone to sit down together at once.



12. MINIMUM INDIVIDUAL SPACE

Most prisons are plagued with the twin problems of overconcentration--too many people for one place under a single management--and over-crowding--less than adequate levels of square footage per inmate.

Over-concentration can be handled somewhat by administrative and architectural decentralization but over-crowding remains a persistent problem. Even when single cells are designed to be small and asymmetrical, it is always possible for someone to crowd in a second man.

Recommendation:

The minimum size for individual spaces has been set by Richard McGee, former Director of the California Department of Corrections, at about 72 square feet. This size creates enough room for a bed, a place to sit, a table, and some storage. Anything less is inhuman.

But the solution is administrative as well as architectural; for it is always possible for administrators to double up on spaces designed for one person.

To avoid this possibility, minimum standards, with legal legitimacy, must be set.

A small working group consisting of members of the legal profession as well as correctional officials should be assigned the task of drawing up model space standards. The possibility that an inmate in an over-crowded institution might sue for a writ of habeas corpus on the basis of illegal detention or cruel and unusual punishment, gives a prison director some leverage over state officials in obtaining adequate facilities for his people. The absence of such clear standards makes it unlikely that a court would exercise a clear voice in this matter.

13. PERSONAL SPACE

If an inmate is not allowed to personalize his own individual living space and to adjust the level of sensory stimulation there himself, then his attention will always be distracted from reading and other rehabilitative activities.

The need for a stimulating and pleasing environment is urgent in maximum security and isolation areas. Inmates in a community facility who can work in the city or visit outside can obtain their quota of stimulation this way. But in isolation or locked up in a cell all day, the inmates mind will wander and focused thought will be difficult. Often one hears the lack of reading in cells attributed to the "kind of inmate" who is there - uneducated and unintellectual. At least some of this inertia may be due to the drab institutional surroundings.¹ Here is a statement of an educated prisoner who found himself unable to do much reading:

The thought of leaving prison a well-read man was smugly satisfying. Then I discovered that reading - reading intelligently - in prison is not easy, because one of the most difficult things to do in prison is to concentrate. (Heckstall-Smart , p. 76).

It appears that a general principle could be established; the greater the limitation upon the inmate's freedom to seek out sensory stimulation, the higher the level of stimulation within his surroundings should be. If this is a genuine need, then given the administrative, physical, and economic means, the inmates should automatically provide their own best level of stimulation within their living quarters. We would expect that inmates who have considerable freedom to leave the institution periodically for work or visits would not greatly desire to decorate and elaborately furnish their quarters, while the maximum security inmates

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1) There is a considerable amount of research showing the negative effects of sensory deprivation. An inability to concentrate and focus one's thoughts is one effect. In extreme cases hallucinations and other thought disorders can result. In one study of visual hallucinations among mental patients, virtually all the hallucinations occurred in drab or barren surroundings, or when the patient was in some physical restraint. The internal world seems to compensate for the barrenness of the external. In the sensory deprivation research at McGill, some students at first volunteered to be subjects in the belief that they would be able to get a lot of studying done. Instead they found themselves unable to concentrate.

who are limited much more closely in their physical freedom would spend much more time on the personalization and decoration of their quarters.

Ideally, we would like to allow the inmate to seek the kind of stimulation that people normally have in their home; a window with a view of something interesting, the chance to go to the refrigerator and see what's there (see Self-help Kitchen), a book laying around, T.V., a few pictures on the walls, perhaps a musical instrument. No amount of contrived "stimulation" will create a rich environment. The only thing that will work is giving the inmate the access to things that he has at home, and letting him change the space he lives in as he so desires. The most sensible way to provide this is to allow each inmate to adjust his level of informational input to suit his needs and mood. In addition to allowing the inmate control over his lighting and music volume level, we propose that each inmate be supplied with as much paint and materials for construction of furniture as he desires. These materials would be paid for out of the inmate's work funds.

One of the best ways that the inmates's personal living space can be made their own is by the inmates building the furniture and shelving which goes into it. Not only will the institutional atmosphere which tells each man that he is simply a number be eliminated, but it is hoped that this provision will save the institution some money.

What is essential is that he be encouraged to make furniture which will genuinely be his own, and which he will use for some time. In our visits around local prisons, we heard a prison warden complain that one of his charges built a lovely chair, and upon its completion the inmate was told to disassemble it completely because there was no place to store the chair. We propose that instead of such activity being looked upon as play therapy, that the inmate be encouraged to develop his own environment with his own hands.

Some additional advantages of allowing the inmates to provide their own furniture and decorations is discussed in "Isolatable Cells."

Recommendation:

Each inmate should be given control over the level of sensory stimulation within his own living space. This includes individual control of lighting and media as well as the amount and kind of furnishings within the space.

Research required

a. Specific studies devoted to the effects of cell environment on mental functioning. This problem is amenable to expert mental investigation. Match inmates according to performance of one form of a mental test, some spend the next weeks in barren isolated cells, others in

cells with access to the outside, rich in media, and amenities. Compare intellectual functioning as well as attitudes and outlook on a re-test one week and one month later.

b. Some research should be directed towards sensory acuity and how it is affected by prison environment. Autobiographies of several prisoners (Wildblood, Holt, Morrell) report that their senses became keener in prison - particularly smell and hearing. Many complaints about noise in the evening or about odors from food or toilets may be partially due to sensory enhancement - the inmate is more sensitive to auditory and olfactory stimuli. Very little is known about the effects of long-term confinement on sensory acuity.

14. INMATES CHOICE OF BEING INVOLVED

Forced involvement in programs builds resentment, and doesn't give people a chance to unwind, explore and choose something for themselves.

Many types of human contact are essential to a rehabilitation process. Convicted men and women must have maximum opportunity to mix with others, whenever they are in the mood to do so, or even feel the slightest urge to explore some program. However, if a person feels withdrawn, he must be free to withdraw, lest a forced contact drive him even deeper into himself.

How can the layout of spaces help this situation? If the spaces for programs and social milling are at the ends of paths and corridors, then a person has to make a deliberate choice to go there, and isn't apt to explore the place tentatively, on his way somewhere else. On the other hand, if there is deliberate circulation right through these areas, there is the feeling that the place is being thrust on you, that you can't easily pass it by. However, if the everyday paths that a person walks along run tangent and are open to these spaces, then there is the possibility to look in, get gradually involved, or to pass by.

Recommendation:

Let the everyday paths that inmates use (e.g. from private quarters to dining to cigarettes) run tangent and open to the spaces for programs and social contact. Give inmates the freedom to wander along these paths at any time.

Then, during the course of his day, the inmate passes everything that is going on; the extent to which he gets involved is up to him.

15. VISITING PROCESS

The inmate's rights as a man are violated if he cannot extend hospitality to his visitors and treat them as honored guests.

1) The present wide-spread custom of controlled visiting in the prisons is humiliating for the prisoners and visitors alike. Its premises are that the prisoner has no right to expect a private conversation or to meet with his visitor man-to-man. Its basis is that the prisoner has forfeited his rights to the common decencies of life and that he is no longer a real human being. We have maintained that it is essential that the inmate have the kind of therapy which builds, rather than undermines, his self-concept. Therefore, the following changes in the visiting procedure are called for.

2) Artificial limits on the amount of time a prisoner may spend with his guest must be eliminated. Too, the visit must not be under constant guard. Essentially, what is required is that the privacy of a personal conversation be respected and encouraged.

3) The inmate and his visitor must meet on common, intermediate ground. This is simply following the psychology of any human encounter, namely that it is a contract between two human beings and only succeeds when each member of the conversation recognizes the presence of the other by "coming to the conference table."

4) Once the inmate and his guest have met in the common area, it must be possible for them to choose from among a range of other spaces in which to carry on their visit. This option will give the opportunity to the inmate to greet his visitor as a guest, just as he would if he were in his own home or office. This feature is described by Kenyon Scudder in his article on the State Correctional Facility at Chino. This means that after meeting on the common ground, the visiting couple will choose whether to carry on their conversation in an adjoining garden, lounge, or cafeteria.

Yet it is necessary to insure security and to prevent the introduction of contraband into the facility. We can provide for these factors at the same time that we preserve the dignity of the visit by the following:

a) The common area will be served by two entrances, the visitors' entrance and the inmates' entrance. Neither of them should be visible from within the common area.

b) Checks for contraband will only be made at the inmates' entrance.

c) Security is provided at the visitors' entrance in a very unob-

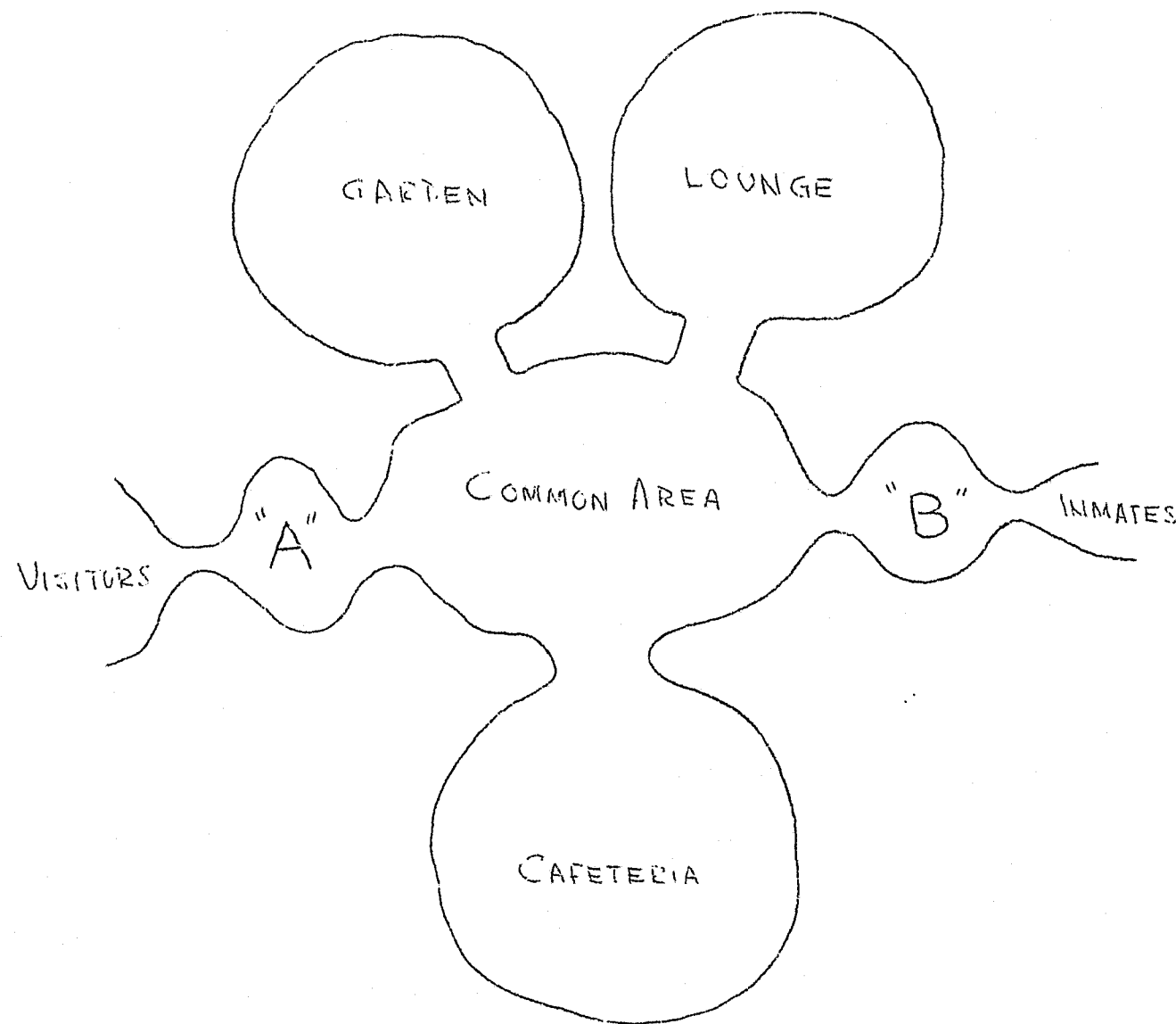
trusive manner. Its only function is to prevent inmates from leaving the common area via the visitors' entrance.

d) The optional areas for conversation open freely off the common area.

These provisions will eliminate the need for the visiting process itself to be guarded over and the conversation can proceed naturally without distractions. The inmate will not be humiliated by a contraband check in the presence of his guest, nor will there be any need to check the visitor for contraband.

Recommendation:

Visiting will take place on common ground between the outside world and the inmates' housing. Visits will not be guarded over or limited in time. From the common area, various optional spots for the conversation will be available - an adjoining garden, lounge, or cafeteria. Contraband checks are made at the inmates' entrance, while security is provided at the visitors' entrance, but neither entrance is visible from the interior of the common space.



"A" - SECURITY CHECK
 "B" - CONTRABAND CHECK

16. CONJUGAL VISITS

An inmate cannot be expected to maintain his relationship with his family unless frequent conjugal visits are encouraged.

For rehabilitation to become a reality, the penal institution must insure that a man's family is not destroyed while he is spending time there. This means that the possibility for conjugal visits must be allowed. Not only does this allow for the man and his wife to maintain relationship with one another, but it also means that the man's children can come and stay at the institution too. Thus the man will feel that there is still reason for him to continue supporting his family and that there will be something to return to when he is released. His family will prove a support and encouragement to him.

It is important that the family begin to take over a sense of responsibility for the man's rehabilitation. They can only be expected to do this if normal family relationships can be maintained. The fact that the wife is maintaining her relationship with her inmate husband will encourage the other members of the family (cousins, grandparents, aunts and uncles) to likewise maintain their contact with him.

It is cruel and inhumane to deny a man normal heterosexual relationships because of his conviction. As a Danish penologist has said, "A man is sent to prison as punishment, not for punishment." A man who is denied sexual experience is not particularly interested in rehabilitation. His frustrations overwhelm his conscious life. Present prisons are notorious for encouraging the development of homosexuality among prisoners who are driven to it out of sexual frustration. Our assumption is that a man will only begin to deal with issues of rehabilitation when his basic needs are first satisfied.

Recommendation:

Make pleasant apartment-like rooms a part of a new prison construction program. Let these rooms be available for an inmate and his family to be reunited overnight. Each unit of visiting space consists of the following elements:

- a) A combination master bedroom - living room large enough for around six people to sit comfortably.
- b) An adjoining bedroom with bunk beds to sleep the children of the family.
- c) A bath.
- d) A mini-kitchen sufficient to allow the preparation of a simple meal.

17. BUILDING SHAPE FOR LIGHT AND VIEW

The need for naturally lit interiors, with views out, is fundamental; the excessive use of windowless rooms and artificial light is inhuman.

This problem is acute for every kind of building, but it is especially important for institutional buildings, where the feeling of being cooped up can be overwhelming. Being cut off from natural light and views has a depressing effect on people. Rapaport has shown, by content analysis, that people are in a better mood in rooms with windows and natural light, than in rooms without windows. (Amos Rapaport, "Some Consumer Comments on a Designed Environment", Arena, January 1967, pp. 176-178.) Furthermore, there is a growing body of evidence which suggests that man actually needs daylight, since the cycle of daylight plays a vital role in the maintenance of the body's circadian rhythms - and that the change of light during the day, though apparently variable, is in this sense a fundamental constant by which the human body maintains its relationship to the environment. (See, for instance, R. G. Hopkinson, Architectural Physics: Lighting, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Building Research Station, HMSO, London, 1963, pp. 116-117.) If this is true, then too much artificial light, and the lack of a view out, actually creates a rift between a person and his surroundings, and upsets the human physiology.

Recommendation:

Make all the interior spaces, where people spend time, prisoners and staff alike, open to daylight - so that they are well lit naturally; and give all these spaces views. This means that buildings as a whole are rather thin, with interior courts, open arcades, and windows on two sides of spaces.

18. CUSTOM PRODUCTION

In the present system of industrialized production workshops in the prisons, the inmate does not get a chance to express himself in the things he makes.

The establishment of a healthy identity among the inmates depends upon their finding some real productive work of their own choice in which they can take pride.

The catalog of products offered by the California Penal System is mostly a collection of institutional objects such as work shirts and pants, grey office furniture and equipment, and prison cafeteria tables and benches. It is doubtful whether anyone could get excited about making these things. The link between the maker of the product and the user is weak. The prison worker has no opportunity to see his products making the community work better or enriching the lives of the people who buy them. And there is no possibility for the worker to express his individuality in his work, since the products are highly institutional in character.

Prison factories and workshops have also been criticized because they compete with private labor. In their defense are the economic gain to the state from the items produced, and the possibilities of teaching good work skills such as punctuality, attention, and patience, as well as the need to keep prisoners active, and allowing them to make small amounts of money.

The ideal industry for a correctional facility is one that requires a lot of unskilled or semi-skilled labor and where the market is either within the government agencies or consumers whose needs are not being satisfied through existing channels.

To make optimal use of the prison setting, one can go several steps beyond the production line into what we would call custom production. An example would be braille textbooks and pre-recorded tapes--in Spanish and other languages as well as English. With the available labor, a prison could supply a custom order for any book or pamphlet needed by a school, hospital, or private charitable organization. Standard textbooks in all fields could be tape recorded and available in a master library. When one is requested by a school district in Oklahoma or Massachusetts, a copy is made from a master and sent off on the same day. A federal correctional facility is ideally suited to develop a comprehensive audio tape service.

Another example; an inmate would have a much better chance of seeing the results of his work in the hands of a user, and of feeling that he could begin to put something of himself into his products if he worked in a small firm run by a single entrepreneur. In this situation

he could see the customer walk into the store and see whether he was pleased with the work or not. And if the inmate wanted to make small changes in the work procedure or in the products themselves, then he could discuss the situation with the boss himself.

But entrepreneurs will need some incentive to locate close to the prison and to take on inmates or out-prisoners as apprentices. Since it is important that the offenders receive fair wages for their work, it will be necessary to help beginning entrepreneurs set up shop in the immediate vicinity of the prison, with the understanding that he will employ out-prisoners in his business.

Recommendation:

The prison should offer custom production and work requiring individualized attention. This can take place both within the facility, and in outside businesses by helping entrepreneurs set up shops and stores adjacent to the prison facility with the agreement that they will employ out-prisoners as employees.

19. SERVICE VOCATIONS

Inmates are being trained in production vocations in present prison work, but these jobs will be less and less in need of workers in the future.

Finding work that is personally satisfying to the inmates, socially and vocationally meaningful, and economically justified has been a persistent problem in American prisons. Most of the emphasis to date has been upon maintenance tasks--kitchen, laundry, or farm--or upon production of facilities geared to producing items for state institutions. While both maintenance programs and production for state agencies has useful job training potentials, it is also true that the number of employment opportunities in production is not increasing as fast as the number of jobs in the service areas. Industrial technology has automated to the point where fewer workers are needed, while medical technology has increased life span and kept alive more infirm and disabled individuals who need personal attention. Most hospitals, particularly those for the elderly or the disabled, as well as institutions for the retarded and mentally ill are critically understaffed.

If it were possible to train inmates in these service professions then we would not only be providing badly needed social services, but we would be training these inmates in vocationally relevant jobs which might be more satisfying to them than existing prison jobs. From a practical standpoint, too, state subsidized programs for employment after release are more feasible in service occupations than in private production since the institutions are under state auspices or are largely state subsidized.

Recommendation:

Locate a state correctional facility near a school for retarded children or a convalescent hospital. Arrange entrances of both institutions so that some minimum security arrangements are possible. Attempt to develop pilot programs involving training inmates in the care and rehabilitation of the retarded, the blind, the elderly, and the physically disabled.

20. SELF-SERVICE LEARNING UNIT

Educational programs in correctional institutions have always been handicapped by a shortage of trained instructional staff and classroom space.

There would be tremendous value in developing self-instruction techniques, not only to help fill both the shortage of staff and space, but also to fill some of the idle hours. Programmed instruction is currently being used in correctional institutions, and one (Lompoc) has developed a teaching machine used extensively in the federal system and elsewhere. However, it does not seem that any parts of the prison were architecturally designed to include the new educational technology. The result is that inmates often have to wait until they can be escorted to the educational area of the prison before they can work on their programs, and in these areas there is an exclusive emphasis on classroom instruction in basic skills.

Recommendation:

Create a self-service education area combining scheduled instruction with tapes, books and programs that are available on a completely self-service basis. Let this material be available at any time, day or night, to the inmates who want it. Locate this area within the inmates living areas, and give them the option of using it in a lounge area or taking it back to their cell.

In a small, community prison, this facility should be located at the edge of the inmate's area, so it can be used by parolees, and perhaps the community at large.

The schedule of classes which would complement the individual program would help foster an educational atmosphere around the learning unit and a sense of cohesion among the residents. Even a single course in American history, social studies, or geography would contribute to this kind of educational culture as a unique experience. Some of the correctional officers assigned to this unit would have part-time appointments in the prison's educational center.

The extensive use of programmed instruction in correctional facilities would require some changes in state education codes. For example, to award educational credit the California Education Code requires 108 hours of classroom instruction. These codes were developed prior to standardized and valid self-learning devices. A change in the education code to allow the use of standardized self-learning devices, coupled with exams where credit is involved, would seem a reasonable adjustment to the new educational technologies.

21. SELF-HELP KITCHENS

Regulating what and how a man eats while he is in prison is anti-rehabilitative.

When an institution takes over the duty of feeding, housing, and clothing a man, he is robbed of the opportunity of acting as a mature adult. He becomes, for all intents and purposes, a child of the state. Yet rehabilitation means that the inmate take over the responsibility for his life in a new, mature, and realistic way. Thus, as far as is possible, these functions would be provided by the man himself.

It appears that the preparation of one's own meals is the most practical place to begin this new taking over of responsibility by the inmate himself. It requires planning, and synthesizing - two features which should be particularly therapeutic. In addition, it requires that the inmate use good judgment to insure that he properly cares for himself by preparing properly balanced meals; it is this kind of regard for self which lies at the heart of rehabilitation.

Finally, the regulation of meals into 3 precisely timed events simply doesn't correspond to the realities of life. In normal life, one eats snacks when one is hungry - maybe even awaking during the middle of the night to prepare a midnight snack when one cannot sleep. This freedom to prepare impromptu meals will encourage talks and conferences among the men and aid the therapeutic value of such inter-communication.

Recommendation:

Let each group of 16 men share a self-help kitchen. Make it their responsibility to plan, prepare, and clean up after meals. Let them use this facility at any time during the day or night.

22. POOLS OF PERSONAL LIGHT

If you are not able to switch on a private light, in your own quarters, whenever you want, you are being stripped of a basic human need.

Control over the lighting of your environment is an essential part of the feeling of territory and personal space. Lighting studies have shown that people enjoy better concentration on what they are doing, when they have pools of light around them, under their own control, as opposed to massive uniform lighting fixtures (R. G. Hopkinson, Lighting, London HMSO, 1963, pp. 261-268).

Inmates will want to read and write at night. The notion of a common "lights out" - with no private lights for the people who want them - prevents this. Again, it creates a rift between the prisoner and the institution, and prevents a person from pursuing the private reading and study, which may be the most effective means he has towards awareness and change.

Recommendation:

Create individually controlled light fixtures in the private quarters - for everyone. Arrange the lights and the quarters so that one man's light does not bother another person, who wants to sleep.

23. PUBLIC THOROUGHFARE ON PRISON COMMONS

Association with the normal comings and goings of society creates the crucial atmosphere of reality, within which efforts to change arise genuinely.

The present trend in prison site planning is to set the institution well back from public thoroughfares so that they become islands unto themselves. This reinforces the idea that such institutions are the dumping grounds for the despicable members of society, and that they are to be avoided. In such situations, even those community members who are interested in helping and getting involved in rehabilitation efforts must make a special mental and physical effort to go to the institution.

From the inmate's point of view, this means that he never sees the community except on official business. His link with the normal coming and going of society is completely broken.

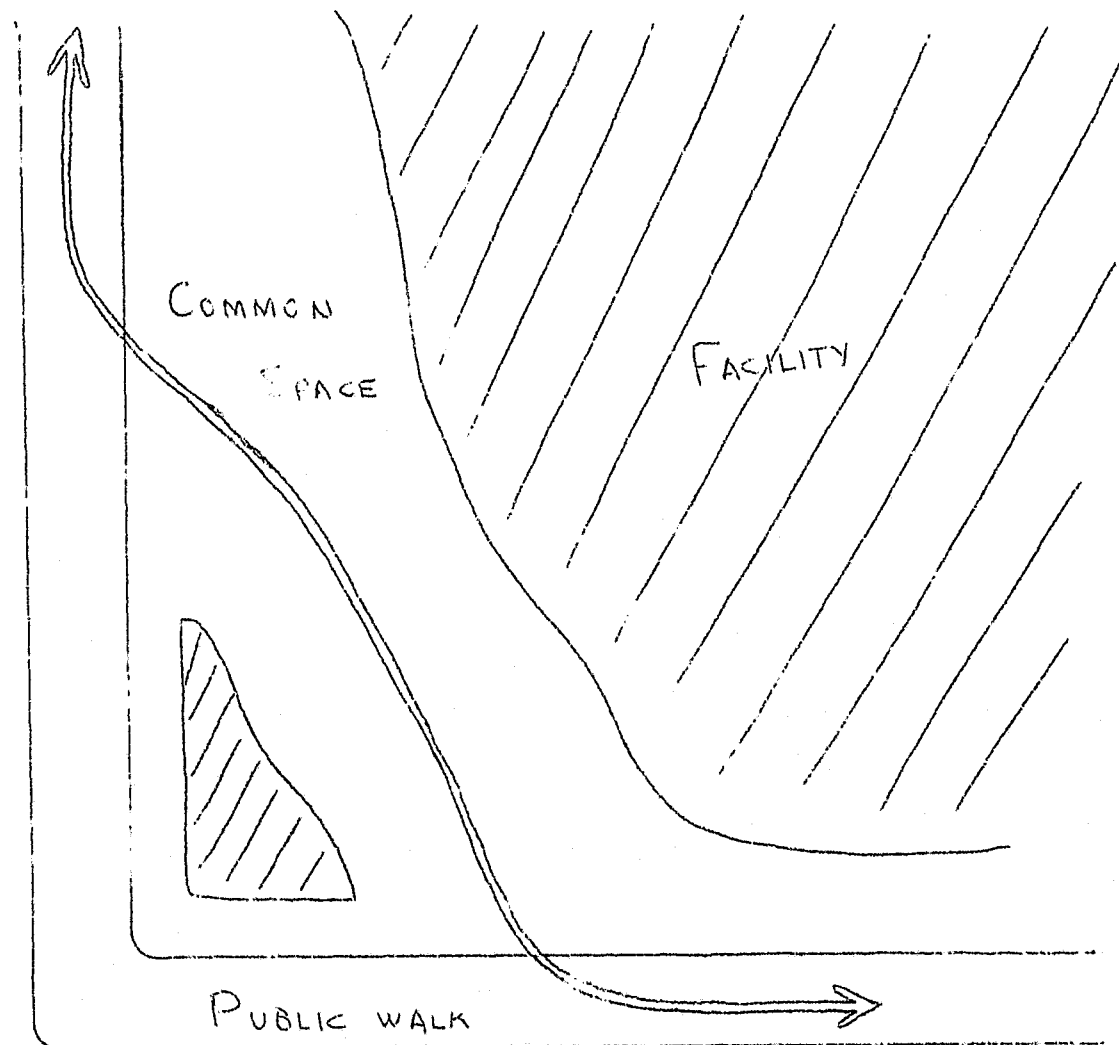
But we have argued for a gradient of community involvement to encourage more casual and informal everyday community involvement.. This will only work, however, if certain features of site planning are included:

a) The prison itself must front onto a well-traveled pedestrian thoroughfare. If the community-oriented prison front faces onto a side street with little traffic, then the public will get the impression again that the institution is something to be shunned.

b) In line with this argument, we can reinforce the casual kind of interested pedestrian traffic by orienting the front of the prison around a pedestrian intersection and by providing a natural short-cut across the lot, past the community-oriented aspects of the prison. By following these simple but powerful site planning techniques, we can both normalize the aspect of a prison in the community and maximize the ease with which the pedestrian can get involved in the community-oriented features of the prison.

Recommendation:

No extreme set backs from public parts of the community, in siting the prison. Instead, locate the prison front along a pedestrian intersection, with a natural short-cut across common land in front of the facility; let this short-cut pass directly through those parts of the institution that are community-oriented.



24. CONVERSATION ALCOVES

The auxiliary prison staff who run the chapel, infirmary, or library can be powerful agents for rehabilitation, but this will only happen if inmates can chat with them on a casual basis.

An institution should be built up from a differentiated series of micro-environments. There should be places for an inmate to go when he wants to be alone, or when he wants companionship, or to let off steam.

In large prisons, it is often the chapel and the hospital that serve these functions. When the tensions of the yard or his cell get to the inmate, he finds a haven in the hospital, a place to build himself up. This is not necessarily motivated by fear or a reaction against brutality. It is often a need for change, a vacation from particular surroundings that are driving him crazy. The chaplains and the doctors are often seen as friendly neutral and humane individuals who treat the inmate as a person rather than a number.

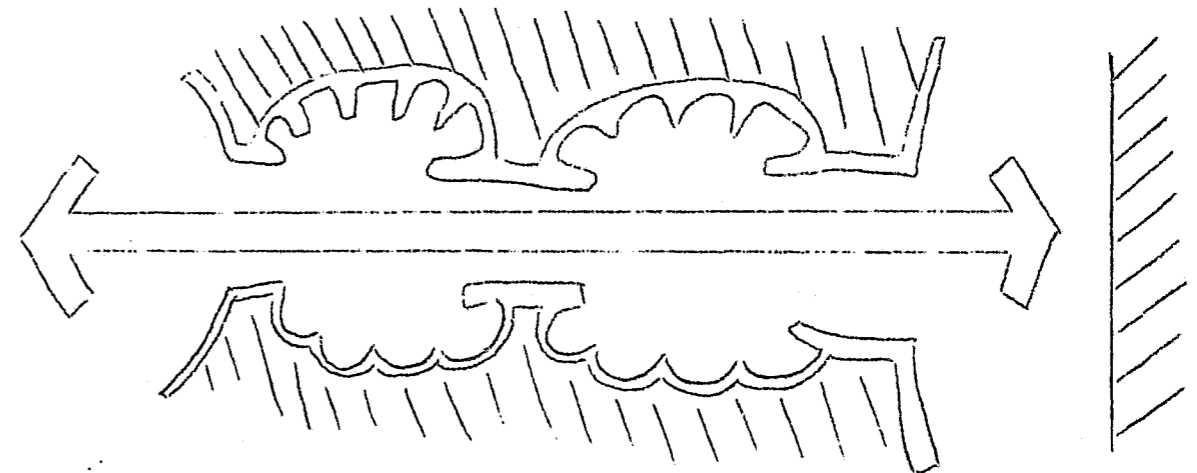
In planning a chapel, it is easy to think of it solely in terms of its religious function, or a library in terms of reading and study, but when people are confined, such areas represent much more than this. These areas need to fulfill social needs as well as functional ones. If we agree that the chapel, infirmary, and library serve social functions as a device for the inmate to informally talk to staff people who are neutrals, then we need to specify they contain precisely the kinds of areas which would facilitate this kind of informal contact. Let us call these special areas "Conversation Nooks."

- a) Conversation nooks must do two things simultaneously - they must give some sense of enclosure from the facility as a whole to enable a semi-private conversation which would be inhibited if it were to take place right out in the middle of the library or chapel. But equally, they must be located in such places that they will be naturally used without undue commitment on the part of either participant.
- b) These conversation nooks must be large enough to contain 2 men but not more than 4. At the point that 5 men gather, it has already reached the scale of a small meeting. This means that they should be around 10 feet in diameter.
- c) They should be located at those points where such informal conversation is most likely to occur naturally. There are two places where this is most likely to occur; immediately inside and outside the "gateways" to these facilities where people file in and out, and; at the "intake" points of these facilities, i.e., at the point that the inmate goes either for information or for reporting to the staff to inform them of his needs.

d) These nooks need to have seats for no more than 4 men, grouped in a slightly concave curve so that all four men could carry on a conversation together and see each other in the process. But they should not be grouped around a table, since this establishes a formality which is not appropriate for chance meetings.

Recommendation:

Immediately inside and outside the entrances to the chapel, infirmary, and library, place conversation nooks with seats for 2-4 people. Place the chairs in a slightly concave curve.



25. ISOLATABLE CELLS

The present practice of placing violent inmates into empty isolation cells keeps the inmate from facing the consequences of violence and postpones rehabilitation.

When an inmate becomes irrational, confused, angry, hostile, or aggressive, there is a need to physically remove him from his fellow inmates. This is so that he will not injure others, and so that he will be denied access to potentially dangerous weapons (silverware, any metallic object,) and so that he will be denied access to low security areas which the other prisoners have earned the right to.

The very angry or hostile inmate might attempt to injure himself in the heat of his aggression. While we cannot absolutely prevent an inmate from hurting himself, since he can do this by pulling out his hair, banging his head against the wall, or throwing his body down onto the floor, we can remove any objects which could quickly bring his life to an end. But just as every man who in his anger kicks the wall and then feels the pain, or who throws some object like a lamp down onto the floor for the satisfaction of seeing it destroyed, the inmate can not, in the long run, be protected from the consequences of his anger. Just as the man is left with the mess and loss of property which follows his temper tantrum in the home, so the inmate should not be insulated from the real consequences of his anger. Thus, the straight-jacket, or barren isolation cell are not therapeutic since they prevent the inmate from expressing his anger and then seeing the consequences of his actions.

But we cannot expect the state to pay for the results of an inmate's temper tantrum, since this would simply be the removal of the consequences from the experience of the inmate as surely as the padded-cell. Thus, the objects which surround the inmate in his daily life must belong to him personally. This means that if he destroys a piece of furniture, it will be his own piece of furniture, and will have to be fixed or replaced by the inmate's own labor.

Since it is not feasible to move an inmate's furniture to a special isolation cell, it must be possible to lock an inmate in his normal personal space, and further, it must be acoustically insulated from the neighboring cells when the door is shut.

The personal objects which surround the inmate during his normal activities must, therefore, not be potentially dangerous. The definition of "potentially dangerous" will be taken to mean that they cannot be used to end a life in a period of a few moments. Thus, a metal knife, or a cord would be considered "dangerous", while a wooden bed or chair would not, even though it is conceivable that an inmate could stab himself to death by tearing his chair apart, and sharpening a piece of wood by rubbing it against the floor or wall forming a crude spear. But this would take

some time, and our assumption is that the length of time required for this preparation would prevent acts of passion.

Recommendation:

1) Make each man's personal space not only lockable by the inmate, but an additional lock will be provided on the door whose key is owned by the staff. When it becomes necessary to isolate a man from his fellow residents, he will be placed into his normal space, but he will be locked into it.

2) Let each man's personal space be furnished with objects which belong to the inmate personally. If he destroys some object, he may either live with it, or he may choose to fix it later, just as in normal life (see Personal Space).

3) When a man is placed into "solitary", all "potentially dangerous" objects are removed from his room. These include any objects which could quickly bring the inmate's life to an end.

26. BUS SERVICE FROM RURAL PRISONS

In existing rural prisons, the feeling of being completely stranded is acute.

There is a serious need for examination of work release and furlough programs in rural settings. What sort of environmental support system would assist a rural facility in developing these programs? The possibilities of a scheduled bus service, on a contract basis, ought to be explored. The University of California at Davis has a bus that goes into Berkeley every morning and returns every afternoon at 4:00 which provides free transportation for students and faculty. This allows Davis people to use the excellent library and other facilities at Berkeley. Interestingly, the service is justified economically on the basis of the books carried back and forth between the Davis and Berkeley libraries. If these had to be sent through the mails, the cost and delays would be greater than with the bus service, and the possibility of books going astray would increase. It seems reasonable that the costs of a scheduled transportation should be a regular line budget item of remote correctional facilities.

Recommendation:

In existing rural facilities, schedule a bus service into nearby cities, for visiting, libraries and release work possibilities.

27. ENCOUNTER GROUPS LOCATED

There is some indication that the encounter technique can be a useful one in prisons; where such groups are tried, a crucial question is, on whose territory does the group meet?

The work of Richard Korn and his Berkeley Associates indicates the power the encounter technique can have when properly employed. It brings prisoners, officials, guards, members of the community, into direct communication with one another; everyone starts to feel more empathy with the other, avenues for change are opened up. The Synanon experience testifies beautifully to the power of such processes to change people - bring them out of their shells. This work suggests the possibility of an encounter program as an ongoing part of the institution. We recommend that such a program be fully explored.

Once a program like this is in the works, a genuine problem is the location of the room for the sessions. If the room is within the territory of one group or another, and is, in effect, "owned" by the group, it will diminish the sense in which the sessions are real meetings.

Recommendation:

Experiment with a series of such sessions in a variety of institutions. Involve people like Korn as facilitators of the sessions. Locate the spaces for these sessions on "neutral ground" - never in the heart of any one group's territory.

END