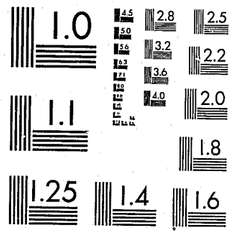

National Institute of Justice
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20531

U.S. Department of Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration

MF1

Impact Of Free Venture Prison Industries Upon Correctional Institutions

IMPACT OF FREE VENTURE PRISON INDUSTRIES UPON CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Grant R. Grissom

Submitted To

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
Office of Criminal Justice Programs
Corrections Division

Washington, D. C. 20531

By

University City Science Center
3624 Science Center
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

January 1981

This research was sponsored by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration under Grant number 79ED-AX 0024 and the Pew Memorial Trust.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Free Venture prison Industry program is an attempt to improve industrial activities in prison by adopting, to the extent possible, operating principles of the private sector. "Free Venture" prison industries are characterized by:

- A full work week for inmate employees.
- Wages based upon productivity.
- Economic viability.
- Hire/fire authority exercised by (civilian) shop supervisors.
- Private sector productivity standards.
- Post-release job placement mechanism to assist industries' inmates in finding post-release employment.

This report prepared under contract to the U.S. Department of Justice, presents findings of an evaluation of the impact of Free Venture programs upon the behavior and attitudes of participating inmates during their term of incarceration; non-participating inmates; the host institution; and civilian (industries and institutional) staff.

Data were collected from institutional records and through structured interviews in twelve prisons in the states of Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, South Carolina and Washington. Interviewees included industries directors (N=7), institutional superintendents (N=12), corrections officers (N=40), Free Venture shop supervisors (N=35), institutional program staff (N=20), and inmates assigned to traditional industries (N=12) and Free Venture shops (N=194).

There were wide variations in the implementations of Free Venture programs accross the seven states. The length of the work day ranged from six to eight hours; percentage of inmate population employed in Free Venture shops varied from 2% to 65% and wages from $.20 to $3.74 per hour. Some programs operated in maximum security institutions, others in medium or minimum security facilities.

But despite their diversity, there were consistent, marked differences between Free Venture shops and traditional prison industry programs. Work hours were longer, wages higher and featherbedding reduced in comparison to traditional prison industries. Free Venture personnel procedures, productivity expectations and shop psychosocial atmosphere were more similar to private sector enterprises.

This monograph presents the views of various correctional constituencies regarding the six Free Venture principles and an assessment of institutional impacts. Problems with existing Free Venture implementations include, inadequate planning, lack of coordination with other institutional programs and too little emphasis upon post release job placement mechanisms. Generally, however, industries directors and institutional superintendents have worked together to overcome many of the logistical obstacles to Free Venture implementation. Free Venture programs have had favorable impacts upon host institutions.

The following conclusions are discussed in this report:

1) Residents working in Free Venture shops are similar to non-Free Venture inmates on demographic and criminal history variables.

2) Free Venture has a favorable effect upon the behavior of participating inmates while incarcerated, as reflected in disciplinary records. The rate of disciplinary incidents for Free Venture inmates declined relative to the rate for a non-participating control group.

3) In most states there is no evidence of program impact upon the behavior of non-participating inmates. In states with particularly large or well developed programs observers report a favorable impact upon non-participating inmates.

4) Implementation of Free Venture requires modifications to institutional operating procedures.

5) Free Venture has had a favorable impact upon the tranquility of host institutions.

6) Free Venture has had only minor impacts upon other institutional programs. However, the potential exists for strong positive or negative impacts upon other programs.

Based upon these findings recommendations are made in the areas of planning, technical assistance and research:

- A planning document should be prepared as an aid to states contemplating adoption of Free Venture and states currently implementing one or more of the Free Venture principles.

This document should describe the developmental histories of programs in the six original Free Venture states; identify the relationships between Free Venture principles and institutional functions; and provide a model planning procedure adaptable to disparate institutional settings.

- LEAA should provide technical assistance to Free Venture states focused upon (1) establishment of a private sector psychosocial working environment and (2) coordination of prison industries with other correctional programs and services.

Both issues are central to the success of Free Venture. Shop policies, inmate-staff communications, the physical shop environment and training for supervisory staff are areas in which technical assistance could make an important contribution. Lack of coordination with other correctional programs has reduced the rehabilitative potential of Free Venture while creating resistanses among treatment staff.

- The effectiveness of Free Venture as a rehabilitation program should be assessed through studies of (post release) effects upon employment and recidivism.

Such studies will provide information increasing the rehabilitative impact of Free Venture and may help obtain political support for the programs.

It is concluded that Free Venture prison industries are an important part of the correctional environment for inmates who wish to help support themselves, develop a skill, prepare for release or relieve the strains of incarceration.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

The Federal government and nearly all state correctional systems operate prison industry programs. As of 1972 three hundred and sixty prison industries operated in forty-eight states; the only states not running correctional industries were Alaska and Arkansas. In most cases these "correctional industries" were neither correctional (i.e., they did not rehabilitate) nor industries in the private sector sense of the term. The typical prison industry was characterized by:

- ANTIQUATED EQUIPMENT, reflecting the low budgetary priority accorded industries programs.
- FEATHERBEDDING - Typically there were at least twice as many, and sometimes five times as many inmates assigned to a shop as were needed to do the work.
- SHORT WORK DAY - Many inmates were at their work stations less than four hours per day. Very few worked more than five hours.
- LOW PERFORMANCE EXPECTATIONS - "You can't expect anything from an inmate" was a common theme among industries civilian staff.
- LOW SKILL JOBS - Inmates acquired neither the skills nor work habits which would prepare them for civilian employment.
- UNQUALIFIED SUPERVISORY STAFF - These were frequently individuals trained as corrections officers with limited technical skills, no experience in a production environment and an unwillingness to relate to their subordinates as employees rather than inmates.
- WEAK RECORDS KEEPING SYSTEMS - Production records, inventory valuation, and even records of accounts receivable were often unsystematic or not kept at all.

It is difficult to imagine an environment more dissimilar to industries which function in the private sector. Realizing only a small fraction of their economic potential, such programs are a disservice to the taxpayers who must pay for correctional programs. Institutional security and tranquility are reduced as inmate frustrations rise after hours wasted upon meaningless work

assignments. Inmates assigned to "make work" jobs fail to develop any positive attitudes toward work, and come to associate employment with meaningless drudgery which brings little money and no personal satisfaction.

Recognizing the unrealized potential of prison industry programs in both the economic and rehabilitative spheres, the National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice sponsored a study in fiscal 1975 which proposed a set of objectives for correctional industries. These served as the basis for the development of the Free Venture Model (FV) as adopted by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

The fundamental goal of Free Venture prison industries is the establishment of prison industries which are as similar as possible to their private sector counterparts, within the constraints of security requirements and legislative restrictions. Free Venture industries are characterized by six principles:

1. A full work day for inmate employees.
2. Inmate wages based upon productivity, with a base wage significantly higher than payments available to non-industries inmates.
3. Private sector productivity standards.
4. Responsibility for hiring or firing inmate workers vested with industries staff.
5. Self-sufficient or profitable shop operations.
6. A post-release job placement mechanism.

During 1979 LEAA provided funding to seven states which have sought to implement the FV principles in their prison industry shops: Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, South Carolina and Washington. An evaluation of the FV implementations was undertaken by the University City Science Center and the Correctional Economics Center of the Institute for Economic and Policy Studies. This report presents evaluation findings relating to the impact of FV upon host institutions.

Institutional Impacts

In most states establishment of FV correctional industries represents a significant departure from prior practices. Profitability, once the dominant goal of prison industries, has not been a goal of most programs during the past 40 years. Introduction of the six FV characteristics may make substantial demands on the host institution. Operating procedures governing movement, feeding, counts, etc., may have to be modified to accommodate a full work day for industries inmates. Hours of operation of the prison barber shop, canteen, mail room, counseling and other services may be affected. The high wages available to industries inmates may affect the attitudes and behavior of participating and nonparticipating inmates as well as civilian staff.

Assessment of the impact of the FV principles on institutional procedures and on social systems was accomplished through collection and analysis of both interview and records data. Interviews were conducted with industry (inmates) employees and civilian staff, superintendents, corrections officers and institutional program staff of twelve prisons in the seven FV states. Demographic (race, age, etc.) and disciplinary data were extracted from institutional records of both Free Venture and non-industries inmates. Records data were used to compare the two groups on characteristics such as race, age, offense, time to parole, etc., and to determine whether FV participation had any effect upon inmates' behavior as reflected in disciplinary reports. Interview data were used to determine reactions to FV and to explore the impact of FV upon inmates' behavior, other institutional programs, institutional operating procedures and security.

In examining the data presented in this report, the reader should be aware that FV programs vary considerably. Stages of program development, the

level of implementation of the FV characteristics, legal and economic factors constraining industries operations and other crucial factors vary widely among the FV states. Therefore, caution should be exercised in making direct comparisons between individual states.

Evaluation Activities

The evaluation team visited each FV state twice. During the first visit evaluation staff met with state corrections officials, industries directors and prison superintendents, to discuss evaluation issues, objectives and procedures. Inmates' records jackets were examined to determine the availability of demographic, criminal history and institutional disciplinary data. Based on information gathered on the initial round of site visits, data collection worksheets and structured interview protocols were developed (See Appendix B).

Data collection was accomplished during a second visit. Approximately one week was spent in each state visiting all FV institutions and shops. In all, twenty-nine shops in twelve institutions were included in the study.

Both interview and records data were collected in FV institutions. Background and institutional information was obtained from prison records for random samples of FV and non-industries inmates. Structured interviews were conducted with civilian staff and FV employees. (A group of inmates from non-FV industries shops were also interviewed at one site.) In all states combined, data collection included:

Records Data

216 FV inmates

25 Non-FV industries inmates (Minnesota only)

210 Non-industries inmates

Structured Interviews

7 Industries directors

12 Prison superintendents

35 FV shop supervisors

194 FV (inmate) employees

12 "Traditional industry" inmate employees

40 Corrections officers

12 Institutional counselors and caseworkers

7 Vocational education directors

In addition, informal discussions were held with industries production managers, marketing staff, business office personnel and others.

Organization of the Report

The remainder of this report is organized into two sections. The first presents the evaluation methodology and findings relating to perceptions of Free Venture and specific impacts of FV programs upon their host institutions. The final section is a summary of project findings, recommendations and conclusions.

II. METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS

The impact of Free Venture programs upon institutional procedures, inmates and staff was assessed through analyses of records and interview data. The following questions were examined:

(1) How is Free Venture perceived by inmates, prison administrators, corrections officers, shop supervisors and institutional program staff?

(2) Do inmates employed in FV shops differ from their non-FV peers with respect to demographic or criminal history variables?

(3) What has been the impact of the Free Venture program upon:

- Participating residents' behavior while incarcerated;
- The behavior of non-participating residents;
- The structure and operation of institutional programs;
- Institutional operating procedures and policies; and
- Institutional security.

Data collection methodology and procedures are described below, followed by a discussion of our findings.

Data Collection Methodology and Procedures

Data collection in each state involved extracting data from the records jackets of random samples of FV and non-FV inmates, as well as interviewing inmates and civilian staff. Data obtained from inmates' records included:

- Race
- Date of Birth
- Marital Status
- Number of Dependents
- Highest Grade Completed
- IQ
- Date Committed

- Number of Previous (Adult) Commitments
- Earliest Parole Date
- Offense
- Disciplinary Report Data

Objectives for the analysis of these data included determination of:

1. The effect of FV participation upon inmates' behavior as reflected in disciplinary reports.
2. Whether FV participants differ from other inmates with respect to demographic and criminal history data.

The design employed to accomplish these objectives is a quasi-experimental static group comparison. This requires the random selection of a sample of FV inmates and a non-FV inmate comparison sample. The disciplinary history of the FV group prior and subsequent to their employment can then be compared to that of the non-Free Venture group to detect possible effects of participation in the FV program. Since this approach relies upon extant Free Venture and comparison groups of uncertain equivalence, it is important to collect background data (e.g., age, race and criminal history) for members of each sample. These data are useful in determining whether inter-group differences in disciplinary histories are due to FV participation or to other variables. In addition, it serves to accomplish the second goal of comparing FV inmates to the remainder of the institutional population.

Selection of Free Venture and Comparison Inmate Samples. A list of all inmates assigned to Free Venture shops was obtained from the industries director, and used in conjunction with a random number table to construct a random sample of FV inmates in each state (except Iowa and Washington; see below). A list of all remaining (i.e., non-FV) inmates was obtained from the institution's records office and used to construct a random comparison sample of non-FV inmates in each state.

Selection of the Interview Sample. Structured interviews were conducted with FV inmates and institutional personnel at each FV host institution. The inmate interview sample was randomly selected from a list of all FV employees. Non-inmate interviewees were not randomly selected. All superintendents of FV institutions were interviewed, as were all FV shop supervisors except for a few who were absent when the interview team was on site. Arrangements for interviews with institutional staff were made through the Superintendent's office. We asked to speak with corrections officers who were assigned to the industries area as well as those assigned to living units, and to counselors and program staff whose length of tenure enabled them to provide a perspective on the impact of Free Venture. Their views are not necessarily representative of their peers, although we are not aware of any systematic biases.

Summary of Data Collection. Table 1 shows which data were collected at each institution. The structured interview data were supplemented by informal interviews with numerous industries and institutional staff in each state. Data collection activities were more restricted in Washington and Iowa than in the other five states. Implementation of the Washington FV program did not begin until December, 1979. Accordingly, an impact evaluation was not appropriate at the time this study was conducted. In Iowa, no disciplinary data were available for non-FV inmates since all but the most recently admitted Riverview residents were FV participants. In some states having more than one host FV institution, extensive records data were collected at only one site. Finally, interview and records data were collected for random samples of "traditional" industries inmates at Stillwater prison in Minnesota; Stillwater is the only facility supporting operationally distinct FV and traditional industries within the same institution.

TABLE 1

DATA COLLECTION BY INSTITUTION

Institution		Security Level	Records Data		Structured Interview Data				
			FV	Non-FV	Superintendent	FV Inmates	FV Shop Supervisors	Correction Officers	Program Staff
CANON	(Colorado)	Max.	40	40	1	29	2	4	2
FREMONT	(Colorado)	Med.	6	4	1	2	1	6	0
ENFIELD	(Connecticut)	Min.	9	0	1	6	4	4	0
SOMERS	(Connecticut)	Max.	30	41	1	23	5	5	3
JOLIET	(Illinois)	Max.	14	26	1	15	1	2	3
SHERIDAN	(Illinois)	Med.	15	23	1	15	1	3	2
RIVERVIEW	(Iowa)	Min.	24	19	1	23	5	2	1
LINO LAKES	(Minnesota)	Med.	25	0	1	14	5	3	2
STILLWATER	(Minnesota)*	Max.	19	26	1	14	2	3	1
KIRKLAND	(S. Carolina)	Med.	34	34	1	29	4	8	3
MONROE	(Washington)	Med.	0	0	1	12	2	0	1
WALLA WALLA	(Washington)	Max.	0	0	1	12	3	0	2
		TOTALS	216	213	12	194	35	40	20

* In addition to the above, records data were collected for 25 randomly selected Stillwater inmates assigned to traditional (i.e., non-FV) industries shops and 12 of these inmates were interviewed. Those data were included in the non-FV comparison sample for analyses discussed below.

Interviewing Procedures. All inmates were individually interviewed, during their working hours, in a private room adjacent to the shop area. The list of men to be interviewed was given to the shop supervisor, who brought each inmate into the room when the interviewer was ready for him. All interviews were preceded by the following introduction:

> Hello _____, my name is _____. I am here as part of a team conducting a study of correctional industries for the Federal government. As part of our study we're talking to industries' civilian staff. But we also want to find out how the men who work in the shops feel about their jobs, what they like, and dislike about working here. Since we don't have time to talk with all of the men we chose some names at random -- kind of like pulling them out of a hat -- and yours was one of them.
>
> I would like to ask you some questions about what it is like to work here. I will not record your name and no one will ever know what you told me. In our report we will list each question and note the number of men who gave each response, but there will be no way of telling who said what. The interview takes about 20 minutes. You don't have to be interviewed if you don't want to, and you don't have to finish it if you start. Do you have any questions?

No inmates refused the interview, all completed it. Most interviews were completed within 20 minutes although several lasted 30 minutes.

Corrections officers were interviewed at their work stations. Each interviewee was told that:

- The Superintendent had given his permission for the interview to be conducted.
- The study was Federally sponsored and being conducted in seven states.
- The purpose of the interview was to find out how officers feel about different types of industry programs, whether they affect institutional procedures and security, and their perceptions regarding the impact of industries employment on the inmate social system.
- His response would be confidential and his name not recorded.
- The interview would take about 15 minutes.
- He need not participate if he did not wish to.

None of the officers declined to participate.

All other respondents (superintendents, shop supervisors, counselors, institutional program staff) were interviewed in their offices. Different structured interview protocols were used for each type of respondent. The duration of their sessions ranged from approximately 30 minutes for superintendents to 45 minutes for shop supervisors.

Characteristics of Interview Samples. The following three tables present background information regarding the FV inmates, shop supervisors and corrections officers who were interviewed, respectively.

Due to missing data, totals for individual entries may not equal sample totals. Figures in parentheses indicate percentages of non-missing cases. The bulk of the missing data in Table 2 reflects the absence of records data for the 24 inmates interviewed in Washington State. All data were derived from institutional records (R) or structured interviews (I).

Breakdowns of these data by state are available in seven monographs prepared for LEAA under this contract. The aggregate data (Table 2) indicate that two thirds of the inmates in the FV work force are white. Their average age is between 28 and 29. Approximately half have never been married and half have no dependents. Slightly more than half have at least one prior adult commitment; the average time served during the present incarceration is two years and the average time remaining to be served before parole eligibility in just under two years. One third are high school graduates but most FV inmates completed ten years or less of formal education. Nearly half claimed to have been employed during the entire year prior to their incarceration, but only one third had prior experience working in the type of shop to which they were currently assigned.

TABLE 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FV INMATE INTERVIEW SAMPLE

(N = 194)

Race (R)*:

White	118	(63%)
Black	50	(27%)
Hispanic	16	(9%)
Other	4	(2%)

Age Last Birthday (R):

Under 20	4	(2%)	
20-24	34	(21%)	
25-29	53	(32%)	Median Age 28.7
30-34	42	(25%)	Range 17 to 62 years
Over 34	33	(21%)	

Marital Status (R):

Single	76	(46%)
Married	50	(30%)
Separated or Divorced	36	(22%)
Widower	2	(1%)

Number of Dependents (R):

None	79	(49%)
One	27	(17%)
Two	25	(16%)
Three	13	(8%)
More than Three	17	(10%)

Minimum Time to Parole (R):

Less than Six Months	14	(9%)	
6-12 Months	33	(22%)	
12 - 24 Months	33	(22%)	Median = 1.9 years
2 - 5 Years	46	(30%)	
More than 5 Years	27	(16%)	

* R = Data obtained from institutional records. I = Data obtained during interview.

Highest Grade Completed (R):

6 or Less	15	(9%)	
7-9	39	(24%)	Median Years of Formal Education = 9.9
10-11	52	(32%)	
H.S. Graduate	38	(23%)	
Some College	20	(12%)	

Number of Previous Adult Commitments (R):

None	77	(46%)
One	31	(19%)
Two	22	(13%)
More Than Two	36	(22%)

Offense for Which Committed (R):

Murder	32	(19%)
Sexual Assault	28	(17%)
Burglary	20	(12%)
Robbery	38	(23%)
Aggravated Assault	14	(8%)
Other	34	(21%)

Time Served, This Incarceration (R):

Less Than 1 Year	30	(18%)	
1-2 Years	46	(29%)	
2-3 Years	36	(22%)	Median Age = 2.0 Yea:
3-4 Years	14	(9%)	
More Than 4 Years	37	(22%)	

Number of Months Worked During Year Prior to Incarceration (I):

None	37	(19%)
1-4	13	(7%)
5-8	39	(20%)
9-11	13	(7%)
12	89	(47%)

Experience Prior to Incarceration Working in Same Type of Shop (I):

None	129	(68%)
Less Than 1 Year	18	(9%)
1-5 Years	26	(14%)
More Than 5 Years	18	(9%)

Background information collected during interviews with shop supervisors and corrections officers is presented in Tables 3 and 4. Data from Table 3 indicate that, unlike many prison industry programs, FV shops are staffed with supervisors with significant experience in private sector production environments rather than with former corrections officers.

The following subsections present evaluation findings. The first discusses interviewees' perceptions of FV. The second presents findings related to program impact. The level of FV implementation in each state is not discussed. This issue is relevant to the question of program impact and is discussed in the concluding chapter. Perceptions presented below are important in identifying sources of support for or resistance to various aspects of FV.

Perceptions of Free Venture

Successful implementation of FV requires commitment and mutual support from industry and institutional staff. The necessity for close cooperation makes it essential that the views of various constituencies be recognized prior to program implementation. A frequent complaint of shop supervisors and institutional staff in FV states was that too little time had been allotted to planning for FV; that the support of institutional and industries staff had not been secured. The following comment, by a superintendent, is typical:

> The biggest problem with FV in this institution has been the lack of planning. Changes don't come easy within prisons. You have to let people know what you want to do and why. A program like FV must be sold to both civilian staff and inmates. Industries should have involved their supervisors and my staff in planning. Then they should have presented their ideas to the corrections officers, and finally to the inmates.

This issue is critical because FV makes demands upon both industry staff and the host institution. There are many opportunities for disaffected staff to sabotage the program.

TABLE 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FV SHOP SUPERVISOR INTERVIEW SAMPLE
(N = 35)

Race:			
	White	31 (89%)	
	Black	3 (9%)	
	Hispanic	1 (3%)	
Age:			
	Less than 30	2 (6%)	
	30-35	8 (26%)	Range = 28 to 60
	36-45	10 (32%)	Median Age = 40 Years
	46-60	11 (36%)	
Experience as a Corrections Officer:			
	None	22 (65%)	
	1-2 Years	3 (9%)	
	2-5 Years	5 (15%)	
	More than 5 Years	4 (12%)	
Length of Employment in Correctional Industries:			
	Less than One Year	7 (20%)	
	1-2 Years	9 (26%)	Mean = 3 Years, 10 Months
	2-5 Years	12 (34%)	
	More than 5 Years	7 (20%)	
Length of Work Experience in Private Sector Shops:			
	None	4 (11%)	
	Less than 3 Years	4 (11%)	Mean = 10 Years, 9 Months
	3-10 Years	10 (29%)	
	10-15 Years	9 (26%)	
	More than 15 Years	8 (23%)	

TABLE 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CORRECTIONS OFFICER INTERVIEW SAMPLE

(N = 40)

Race:

White	31	(78%)
Black	6	(15%)
Hispanic	3	(8%)

Work Station:

In Industries Area	17	(42%)
Not in Industries Area	23	(58%)

Age:

Less than 30	8	(20%)
30-40	10	(25%)
40-50	15	(38%)
Over 50	7	(17%)

Range = 19 to 63

Mean = 40

Length of Employment as a Corrections Officer:

Less than 2 Years	5	(12%)
2-5 Years	12	(30%)
5-10 Years	12	(30%)
Ten or More Years	11	(28%)

Mean = 7 Years, 6 Months

Careful advance planning is particularly important in institutions where there has been little cooperation between industries and institutional programs. A shop supervisor in Walla Walla described some of the ways that antagonistic corrections officers harass industries personnel:

> Officers know that the men are docked for missing work, so they do their best to delay them whenever they can. Industries men are supposed to eat at 11:00 A.M., but the officer at the gate never lets them through before 11:10. Our men are supposed to eat first, but voc. ed. and one of the wings are often called before us. We hire by word of mouth because the officers won't let men come out here for interviews. The officers won't let inmates they particularly dislike through the gate, even if they have been assigned to industries and cleared. The breakfast schedule is set up in a way which prevents our workers from getting to work on time unless they skip the meal. Maintenance is controlled by the institution; we have to do our own because they ignore our requests. There are lots of other things; there has never been any cooperation between the institution and industries here.

There are many ways in which industries programs depend upon the cooperation of institutional staff. No effort should be spared to enlist their active support.

It is beyond the scope of this evaluation to propose a model planning procedure for the implementation of FV programs. We restrict our comments here to noting the absolute importance of enlisting the active support of both inmate and civilian staff for FV, and presenting the views of individuals interviewed during this evaluation toward elements of FV and issues central to the establishment of FV programs. The latter include the goals of prison industries, the nature of the supervisor-inmate relationship, and the factors associated with job satisfaction in FV shops.

Goals of Prison Industries. Reactions to the FV concept reflect perceptions of appropriate goals for prison industries. All civilian respondents were asked to rank, in order of importance, five goals for prison industry programs ("What should the goals of prison industries be?"). Respondents were instructed to assign a "1" to the goal which they felt should be most

TABLE 5

MEAN RANKINGS FOR IMPORTANCE OF PRISON INDUSTRY GOALS

Goals	Respondent Groups: Superintendents (N=12)	FV Industry Directors (N=7)	Corrections Officers (N=40)	FV Shop Supervisors (N=35)	Rehabilitation Program Director and Counselors (N=18)
Help inmates develop good work habits and attitudes	1.4 *	1.4 *	1.8 *	2.0 *	1.6 *
Provide inmates with specific skills	2.7	3.4	2.3	2.2	1.7
Economically self sufficient or profitable shops	3.6 **	1.9	3.5	3.2	3.8
Provide an opportunity for inmates to obtain money	3.8	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.8
Keep the largest possible number of inmates occupied	3.5	4.7 **	3.5 **	4.0 **	4.2 **

* Goal receiving the most "1" (highest) rankings within the respondent group.

** Goal receiving the most "5" (lowest) rankings within the respondent group.

important, a "2" to the second most important, and so on; the least important goal was assigned a "5".

Mean rankings assigned to each of five goals by the five respondent groups are presented in Table 5. To illustrate the computation of tabular entries, consider the responses of the seven industry directors. Four felt that the most important goal for prison industries was the development of work habits; they ranked this goal "1". The remaining three directors all ranked work habits second ("2") to economic self-sufficiency. Thus the mean ranking by industry directors for the work habits goal was 1.4: (4x1 + 3x2)/7. Also, the work habits goal received more "1" rankings from industry directors than did any of the other goals considered. Keeping inmates occupied, which was ranked "5" (i.e., least important) by six of the seven directors, received the most "5" rankings from this group.

All groups considered the development of work habits and attitudes to be the most important goal for a prison industries program. With the exception of institutional superintendents, all groups felt that keeping the largest possible number of inmates occupied was the least important goal. Only industries directors attached high importance to fiscal objectives; six of twelve superintendents ranked fiscal goals least important ("5"). Shop supervisors ranked skills development, a vocational training objective, much higher in importance than did their bosses. Industries directors ranked the importance of skills development lower than any other respondent group.

These data suggest that key correctional constituencies do not share directors' views as to the importance of the economic viability of industries programs. Some respondents felt that economic goals were inconsistent with requirements for institutional tranquility. One superintendent observed:

> Profits are fine, as long as we remember that this is a prison and not an industrial park. In an overcrowded institution all programs have to bend some to relieve the overload of unassigned residents. You can't exempt one program and not others. We're careful not to dump so many men in industries that we destroy the program, but we can't allow industries' profit margin to be of greater concern than the management of the institution.

Other interviewees feared that concern for profits could lead to exploitation of inmate labor, a fear which has a strong historical basis. Some felt that inmates in need of other rehabilitation programs might be pressured into accepting placement in industries if they possessed a critical skill. Finally, several respondents noted the possibility that residents who could benefit from industries employment might be excluded in favor of inmates with more favorable employment histories. A superintendent expressed this view:

> Inmates who need this kind of experience may not be hired if the main concern is cost effectiveness. These men will suffer in terms of rehabilitation, even though they may be motivated.

Prison industries directors concerned with economic viability find few sympathetic ears among institutional administrators, security and treatment staff.

Many shop supervisors also had reservations about fiscal goals. Half (49%) ranked the goal fourth or fifth (i.e. lowest) in importance. In at least some instances this represents resistance to the FV model by men who, in the past, had never been held accountable for productivity or profitability. This lack of concern for economic goals among industries supervisors is an even greater obstacle to the success of FV than the views of institutional staff.

Because there is scant indigenous support for economic objectives, the success of FV hinges upon the commitment of the industries director and his central staff to economic viability. Six of the seven current FV states have employed directors from outside the field of corrections who have significant

private sector experience. All directors seemed to welcome and enjoy the challenge of building an economically viable industries program. All seemed to be equally inspired by the opportunity to help transform society's rejects into productive citizens. This combination of motivations, together with large doses of determination and the ability to establish rapport with corrections professionals, seems to be essential to the success of FV programs.

In order to determine whether the actual priorities of the industries programs were consistent with the respondents' values (i.e., their views of the importance of various goals) all groups except corrections officers were asked to rank the same five goals a second time, assigning a "1" to the goal which they felt was accorded highest priority, a "2" to the goal with the next highest priority, etc. in their state. These data are presented in Table 6.

All respondent groups except superintendents felt that economic objectives were the highest actual priority of FV programs (Table 6), although all groups believe work habits to be more important (Table 5). Respondent groups disagree regarding which goal receives least emphasis. Comparison of Table 6 data with rankings presented in Table 5 show that except for profitability, there is general agreement between the perceived priorities in FV programs and the relative importance of industries goals. Most respondents feel that work habits and skills development receive less attention than they deserve, while economic objectives and the need to keep inmates occupied receive too much emphasis relative to other goals.

Full Work Day. There was little opposition to the principle of a full work day for industries inmates. However, implementation of this FV objective may make substantial demands upon the host institution (see below) and require accomodations with treatment programs.

TABLE 6

PERCEPTIONS OF PRIORITIES OF INDUSTRIES GOALS (MEAN RANKINGS)

Goals	Respondent Group: Superintendents (N=12)	Industry Directors (N=7)	FV Shop Supervisors (N=35)	Rehabilitation Program Directors and Counselors (N=18)
Economically self sufficient or profitable shops.	2.7 *	2.0 *	2.3 *	2.3 *
Help inmates develop good work habits and attitudes	2.2	2.3	2.7	3.1
Keep the largest possible number of inmates occupied	3.3 **	3.1	3.0	3.1 **
Provide inmates with specific skills	3.2	4.3 **	3.2	3.2
Provide an opportunity for inmates to earn money	3.6	3.3	3.8 **	3.4

* Goal receiving the most "1" rankings within the respondent group.

** Goal receiving the most "5" rankings within the respondent group.

Inmates working in FV shops overwhelmingly approved of the full work day; only 4% felt that their work hours were too long. Many wished that they could regularly work overtime: 21% said that their (full) work day was too short. The remainder (75%) said that the length of the work day was "about right."

Many inmates approved of the longer work day because it provides them an opportunity to psychologically escape the prison environment. During their work hours they feel less like prisoners. As shown in Table 7, FV workers cited this as one of the more important reasons for working in industries.

Thirty-one (89%) of the 35 FV shop supervisors agreed with the statement that "Industries should provide at least a seven hour work day for inmate employees." (See Table 8). The strength of this endorsement is particularly significant since many supervisors had lost an hour or more of free time per day when the longer FV work day was introduced.

Corrections officers also strongly supported the full work day, feeling that meaningful work assignments are the key to institutional tranquility. Thirty-five of 40 officers (88%) agreed that "Inmates who work a full day in industries are less likely to get into trouble than if they worked a shorter day"; only one officer disagreed.

Some counselors and rehabilitation program staff were concerned that inmates who work a full day in industries are effectively denied access to other programs. Nearly one fifth (18%) of the FV inmates said that they would like to participate in programs which are unavailable to them because of scheduling conflicts. Program staff were generally unwilling to consider rescheduling treatment programs to enable industries inmates to participate. Some said that this would involve night work and were unwilling to change their work hours. Others felt that such an adjustment would concede too high

TABLE 7

FV INMATES' RATINGS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS REASONS FOR WORKING IN INDUSTRIES

	Response Distribution *				
	1 (VI)	2 (I)	3 (SI)	4 (NI)	Mean Response
Develop a Skill	84	85	16	8	1.73
Save Money to be Used When Released	108	39	25	21	1.79
Mentally Escape Prison Environment	79	61	24	28	2.00
Earn Spending Money	63	83	28	19	2.02
Likes to Work With Other Men in the Shop	51	96	29	17	2.06
Make It Easier to Find a Job When Released	72	60	22	39	2.14
Impress the Parole Board	58	55	32	49	2.36

* VI = Very Important
I = Important
SI = Slightly Important
NI = Not Important

TABLE 8

FV SHOP SUPERVISORS' PERCEPTIONS OF FV GOALS

Item	Response Distribution 1 (SA)*	2 (A)	3 (NS)	4 (D)	5 (SD)	Mean Response
Shop supervisors should have the final say about hiring or firing inmate workers.	23	11	0	1	0	1.4
A Goal for the shop should be to meet private sector standards of quality in our products.	22	12	0	0	1	1.5
Industries should be set up to provide inmates at least a seven hour work day.	15	16	3	1	0	1.7
Each inmate should be paid a wage based in part upon how hard he works.	17	11	1	5	1	1.9
We should try to make the shop nearly as profitable as private sector shops.	7	15	2	9	2	2.5
A goal for the shop should be to meet private sector standards in the quantity of goods produced.	5	17	4	6	3	2.6
Industries staff should be involved in helping workers find employment when they are released.	12	6	6	6	5	2.6
Each inmate should be paid a wage based upon how much profit the shop makes.	4	10	5	10	6	3.1

* SA = Strongly Agree
A = Agree
NS = Not Sure
D = Disagree
SD = Strongly Disagree

a priority to industries ("Why doesn't industries run at night instead of us?"). Finally, several staff felt that it was unrealistic to expect inmates to participate fully in other programs after working a full day in industries: "If they were that motivated they wouldn't be in prison in the first place." In Lino Lakes, the only institution where all treatment programs are conducted during evening hours, staff considered the arrangement to be successful although they acknowledged that some inmates were too fatigued to benefit fully. The superintendent at Lino felt that this approach helps residents to learn to pace themselves in taking advantage of both work and self-development opportunities.

South Carolina has resolved the work-treatment conflict in its medium security Kirkland facility by adding a night shift in its FV shop. This shift is extremely popular among inmates, enabling them to attend programs during the day and work in the evenings. This solution may be less feasible in maximum security institutions, where additional costs for security may be involved.

In many cases, longer industries work hours required substantial modifications to institutional procedures, as discussed below. Logistical problems notwithstanding, all superintendents supported the full work day element of FV, regarding it as highly desirable from an institutional management perspective. Superintendents of maximum security facilities advocated defining "full work day" to be seven hours, noting that the institution would incur additional costs to support a longer day.

In summary, there was general support for the full work day. The only significant reservations involved the need to modify some institutional procedures and concern regarding impacts upon treatment programs.

Wages Based Upon Productivity. The relationship between inmate wages and productivity is a central but problematic component of the FV model. Wages are based upon productivity in only a few states, despite nearly universal belief that there should be a direct relationship. Industries staff find it difficult to develop a plan which is agreeable to inmates and inexpensive to administer. Superintendents fear that allowing industries' wages to rise substantially higher than those available to other residents will create resentments and pressures for higher wages among inmates holding institutional support jobs (e.g., laundry, kitchen, maintenance, etc.). Treatment staff are concerned that inmates in need of rehabilitation programs may abandon them if given an opportunity to earn significant wages in industries.

There is wide variation in FV earnings, ranging from $.20 (South Carolina) to $3.74 (Iowa, auto body shop) per hour. Average monthly earnings (wages plus bonuses) reported by FV inmate interviewees ranged from $12 to $500, with an average of $123. This figure is somewhat distorted by the relatively high wages available to inmates in Minnesota and Iowa. Half of all FV men reported earning less than $65 per month; two thirds earn less than $100.

In all cases, earnings available to FV inmates through wages and bonuses were at least slightly higher than those available to most non-FV inmates. Several states had experimented with bonus plans so that earnings would reflect individual and/or shop productivity, with varying success. At least one state (Connecticut) encountered significant hostility and resistance from inmate workers who had difficulty understanding the bonus plan and suspected industries of manipulating productivity data to deprive them of bonus payments.

In assessing the perceptions of superintendents, corrections officers, FV shop supervisors, and treatment program staff regarding an appropriate wage for industries inmates, each was asked:

> "If industries profits could justify it, would you favor paying industries inmates:
>
> 1. Nothing.
> 2. No more than whatever is necessary to get them to work.
> 3. The wage earned by inmates holding institutional jobs.
> 4. Minimum wage with chargebacks for room and board.
> 5. Prevailing ("real world") wage, with chargebacks for room and board.
>
> Indicate the response which most closely reflects your own opinion."

Responses to this item are presented in Table 9. These data indicate a high level of agreement among all groups of respondents regarding ideal industries wage levels. For all groups, both the median and modal (most frequent) response was "4" -- if industries profits could justify it, inmate employees should receive minimum wage with chargebacks for room and board. Apparently, there is broad support for a substantial increase in the level of industries wages if shop payrolls were covered by shop earnings.

Many respondents qualified their answers. Those who felt that FV workers' wages should be geared to the wage scale for institutional jobs (Response "3") typically added that the industries wage should be somewhat higher, but not approaching minimum wage. Many who favored prevailing wage ("5") and some who supported the minimum wage ("4") stipulated that inmates should be forced to place the bulk of their earnings in a "gate" account which would be inaccessible until they are released. This would reduce the disparity in money available to FV versus other inmates while incarcerated, and provide savings to support ex-offenders during their transition back into the community. Several suggested that prevailing wages should be available

TABLE 9

PERCEPTIONS OF APPROPRIATE INDUSTRIES WAGE LEVEL

	Response Distribution				
	Nothing	No More Than Necessary	Institutional Wage	Minimum Wage, With Chargebacks	Prevailing Wage, With Chargebacks
Superintendents (N=12)	0	0	3	6	3
Corrections Officers (N=39)	1	1	9	20	8
FV Shop Supervisors (N=34)	0	1	4	19	10
Treatment Staff (N=18)	0	0	2	8	8

only to inmates who agree to make restitution payments to their victims. Others suggested that higher wages should only be paid to residents who had completed educational and vocational training programs prior to seeking industries employment. With these qualifications, the support for payment of significant wages was broad and strong.

Inmates, industries personnel, treatment and security staff have different perspectives regarding FV wages. Wages are important to FV inmates both economically and psychologically. Residents use their earnings to purchase coffee, cigarettes, snacks etc. from the prison canteen. One fourth (24%) used part of their earnings to make payments on articles purchased for themselves or their families. One fourth (26%) placed some of their wages into savings accounts.

The psychological value of wages is difficult to measure but evident in comments by both inmates and civilian staff. Some inmates described with obvious pride how they had been able to purchase Christmas gifts for their children, pay for their wives' motel rooms during visits, etc. A civilian supervisor working in an institution where he had formerly served time as an inmate emphasized the importance of wages to the residents' self esteem:

> A lot of these men (FV workers) have nothing and nobody ever sends them a penny. If they had no way to earn money they would have to steal what they need or always be asking for handouts...How can you feel like a man if you always have to beg for handouts? The wages these men earn give them their dignity.

Finally, wages and raises carry important symbolic meaning for some inmates. One worker explained:

> I just got an $.08 per hour raise, the highest possible. If I'd gotten less I would have quit. Not because of the money; I don't care about that. But because of my pride. By giving me the biggest raise possible they're telling me they respect my work.

In an institution where individuals are constantly reminded of their insignificance and attacks upon self worth are frequent, wages take on enormous importance as supports to self esteem.

Inmates strongly favored tying wages to productivity; most felt that this goal had been at least partially achieved in their shop. More than half (59%) agreed that "In this shop, the harder you work the better your chances of earning more money"; one third (33%) disagreed. Difficulties in developing comprehensible bonus plans are reflected in the finding that 29% said they did not understand how their wages and raises were calculated.

Only two (6%) shop supervisors said that the current level of inmate wages was too high, sixteen (46%) felt it was too low. Most accepted the principle of relating wages to individual effort; supervisors were divided as to whether wages should be tied to shop profits (Table 8). All agreed that productivity is related to wages, in the sense that, without wages there would be very little productivity. Discussing his disagreement with the proposition that inmates, if treated with respect, will work as hard as anyone else, one supervisor noted:

> It doesn't matter how well you treat them. These guys will never work hard unless they get paid. Would you?

The concern voiced most frequently by superintendents involved the consequences of creating too great a disparity between FV wage levels and payments available to other inmates. One superintendent reported that experienced workers in institutional support jobs (kitchen, maintenance) had quit to work in industries because of the higher wages, creating difficulties for their previous supervisors who had problems finding adequate replacements. A second superintendent said he would resist paying higher FV wages for fear that it would cause resentment and work actions by inmates in critical jobs, particularly kitchen workers: "From the point of view of institutional management it's a lot more important to have three well-prepared meals than

it is to raise industries wages." However, several superintendents said they would welcome substantial increases in FV wages since, on the outside, different jobs pay different wages and inmates must learn to accept this. Most superintendents would favor significantly higher wages if they were coupled with chargebacks for food, housing and institutional services (thereby reducing actual disparities). In the institution (Stillwater) having the greatest wage disparity, no problems of inmate resentment were reported.

Corrections officers' speculations about the potential impact of FV wages upon the institution are reported below. Adverse effects traced to FV wages were few and minor. Most officers felt that higher wages lead to increased tranquility because inmates realize that misbehavior will make them ineligible for the program. Officers were emphatic about the need to couple higher wages with some form of chargebacks. Inmates earning minimum wage but having no expenses for housing or food would be financially better off than most officers, a prospect respondents understandably resented.

The strongest resistance to increased FV wages comes from treatment staff who feel that enrollment in rehabilitation programs would decline and drop out rates increase as a result. Inmates in need of such programs may abandon them in favor of more remunerative industries assignments. Some fear that treatment programs would be left with industries' rejects when the "better" inmates secured FV jobs. Strategies proposed for dealing with this problem included establishing treatment prerequisites for industries eligibility, rescheduling treatment programs to avoid conflicts with FV work hours and denying FV workers access to their earnings until discharge. Of these, the first two have been successfully tried at Lino Lakes.

In summary, FV wages remain extremely low by private sector standards in all FV states with the exception of Minnesota and Iowa. However, all FV programs have succeeded in establishing wage scales at least somewhat higher

than the institutional wage level. Some adverse consequences have been reported, but these are minor in relation to the considerable advantages of higher wages.

Significant inmate wages are indispensable to the success of FV. Both the economic viability and the rehabilitative potential of industries programs are directly linked to wage policies. It is not possible to create a private sector working environment in the absence of meaningful wages. Programs paying token wages find it impossible to resist pressures for featherbedding. Few inmates are motivated to work up to their capacity for token wages; those who do are subjected to harassment from their peers.

The FV states have demonstrated the feasibility of paying inmate wages which exceed institutional norms. The question of wages for industries inmates is very complex; important issues remain unresolved. Institutional staff voice legitimate concerns. Industries staff have found it difficult to develop satisfactory methods of basing wages upon productivity. There is enthusiasm for chargegacks in many states; but the only state to have implemented a system of chargebacks (Minnesota) has become increasingly disenchanted with this approach. However, positive experiences in states which have increased inmate wages, coupled with broad support within the corrections community for payment of the minimum wage (with chargebacks), suggest that the FV goal of paying significant wages based upon productivity is achievable.

Supervisors Hire/Fire Authority. Authority to fire inmate employees is exercised by all FV supervisors, although formal action is sometimes reserved to a superior. Some directors require the supervisor to observe policies involving written warnings, discussions with the inmate, etc. These policies

are in response to criticisms that supervisors too often fire inmates on the basis of racial bias, whim, etc. rather than through established and consistent procedures. The only other complaint involving firing authority was that shop supervisors are too quick to fire their subordinates. One plant manager remarked:

> If a good worker screws up in the private sector his supervisor counsels him and he becomes more effective. Here, when a man screws up his supervisor says "You can't trust an inmate to do anything right" and fires him.

Despite these criticisms, supervisory authority to fire inmates was generally well accepted by most interviewees.

The authority exercised by supervisors in hiring inmates is less clear. Most (73%) FV supervisors said that they "usually" or "always" have the final say in hiring inmates; the remainder (27%) "sometimes" or "rarely" do. Typically, the institution's classification committeee (which sometimes includes an industries representative) defines a pool of residents who are eligible to work in the shop. Job openings are communicated by prison newspapers, posted notices, counselors or word of mouth. The latter method is most common; 90% of shop supervisors reported using informal "word of mouth" procedures in hiring. FV inmates most often heard about job openings from other inmates already working in the shop (43%). Others learned of openings from industries staff (16%), classification committees (22%) and counselors (8%).

The ability of industries personnel to influence classification committee decisions and hire qualified applicants (who may be needed in institutional support jobs or enrolled in treatment programs) varies from institution to institution. Complaints of "creaming" (placing disproportionately large numbers of inmates having favorable backgrounds in a given assignment) were generally not supported. When data from the FV states were aggregated FV

inmates were found to be similar to their non-FV peers on all eleven criminal history and background variables. However, the potential for creaming is clearly present, particularly in programs which combine hiring authority with the payment of wages which far exceed institutional norms. Inmates in the (FV) bus shop in Stillwater had substantially better educational backgrounds (average of 14.1 years of formal education vs. 9.9 years for non-FV inmates) than non-FV residents, including several individuals holding advanced degrees and one Ph.D. They also had a significantly longer time to parole (4.3 years vs. 2.1 years). The absence of creaming in most institutions probably reflects a combination of low wages and constraints upon hiring authority.

Shop supervisors approved this FV element more strongly than any other (See Table 8). They regarded hire/fire authority as an essential component of any industries program where supervisors are accountable for productivity.

The most controversial aspect of hire/fire authority is its relatinoship to featherbedding. A superintendent stated:

> I have no problems with supervisors exercising hire/fire authority as long as institutional needs are considered along with industries' needs. When an institution is severely overcrowded all programs must bend some to relieve the overload.

The concern here is that industries hire/fire authority will lead to lower levels of inmate employment.

Additional concerns involved discrimination in hiring and employment prerequisites. In a few instances interviewees felt that supervisors discriminated against minorities in hiring and firing. However, the racial composition of FV work groups was significantly different from that of the inmate population as a whole in only one state. (This does not necessarily indicate racially biased employment practices even within this state since other factors, such as racial imbalance in the pool of applicants, may account for

the finding.) Thus there is little evidence that FV hire/fire practices contribute to discrimination in employment.

Finally, some institutional staff feared that FV might bolster industries' influence to the point where "creaming" would become a reality, with institutional support roles and treatment program slots filled with inmates rejected by industries. Several treatment program staff felt that industries should be restrained from hiring inmates who are clearly in need of rehabilitation services. This might include those who are illiterate, have no job skills, or show evidences of psychopathology. Some institutions (Lino Lakes, Sheridan) stipulate educational prerequisites for industries employment. Wider adoption of this policy might reduce the hostility which characterizes relationships between industries and treatment programs in some states (see below).

Private Sector Productivity Standards; Profitability. These two issues are discussed in detail in Assets and Liabilities of Correctional Industries, a monograph prepared under this contract by the Institute for Economic and Policy Studies, Inc. of Alexandria, Virginia. The present discussion is limited to interviewees' perceptions of these FV goals.

As shown in Table 8, supervisors felt that private sector quality standards represent an appropriate goal, but more than one third had reservations concerning the volume of production and profitability objectives. In response to a separate item, nearly one third (31%) felt that production schedules were unrealistic; 20% regarded quality standards as too high. Numerous obstacles to productivity and profitability were cited including industries' inability to borrow money, restrictions on purchasing, security procedures, call outs, (inmates) employee turnover, excessive requirements for on the job training and others. Few supervisors blamed production problems on the

motivation of the workers: only 20% felt that inmates didn't care about the success of the shop and only one in seven (14%) felt that shops relying upon inmate labor are inherently unprofitable.

Few inmates complained of being overworked. More frequently, they described the boredom of production lulls when there was too little work to keep them busy. Most seemed proud of their work and their work group; three fourths (74%) felt that their shops' products were as good as those produced in private sector shops and that most of their peers work hard to help the shop succeed.

Some superintendents and treatment staff objected to the FV emphasis upon profits. Comments included the following:

> In establishing industry programs, inmates' needs should be given precedence over fiscal considerations. For example, shops should be established which provide an opportunity for inmates to practice marketable skills even if this adversely affects profits.

> Profits should have a lower priority than institutional tranquility. In an overcrowded institution industries should absorb extra inmates.

Supportive comments were frequent. This response, from the superintendent of a maximum security facility, was typical:

> We're a prison first, and if it ever became a choice between industries' profits and what is best for the institution, I would sacrifice industries profits in a minute. But profits are very important here. It is crucial to avoid the temptation to dump idle inmates into industries shops. You ruin the work ethic through make-work jobs. Meaningless work assignments train inmates to fail in the real world of work. And as far as institutional security is concerned they're not much better than idleness. Our focus upon profits helps us to remember all this.

In short, most respondents supported FV productivity and economic objectives because these were seen as essential to a "real world" work environment. Few felt that these should be top priorities per se (Table 5). The goal of economic self-sufficiency found stronger support than profitability.

Post Release Job Placement Mechanism. This FV component has received the least attention of the six. With some exceptions (e.g., Connecticut) FV states have devoted scant planning and few resources to assisting their employees with post release employment. The most common activity involved maintaining employment histories (e.g., length of employment, responsibilities, types of equipment operated, etc.) for industries inmates so that potential private sector employers could determine releasees' capabilities. Most industries programs resisted this component either because they did not know how to accomplish it, felt that it is not properly a function of the industries program, or regarded it as an inappropriate use of resources during initial phases of program development.

Most inmates (70%) believed that FV work experience would help them in finding a job on the outside, although this was not a particularly important consideration in seeking FV employment (Table 7). Half (51%)intend to seek employment in a similar type of shop when they are released. Significantly, less than half (47%) believed that industries staff would assist them in any way in finding a job when released; and those who anticipated help usually expected that their supervisors would help them on an informal basis as a personal favor. Very few were aware of any formal, systematic industries activities in support of post release job placement.

Shop supervisors were divided on this issue (Table 8). Some saw rehabilitation and job placement as central elements of their role, distinguishing it from its private sector counterpart. Others agreed about the importance of job placement, but felt that it was not a legitimate industries function. Supervisors frequently maintained contacts in similar private sector shops which enabled them to assist some inmates.

Superintendents wished to avoid duplication of effort, and felt that job placement could best be achieved if industries maintained detailed records of inmates' work performance. These could then be made available to counselors, probation officers, job placement agencies, etc. It was also suggested that job placement could be facilitated if industries were coordinated with other correctional programs such as education, vocational training and work release. Additional options include establishing links with community employment agencies, undertaking public relations activities to improve corrections/community relations and establishing post-release follow-up systems.

Insofar as Free Venture's objectives include rehabilitation, the lack of emphasis upon job placement must be counted a major weakness of existing programs. Preoccupation with economic goals discourages the commitment of resources to these activities. It may be appropriate for the state to subsidize industries' activities which are primarily rehabilitative and generate no revenue. Adoption of human resource accounting methods (discussed in Assets and Liabilities of Correctional Industries, supra) would allow industries to assign a value to their investment in human resources, i.e., rehabilitation.

Inmate-Supervisor Relations. The nature of inmate-supervisor relationships is arguably a more important aspect of creating a real world work environment than any of the six formal FV elements. Supervisors' expectations of inmate employees, inmates' perceptions of supervisors (e.g., guard vs. babysitter vs. foreman), techniques used to motivate and reward employees, disciplinary approaches and other aspects of the shops' interpersonal climate are as important as the length of the work day, wages, etc. in establishing a private sector environment.

The task of establishing such an environment, while supporting the efforts of security officers in controlling contraband and making appropriate allowances for the special deficits and stresses of an inmate work force, is extraordinarily demanding. The supervisor has few supports in the work setting. Inmates regard him as part of an oppressive correctional establishment. If he has no prior experience in corrections (which is usually the case among FV supervisors) correctional officers are likely to consider him a naive and potentially dangerous outsider whose lack of familiarity with security procedures poses a real danger to the institution. The supervisor soon learns that the inmate code proscribes work for "slaves' wages"; if his shop pays only token wages the supervisor finds that the pace of work is extremely slow by private sector standards. Added to this are restrictions upon purchasing raw materials and equipment; unavailability of skilled or highly motivated workers; an historical lack of emphasis upon production rates or product quality; an ever present threat of disruption and violence, and a work force coping with the dehumanization and stresses of incarceration. The transformation of the prison industries work setting to one resembling the private sector is, euphemistically, a "challenge." As discussed below, FV supervisors have been remarkably successful (with some exceptions) in achieving rapport with their inmate subordinates.

The majority of FV shop supervisors (89%) have worked in private sector shops; all but one FV industries director also have significant private sector experience. Most have succeeded in establishing important features of the desired interpersonal climate within their institutions. Direct observation by evaluation staff was limited to approximately one day per shop, but in most instances inmates reported punctually to their work stations, responded appropriately to supervision and were seldom idle. Only 10% of FV

inmates felt that it was possible to "goof off" during work hours without being fired. Three fourths (74%) said that most men work hard to help the shop succeed. Most importantly, more than two thirds (68%) felt that their supervisors treated them more like employees than like inmates.

Supervisors' perceptions of inmate employees tended to be favorable. Only one in five (20%) felt that most inmates didn't care about the success of the shop. Three fourths (74%) believed that inmates will work as hard as anyone else if treated fairly. Supervisors consistently rated inmates more favorably than did corrections officers on each of seven characteristics, as shown in Table 10. Supervisors saw inmates as more hard working, easy to get along with, interested in personal development and dependable; less untrustworthy, uncooperative and disruptive than did corrections officers. These data indicate that most FV supervisors respect inmates' capabilities and have more favorable attitudes toward inmates than do security staff.

Interview data and observation by the evaluation team confirm that most FV states have made progress in establishing an interpersonal climate similar to that of the private sector. This has been the cause of resentment among some corrections officers who feel that shop supervisors are not security conscious and are naive in their relationships with inmates:

> You can't hire people who don't know how to handle inmates and expect the program to work. They (shop supervisors) seem to think that inmates are just like you and me. One of these days they're really going to get burned.

Shop supervisors should be trained to understand the need for security procedures that are foreign to private sector shops. But supervisor - employee relations similar to those in the free world are indispensible to FV. There is no evidence that the rapport described by the officer quoted above has been injurious to institutional tranquility. To the contrary, it is a central element in rehabilitation and the reduction of institutional tensions.

TABLE 10

COMPARISON OF FV SHOP SUPERVISORS AND CORRECTIONS OFFICERS RATINGS OF CHARACTERISTICS OF "TYPICAL INMATES"

Characteristic	Supervisors' Mean Rating (N=33)	Officers' Mean Rating (N=39)
Easy to Get Along With **	5.39	4.69
Not Disruptive **	4.94	4.13
Dependable ***	4.70	4.13
Hard Working *	4.12	3.85
Untrustworthy **	3.39	4.13
Disinterested in Personal Development	3.15	3.67
Uncooperative	3.09	3.59

Ratings derived from a 7-point semantic differential scale. Higher ratings indicate more of the characteristic.

* Difference in ratings is statistically significant at .001 using Student's t-test.

** Difference in ratings is statistically significant at .05 using Student's t-test.

*** Difference in ratings is statistically significant at .10 using Student's t-test.

Inmate Job Satisfaction. Inmates who feel that their supervisors treat them like employees are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs. This factor was more strongly associated with job satisfaction than was any other; its importance is suggested by the data presented in Table 11. Variables which were found to be unrelated to job satisfaction included age, educational level, length of time served, time to parole and previous employment history. Data presented in Table 11 suggest that inmate job satisfaction will be greatest in shops where supervisors treat workers like employees (rather than like inmates); wages are related to productivity; and the work experience enhances the prospects for employment upon release. Since these are key elements of the FV concept, it is not surprising that inmates strongly support FV. This finding is discussed below in greater detail.

Comments by FV inmates in Walla Walla and Somers illustrate the importance of psychological aspects of FV employment to some inmates, particularly in alleviating the stresses of incarceration and in providing a sense of meaning:

> It's a relief to be out here. Industries is the only place where you have any freedom. There's much less tension than inside the walls. The supervisors treat us like human beings and we have less contact with the misfits (corrections officers). It's a different world in there; you're always on edge, never relaxed. We have a good work crew here. No troublemakers. You get a better type of man out here, because the troublemakers don't want to work and don't come to industries.

> Working makes you feel like you're doing something with your life. When you're locked up, you're just wasting your life. But working in the shop keeps you going from day to day. It gives you a reason to get up. Before I got this job I used to get really depressed. But I'm learning things here and now I don't feel like I'm throwing my life away.

The psychological benefits of FV employment are at least as important as wages to many inmates' job satisfaction and rehabilitation.

TABLE 11

PEARSON CORRELATIONS OF FV INMATES' JOB SATISFACTION WITH OTHER VARIABLES (N=194)

Variable	Correlations With Job Satisfaction	Level of Statistical Significance (t-test)
Perception that supervisors treat inmates like employees.	.40	.0001
Perception that wages are related to effort.	.36	.0001
Perception that FV employment will help in job hunt when released.	.35	.0001
Perception that shop products are as good as those of the private sector.	.29	.0001
Perception that most men in the shop want it to succeed.	.28	.0001
Works in order to psychologically escape prison.	.23	.001
Works to enhance prospects for employment when released.	.18	.01
Works to enhance probability of parole.	.18	.05

Nearly three fourths (71%) of FV inmates said they were "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with their jobs 17% were "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied." When asked what they liked best about their jobs 39% cited the opportunity to develop a skill, 17% said it made the time pass more quickly, and 16% said it enabled them to psychologically escape the prison environment. Only 15% work primarily for the pay.

Inmates' ratings of the importance of various reasons for working were presented in Table 7. There was wide variability in responses to some of these items. In institutions where tension levels were low few inmates worked primarily as a psychological escape; but this factor was far more important than any other for inmates in tense, unstable institutions (e.g., Walla Walla). Some individuals were strongly motivated by the opportunity to develop a skill and enhance their prospects for finding a job when released; others intended to work in a completely unrelated area when released or were serving such a long sentence that the issue was irrelevant.

Different inmates derive different benefits from their employment. For many (particularly long termers), FV work is satisfying because it relieves the debilitating boredom of incarceration. For some, FV wages are all important: wage levels in some states are high enough to enable inmates to help support their families; they can put in a hard day's work without being harassed by their peers for working at "slaves' wages." For most, the pride and effort involved in producing a marketable product and the self-esteem which develops when supervisors treat their subordinates with respect and encouragement are important payoffs.

FV Shop Supervisors' Job Satisfaction. The shop supervisor's role is extremely demanding, requiring technical and supervisory skills in addition to some knowledge of corrections. As one man put it: "In this job you have

to be part father, part cop, part counselor and part foreman." It is unlikely that the required skills can be found within the correctional community. Unlike traditional industries programs FV must usually look to the private sector to recruit its civilian staff. The use of former corrections officers is particularly hazardous since, even when these individuals possess the requisite technical skills and familiarity with the production environment, their socialization as security officers makes it difficult for them to establish appropriate supervisory relationships with inmate employees. (However, there are exceptions to this; two of the most respected and liked supervisors interviewed were former officers.)

One major problem experienced by supervisors, especially those with no previous corrections experience, involves their relationships with institutional staff. Some corrections officers and program staff are very suspicious of "outsiders." They resent supervisors' lack of familiarity with security procedures:

> Industries hired supervisors off the street and didn't take the trouble to acquaint them with the institution. Some of these guys (industries civilian staff) have never been inside a cell block. They have no idea what a prison is all about or how to run a secure shop. Much of the contraband in the joint comes in through industries.

For these reasons, and to enable the shop supervisor to better understand the stresses experienced by inmate workers, it is important for industries personnel to familiarize themselves with the procedures, staff, and psychosocial milieu of the facility in which they work.

Sources of satisfaction for supervisors included the challenge of establishing a productive shop despite the severe constraints of the prison setting, job security and the chance to help inmates make something of their lives. Three fourths (76%) of the supervisors said they were "usually" or "very" satisfied with their jobs. While most supervisors approved of most FV elements (See Table 8) there were numerous complaints about the "red tape"

and bookkeeping associated with FV. When asked which aspects of their job they most disliked, nearly half (43%) complained of administrative requirements.

Supervisors were asked to rate the importance of several job enrichment opportunities in order to determine their career development needs. Responses are shown in Table 12. The high importance associated with participation in decision making reflects the belief of supervisors in several states that FV was forced upon them with no concern for their views. The low priority accorded to helping inmates find jobs is consistent with supervisors' rejection of this FV component (Table 8).

The level of supervisors' job satisfaction depends heavily upon their ability to resolve the role conflict inherent in the position. Superiors in the industries hierarchy (under FV) ask him to maximize production and treat inmates as employees. The staff of the institution in which he must function is not at all concerned about productivity, but asks him to be very security-conscious and avoid treating his workers as anything other than inmates. While the supervisors' formal responsibility is normally to the industries director, institutional staff exercise considerable formal and informal authority over industries staff. Harassment of industries staff by security officers was reported frequently in two states. (In one state a supervisor quit after experiencing daily delays of up to thirty minutes at various institutional check points.) Job satisfaction for FV supervisors is strongly related to the extent of cooperation and support between institutional and industries staff.

The Institutional Impact of Free Venture

There were wide variations among the FV implementations as to the operationalization of the six FV principles. The length of the work day, nature

TABLE 12

SUPERVISORS' RATINGS OF IMPORTANCE OF JOB ENRICHMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Opportunity	Response Distribution* 1 (VI)	2 (I)	3 (SI)	4 (NI)	Mean Rating
Increased participation in industries decision making.	17	15	2	1	1.6
Opportunity to discuss your work with staff working in correctional industries in other states.	16	12	6	1	1.8
Opportunity to observe and discuss production processes in private sector shops.	9	19	4	3	2.0
Opportunity to attend a workshop on "Supervising Inmates in Correctional Industries".	14	11	2	8	2.1
Opportunity to find out what becomes of some of the inmates under your supervision when they are released.	9	11	10	5	2.3
Opportunity to play a more active role in helping inmates to find jobs when they are released.	8	9	7	11	2.6

* VI = Very Important
I = Important
SI = Slightly Important
NI = Not Important

of hire/fire procedures, wage levels, and numerous other factors differed markedly from institution to institution. On all these dimensions, however, the FV programs shared common differences from traditional industries programs. Nearly all FV inmates worked 6.5 hours per day or longer. With few exceptions, their wages were higher than those of inmates in other assignments. Hire/fire procedures were more similar to the private sector than is typical for prison industries; most FV shops have eliminated or reduced the high levels of featherbedding commonly found in prison shops. Most importantly, the FV psychosocial shop environment was characterized by higher performance expectations and more positive supervisor-inmate relationships (see earlier section) than those found in traditional shops. Because of the diversity among FV programs the impacts described below are more appropriately viewed as impacts of industry programs which differ from traditional industries in the ways specified than as impacts of a homogeneous, well-defined program "model."

Major findings regarding the composition of the FV workforce, and the impact of FV upon inmates, staff and institutional procedures are presented in this section.

Selectivity of FV Shops:

Residents assigned to FV shops are similar to their non-FV peers on demographic and criminal history variables.

Aggregated data are presented in Tables 13-16 and results of statistical tests are reported in Appendix A, notes 1-8. Column totals do not always sum to sample totals due to missing data.

Differences between the FV and comparison samples do not reach statistical significance at the .05 level for any of the variables shown in Tables 13-16. Furthermore, disciplinary histories for the two groups are similar

TABLE 13

COMPARISON OF INMATE SAMPLES: RACE

	FV Sample	Comparison Sample
White	132 (61%)	128 (54%)
Black	59 (27%)	80 (34%)
Hispanic	20 (9%)	22 (9%)
Other	5 (2%)	5 (2%)
Totals	216 (100%)	235 (100%)

TABLE 14

COMPARISON OF INMATE SAMPLES: MARITAL STATUS

	FV Sample	Comparison Sample
Single	95 (45%)	126 (55%)
Married	69 (32%)	59 (26%)
Previously Married	48 (23%)	44 (19%)
Totals	212	229

TABLE 15

COMPARISON OF INMATE SAMPLES: OFFENSE

	FV Sample	Comparison Sample
Married	43 (23%)	43 (22%)
Sexual Assault	36 (19%)	30 (15%)
Aggrevated Assault	20 (11%)	21 (11%)
Robbery	49 (26%)	56 (28%)
Property Crimes	41 (22%)	48 (24%)
Totals	189	198

TABLE 16

COMPARISON OF INMATE SAMPLES: AVERAGE EDUCATION LEVEL, IQ, NUMBER OF PREVIOUS ADULT COMMITMENTS, AGE AND TIME TO PAROLE

Sample	Previous Commitments	Highest Grade Completed	Age (Years)	Time to Parole (Years)	IQ
FV Sample	3.5 (N=88)	10.4 (N=164)	30.7 (N=165)	3.1 (N=149)	98.2 (N=87)
Comparison Sample	3.4 (N=80)	10.3 (N=171)	29.0 (N=171)	3.0 (N=162)	95.2 (N=83)

(see below). There is no evidence of "creaming" - hiring only those inmates who are "better" than their peers according to some criteria. As indicated in Appendix A, intersample differences approach significance only for the marital status (p = .10) and age (p = .09) variables. The FV sample includes slightly more married and previously married residents than the non-FV comparison sample, and the FV men are slightly older.

When the data were disaggregated using the institution as the unit of analysis, statistically significant intersample differences on some variables were noted. In Canon (Colorado) the FV sample included fewer black inmates than the comparison sample. The Sheridan (Illinois) FV group included more married inmates, had a greater number of previous adult commitments and a longer time remaining until parole eligibility than did non-FV residents. Residents in the Kirkland (S. Carolina) FV sample had less formal education and were older than comparison inmates. Finally, Stillwater (Minnesota) FV inmates had completed substantially more formal education than those in the comparison groups and differences in both offense history (FV group had more violent offenses) and time to parole (FV group had longer to serve) approached significance (p = .07 for both).

There are several possible implications of this finding. The lack of differences between FV and non-FV groups in most institutions may suggest that the variables considered above are unrelated to the selection criteria used by shop supervisors in hiring workers. It is possible that other variables (e.g, employment history), for which data were unavailable, are salient. Other interpretations are also consistent with the data. For example, the effects of selection criteria may be hidden by differences in attrition rates or by anomalies in the applicant pool. Thus the findings for Sheridan and Stillwater may reflect a policy to hire men having a longer time to

serve; but it might also be that short-termers in these institutions do not apply for jobs as frequently as long-termers.

Discussions with shop supervisors and inmates indicate that hiring in most shops is on a "first-come" basis. Some supervisors noted the desirability of employing long-termers in order to reduce turnover rates, but none claimed to have implemented a policy to accomplish this. Differences between FV employees and inmates not assigned to FV shops, when they occur, probably reflect differences in the applicant pool. As one Walla Walla inmate commented:

> We have a good work crew here. No troublemakers. You get a better type of man out here because the troublemakers don't want to work and don't come to industries.

In addition, it often happens that FV inmates notify their friends when a job opens up, a process favoring greater homogeneity in the workforce.

In conclusion, while it may be reasonable to suppose that the motivations, qualifications, and interests of inmates who successfully apply for jobs in FV shops differ from those of inmates in other assignments, there is no indication that the two groups differ regarding any of the variables studied. Some of these (e.g., time to parole, education level) are particularly salient to industries employment. When data from the seven FV states are aggregated, there is no evidence of systematic creaming or tendencies for FV employees to have more favorable backgrounds than their non-participating peers. However, findings at Stillwater discussed above (Perceptions of FV: Hire/fire authority) indicate a clear potential for creaming in FV programs combining high wages and hire/fire authority.

Effects of FV Upon the Behavior of Participating Inmates:

FV employment has a favorable effect upon the behavior of participating inmates while incarcerated.

Evidence in support of this finding comes from institutional records of disciplinary incidents and data from structured interviews.

The disciplinary histories of FV inmates during pre-FV and post-FV periods was compared to the records of matched inmates from the same institution who were not employed in FV shops. For each FV inmate, the pre-FV period was defined as the period beginning with his date of incarceration (or January 1, 1977, whichever is later) and ending with the date of his assignment to a FV shop. The post-FV period begins with the date of his assignment to the shop and ends September 15, 1979. A monthly disciplinary incident rate was calculated for all FV inmates, for each of these periods: Rate = number of disciplinary reports in the period divided by the number of months in the period.

In order to assign pre-FV and post-FV periods to the non-FV inmates, each FV inmate was matched with an individual from a pool of randomly selected non-FV inmates in the same institution on the basis of his time to parole. Thus randomization was involved in the construction of both samples. The result of this process was that each FV inmate was matched with a unique non-FV inmate who was as similar as possible on the basis of his time to parole. For these matched pairs of inmates the pre-FV and post-FV periods were identical. Thus if FV inmate A, who (for example) was incarcerated during June of 1978 and was assigned to a FV shop in February 1979, is matched with non-FV inmate B, the pre-FV period for both these men would be 6/78 through 2/79 and the post-FV period 3/79 to 9/15/79. Data were available for 136 matched pairs of FV and non-FV inmates, or 272 in all. Of these pre-FV data were missing for 42 of the matched non-FV group. The two groups of matched inmates were statistically similar with respect to race, education level, number of previous commitments, marital status, offense and time to parole. FV workers tended to be older than their counterparts in the

matched group; average ages were 31.5 aand 27.8 respectively. All states were represented in the samples except Washington and Iowa (see earlier section, Summary of Data Collection).

Table 17

Rates of Disciplinary Incident Reports for FV Inmates and Matched Controls

	FV Group (N=136)	Comparison Group (N=94)
Pre-FV Rate Disciplinary Reports	.06	.09
Post-FV Rate of Disciplinary Reports	.05	.11

Pre-post disciplinary data for the two groups are summarized in Table 17. Several analyses were performed using data from the matched groups. The monthly disciplinary report rate for the pre-FV period was found to be .06 for the FV group and .09 for the matched non-FV controls. The difference is not statistically significant (Appendix A, note 9). The rate of disciplinary incidents for the FV sample decreased slightly from .06 to .05 during the post-FV period. Comparable data for the matched controls reveal an increase in their rate of disciplinary incidents from .09 during the pre-FV period to .11 during the post-FV period. Analyses of covariance controlling for pre-FV disciplinary rates confirm (A, note 10) that FV participation has a favorable impact upon inmates' behavior, working to reduce their rate of disciplinary infractions relative to that of the matched controls. Table 18 indicates the relationship between FV participation and change in the rate of inmates' disciplinary incidents from the pre-FV to post-FV periods. Analyses of the tabular data confirm that FV participation is associated with improved behavior as reflected in disciplinary rates (A, note 11).

Table 18

Relationship Between FV Participation and Change in Disciplinary Rate

		FV Sample	Comparison Sample
Change in Rate of Disciplinary Incidents	Decrease	30 (22%)	17 (18%)
	No Change	78 (57%)	40 (43%)
	Increase	28 (20%)	37 (39%)
	TOTAL	136 (100%)	94 (100%)

These data make clear the importance of comparing the behavior of FV inmates with that of non-participating inmates in assessing program impact. Note that the reduction in the disciplinary rate for FV men (i.e., from .06 to .05) is slight and not statistically significant. In the absence of data for a non-participating control group, this finding would support the (erroneous) conclusion that FV participation had no effect upon the behavior of participating inmates. When the additional data are considered, it becomes clear that FV participation had a favorable effect in that FV inmates avoided the deterioration in behavior reflected by the increased disciplinary rate of non-participating inmates.

The conclusion regarding the impact of FV upon inmate behavior is strengthened by the convergence of disciplinary and interview data. Responses by corrections officers to a series of questions relating to the impact of FV upon inmates' behavior are presented in Table 19. Most officers felt that meaningful work greatly reduces tensions and frustrations among inmates. They believed that both the longer work day and higher wages worked to reduce disciplinary incidents among FV inmates. Most (72%) of the

TABLE 19

CORRECTIONS OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPACT OF THE FV MODEL UPON PARTICIPATING INMATES

(N=40)

	Response Distribution * 1 (SA)	2 (A)	3 (D)	4 (SD)	Mean Response
Inmates who work a full day in industries are less likely to get into trouble than if they worked a shorter day.	30 (75%)	5 (12%)	4 (10%)	1 (2%)	1.4
Inmates working in FV industry develop self respect.	23 (58%)	14 (35%)	2 (5%)	1 (2%)	1.5
Overall, the industries program here is good for most inmates.	21 (54%)	17 (44%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	1.5
Inmates who earn money in industries will become more influential with other inmates.	14 (36%)	13 (33%)	5 (13%)	7 (18%)	2.1

* SA = Strongly Agree
A = Agree
D = Disagree
SD = Strongly Disagree

officers interviewed would favor paying FV inmates at least the minimum wage if industries' profits justified it; they noted that this would provide a strong incentive for FV workers to stay out of trouble and would also have a favorable impact upon the behavior of non-industries inmates aspiring to FV employment. They felt that the increased social influence of industries inmates provides positive role models for other residents.

Residents working in FV shops generally felt that their participation in the FV program had not affected their relationships with other inmates or with corrections officers. When impacts were reported they tended to be favorable.

	More Problems	No Change	Fewer Problems
Since you began working in this shop, have you had any more or fewer problems getting along with other inmates?	7 (4%)	151 (83%)	23 (13%)
With corrections officers?	14 (8%)	140 (77%)	27 (15%)

More than one fourth (28%) claimed that they had less leisure time since they began working, or used their leisure time more productively. Both inmates and civilian staff felt this was significant, since disciplinary incidents tend to increase when inmates are idle and bored.

In some instances, improvement in the behavior of FV inmates may be due to direct threats that misbehavior will lead to the loss of a job. In Lino Lakes, where FV wages are high (approximately $2.00 per hour), inmate workers reported being constantly reminded by supervisors and officers that any misstep would lead to their dismissal. As a result, misbehavior was unusual but morale was low and residents expressed considerable anger and hostility at "being treated like children." The lack of misbehavior among FV workers at Lino indicates the importance of wages to these men, rather than any reduction in the tensions or frustrations of incarceration.

In summary, there is strong evidence that FV has a favorable effect upon the behavior of participating residents. Possible mediating factors include:

1) Reduced idle time. As one officer put it, "After working a full day in industries these guys don't have the time or the energy to get into trouble."

2) Increased wages. Prison violence often results from unpaid debts. FV inmates have less need to borrow money and an incentive (i.e., retaining their jobs) to stay out of trouble.

3) Increased self respect. Inmates who are practicing a skill and supporting themselves have less need to seek status through aggressive behavior.

4) "Private Sector" psychosocial shop environment. In several institutions, FV inmates rated the "opportunity to psychologically escape from the prison environment" as the most important reason for working, taking precedence even over wages. It is very likely that this factor works to reduce tensions and anxieties which might otherwise lead to misbehavior or violence.

No interviewee felt that FV had a negative impact upon inmate behavior. The majority said that FV had a positive impact or (in institutions where the program was in its initial stages of implementation) believed that the potential was great.

Effects of FV Upon the Behavior of Non-Participating Inmates:

In most states there is no evidence of FV impact upon the behavior of non-participating residents. In states with especially large or well developed programs observers report a favorable impact upon non-participating inmates.

Questions relating to this issue include the following: Do FV programs cause anger and resentment among non-participating inmates to whom the benefits of FV, particularly higher wages, are not available? Does FV lead to an increase in strong-arming (i.e., intimidation) of FV workers by other inmates who want their money? Are the behavior and/or attitudes of non-participating inmates affected in any way by FV programs?

In most institutions FV programs employed well under 10% of the residents and were too small to have a significant impact upon non-participating residents. In some (e.g., Washington) the program's early stage of development precluded the study of impact.

Civilian staff in institutions where more than 10% of the inmate populations were employed in FV shops or where FV principles (especially regarding wages) were most fully implemented reported no significant negative effects upon non-participating residents. Many felt that the impact had been positive. Observers at Stillwater (where the average FV wage exceeds $2.00 per hour and is far higher than the payments available to most inmates) reported initial resentment but said that it was short lived. Equal access to the program was thought to be the key to gaining acceptance of the wage differential by non-participating inmates.

There is no evidence that higher wages lead to increased strong-arming. Correctional officers were evenly divided as to whether increased wages would (55%) or would not (45%) lead to more intimidation. But in institutions which pay high wages or have large FV programs, no untoward consequences were reported and some respondents felt that FV had helped to <u>reduce</u> intimidation. An officer in Somers noted that

> When a program is available which pays real wages, an inmate will think twice before he risks getting into trouble, because he doesn't want to disqualify himself for the program. Of course there are some who will go on strong-arming because they don't want to work, but overall I think it's decreased.

A counselor in Stillwater agreed with this assessment and added:

> Many strong-armers like to push people around to gain status. But some are mainly interested in the money. The FV program provides legitimate means to get money, so these men have less need to intimidate others.

It may also be that strong-arming is in part an attempt to cope with the psychological strains of incarceration, particularly feelings of impotence

and helplessness. If so, the availability of a Free Venture program may reduce feelings of powerlessness, and therefore the incidence of strong-arming, by offering realistic wages in return for meaningful work.

There are indications that FV has a potentially favorable impact upon inmate mores, changing the culture of the institution itself. In most institutions there is a strong proscription against putting any real effort into one's job, since inmates regard their work assignments as equivalent to slavery. Those who exert anything more than the minimum required effort are harassed and ostracized by their peers. Implementation of FV has in some instances made it possible for inmates to really work. One inmate who had worked in the bus shop at Stillwater when it was first established explained:

> When we first started the shop we had problems. A lot of guys back in the cell blocks didn't like how hard we were working out here. But when they saw what we were doing (refurbishing school buses) and found out what we were being paid they realized that it was a good program; a program that helps us (inmates). Now most people have respect for the men who work out here.

This dynamic was confirmed by a superintendent who felt that most inmates would like to work but are prevented by pressures from other inmates. These pressures are far easier to resist when programs are available which pay meaningful wages for meaningful work.

There is evidence that FV may lead to a favorable modification of other well established tenets of the inmate social system. Production and economic viability are important goals of FV; inmate workers know their wages and even their jobs depend upon shop revenue. <u>Corrections Magazine</u> reports that a good worker in a Stillwater shop began to be harassed when other inmates learned that he was a child-killer. But instead of hustling him off to protective custody the shop supervisor "called the other workers together and told them 'Look, this guy is the best worker we've got here, so get off his

ass.' Since then the (inmate) has worked peacefully with the others in the shop" (Corrections Magazine, Vol. VI, No. 4, August 1980, p. 15). Such incidents suggest that the potential impact of FV upon the inmate social system is very strong.

FV may also have a favorable impact upon the attitudes of civilian staff. One superintendent speculated:

> I believe that most corrections staff buy into a belief system which holds that inmates don't want to work; that they are incapable of thinking about anything other than getting out. FV threatens that belief system. If FV can be made to work, it will force a reassessment of these negative stereotypes. This could in turn lead to less dehumanization of inmates.

In some FV states corrections officers attested to being quite surprised at the quantity and quality of production in FV shops. It is difficult to assess whether their attitudes toward inmates in general have changed. Officers assigned to industries areas (N = 17) rated the "typical inmate" as more hard working (Appendix A, note 12), easier to get along with (A, note 13) and less disruptive (A, note 14) than did officers (N = 22) assigned to other areas within the institution. In no instance were ratings by the former group of officers significantly less favorable than those by the latter group. This is not definitive evidence that exposure to FV programs leads to favorable shifts in attitudes toward inmates among corrections officers: the officers interviewed were not randomly selected and there is no data regarding officers' attitudes prior to exposure to FV. But these findings show that the superintendent's hypothesis must be taken seriously.

In conclusion, FV programs in most states are too small or too young to have had measurable impacts upon non-participating residents. But the available evidence, though sparse, suggests that the potential exists for favorable impacts through reduction of intimidation and a restructuring of the

psychosocial environment of host prisons. The successful implementation of Free Venture is incompatible with punitive, dehumanizing correctional practices. As one supervisor put it: "You can't treat a man like a dog for sixteen hours a day and expect him to work productively for the other eight."

Effects of FV Upon Institutional Procedures:

Implementation of FV requires modifications to institutional operating procedures, particularly in a maximum security institution.

The FV characteristics which affect institutional operations directly are economic viability, hire/fire procedures, and the full work day.

Economic viability requires the minimization of call outs and a reversal of policies which sanction the assignment of unneeded inmates to industries shops (featherbedding). Minimization of call outs has proven to be difficult in some institutions. Significant work hours are lost to infirmary visits, mail call, counselor appointments, meetings with lawyers, family visits, barber appointments and many other interruptions of the inmates' work day. Nearly half (48%) of the FV shop supervisors claimed that call outs interfere with meeting production schedules at least fairly often. Approaches which have been successful in coping with call outs include having counselors speak with FV men in their shops; permitting weekend visits for FV workers and establishing special infirmary, barber and canteen hours.

Elimination of featherbedding is difficult to achieve in institutions which are severely overcrowded, since the initial impact is an increase in the number of unassigned inmates. Also, periodic layoffs may be required to adjust to lulls in production; particularly in shops paying substantial wages. When an unanticipated reduction in work orders resulted in layoffs in the Stillwater bus shop during the fall of 1979, it was necessary to provide alternative assignments to more than one third of the shop's inmate work

force. In traditional industries shops featherbedding is more tolerable because wage scales are far lower and there is little concern for productivity.

Modification of institutional policies may be desirable to promote economic goals. Some prisons have provided separate housng for industries workers. This protects industries from disruptions caused by lengthy lock downs. When industries inmates are dispersed throughout all housing units it is usually not feasible to exempt them from lock downs and industries production must come to a halt, as occurred for several months at the maximum security facility in Walla Walla, Washington in 1979.

The FV model requires that hire/fire authority be vested with shop supervisors. To accomplish this arrangements must be made to notify inmates of job openings, conduct job interviews and provide for industries input into classification and assignment procedures. Several FV states adopted mechanisms to achieve these goals. Job openings were posted on bulletin boards or advertised in institutional newsletters. Counselors worked with industries staff to arrange job interviews for interested inmates. In several institutions, industries representatives served on classification committees which defined a pool of eligible inmates from which industries could then select its labor force.

The full work day, and the related goal of minimization of call outs, was the FV aspect having the greatest impact upon institutional procedures. The number of work hours per day in FV days ranged from six to eight with an average of about seven. No shop in a maximum security facility employed inmates for more than seven hours per day; this was deemed to be the maximum possible without incurring significant additional costs for security staff.

Implementation of the full work day required significant changes in the operating procedures of several institutions. Key goals were to provide adequate security during movement at the begining and end of the FV work day, remove scheduling conflicts to permit FV employees to enroll in treatment programs, and minimize the need for call outs by revising visiting hours and operating hours for the prison barber shop, canteen, laundry, showers, etc. For example, Fremont assigned some officers to a swing shift to handle movement at the end of the FV work day and rescheduled several treatment programs to avoid conflicts with industries' schedules. At Canon FV workers eat hot lunches in their shops from styrofoam containers to reduce the time required for the noon meal. In Walla Walla showers were installed in the industries area because FV workers found it impossible to return to their living units before the showers were closed for the day. Operating hours for the canteen were changed from Monday - Friday, to Tuesday - Saturday to accommodate FV employees. Monroe changed their noon feeding procedures to allow FV workers to eat as a group without locking up for the noon count. Riverview now conducts all disciplinary hearings during non-working hours. At Stillwater the starting time for officers on the day shift was changed from 7:20 A.M. to 6:10 A.M. All treatment programs at Lino Lakes were scheduled in evening hours to avoid conflicts with the FV workers. At Somers infirmary hours were changed to accommodate FV schedules and counselors regularly visit shops, reducing the need for call outs. These examples indicate the range of modifications to operating procedures made during FV implementation. Every institution made some changes; maximum security facilities were affected the most.

In Lino Lakes, where FV employs a large percentage of inmates, treatment programs are run in the evening. At Kirkland an industries night shift

enables FV workers to enroll in programs offered during the day. But in most other institutions FV workers are effectively excluded from other programs. Nearly one fifth (18%) of FV workers said they would like to participate in programs which are closed to them because of scheduling conflicts.

Full implementation of FV requires careful planning and cooperation between institutional and industries staff. Most superintendents and industries directors were able to agree upon necessary changes; superintendents reported little difficulty in implementing new policies and procedures designed to support FV. However, since some changes strongly affected civilian staff and suggested to some that the priority of the industries program had been raised, resistance was evident at lower staffing levels in several institutions. Resistance was especially strong in less stable institutions and in facilities where there was a history of antagonism between institutional and industries staff. These issues will be discussed below in more detail.

To summarize, full implementation of FV often requires significant changes to institutional operating procedures. All facilities studied made changes; most accomplished this with a minimum of difficulty. A stable environment and careful planning involving both institutional and industries staff are important factors in the successful implementation of FV.

Effects of FV Upon Institutional Tranquility:

FV has had a favorable impact upon the tranquility of host institutions.

Evidence for this finding comes from the effects of FV upon the rate of disciplinary incidents, and interview data. As reported above, FV has had a favorable impact upon the behavior of participating inmates. Impacts upon non-participating inmates, if any, are also thought to be favorable. In

roughly half the institutions FV programs were too small to have a significant impact upon tranquility. Experience in large institutions best illustrates the potential of FV to reduce tensions.

Both corrections officers and superintendents were asked about the relationship between FV and institutional tranquility. Most officers (55%) felt that high FV wages might lead to more gambling and two thirds felt that contraband would increase; in several facilities officers reported that "it goes on all the time anyway". Several speculated that high FV wages could lead to increased levels of "nuisance" contraband but reduced levels of dangerous contraband, since residents would be unwilling to risk involvement in a major disciplinary action for fear of losing the opportunity to participate in FV. Officers felt that the net impact of FV upon the institution was favorable. Only one of forty officers disagreed with the statement "Overall, the FV program is good for most inmates" and 80% disagreed that "The FV program causes more problems for custody than it's worth."

None of the superintendents felt that FV had an adverse impact upon tranquility. In prisons with large programs superintendents believed that the impact had been favorable:

> We've had less violence and disorder since FV. I don't attribute this to FV alone, but I think it has contributed.
> (Canon)

> FV gives the residents something to work towards. It encourages them to get with the program and resist the influence of inmates who just want to sit around and get into trouble.
> (Monroe)

> FV has had a very positive effect upon tranquility here; but this has a lot to do with the type of institution we run. We're not maximum security. We can be very selective as to who we admit. All programs here were designed around FV: work is the primary tool of rehabilitation.
> (Lino Lakes)

> FV has led to greater tranquility. FV workers get attention and recognition here; they are more mature and have influence with other inmates. I think it has had a tremendous role in

> stabilizing the institution. We have more than 200 FV inmates who know they will lose their income during a lock down; they have a strong interest in keeping things cool.
> (Somers)

Structured interviews and informal conversations with FV inmates confirm that their jobs are extremely important to many of them. Men who have families spoke of paying for their wives' motel room so they could visit, or for their children's Christmas presents. Even very modest wages can be important to residents who receive no money from friends or relatives, allowing them to purchase cigarettes, coffee, snacks, etc. Nearly all inmates - but particularly those in overcrowded institutions or where tension levels were high - stressed the importance of psychologically escaping the prison environment during their work hours in the shop. Some men said that FV had enabled them to learn or maintain a skill: "At least my years here haven't been a total waste." The experience of incarceration is less dehumanizing when significant time is spent in a "real world" work environment where meaningful work is performed and rewarded.

In summary, since FV participation is very important to most workers it is likely that they will behave, and encourage others to behave, in ways which will not jeopardize their continued participation. The effects will be to increase institutional stability and tranquility. This conclusion finds support in disciplinary data and in interviews with corrections officers, superintendents and the inmates themselves.

Effects of FV Upon Other Institutional Programs:

FV has had only minor impacts on other programs. However, FV has the potential for strong positive or negative impacts upon other programs.

As before, it is essential to keep in mind that many current FV programs are small and only recently initiated; far reaching effects should not be anticipated. There is evidence that FV may ultimately have a favorable

effect upon educational, therapeutic and training programs. But the potential for adverse effects is clearly present also; several program directors were wary and resistant to FV.

There are numerous ways in which educational, vocational and FV programs might be coordinated to the mutual benefit of the programs and the residents participating in them. For instance, the types of shops which can be developed by a prison industry program are limited by the skill level of the available labor pool; but these restrictions would be far less severe if industries programs were coordinated with vocational training so that skilled graduates of the training programs were routinely employed in prison industry. Motivation of institutional program participants would be far greater if minimum educational and competancy standards were adopted for FV shops with priority in hiring being accorded to inmates who had completed appropriate preparatory programs. Apprenticeship programs could be developed within FV shops. These are only a few of the cooperative approaches which could be considered; a few states (e.g., Colorado, Minnesota) have begun to explore these and other possibilities. There is universal agreement that the inmates' needs would be better served if educational, training, counseling and work programs were coordinated with a view toward preparing residents psychologically, economically and vocationally for re-entry into society.

With few exceptions, FV programs have continued to operate independently of other programs. Only 20% of FV workers had participated in a vocational training program. The need for better coordination is suggested by supervisors' remarks concerning adverse impacts upon productivity caused by on-the-job training, and the finding that 43% of FV inmates felt that they did not receive adequate training for their current job in industries.

Educational and vocational program directors typically reported that there was no formal relationship between their programs and FV. FV had had little or no impact upon the number or quality of inmates applying for their programs, upon the dropout rate, program content or staff morale. Some directors were excited about the possibility of closer coordination with industries. Several resented the increased priority of the FV program and its "ability to get rid of its deadbeats", fearing that their own programs might become dumping grounds for inmates rejected by FV shops.

In one institution officials expressed concern that the FV emphasis upon the work ethic and profitability would lead to the demise of mental health and other rehabilitation programs; that inmates' educational and treatment needs are neglected because of the emphasis upon production and profits. According to one interviewee:

> Relationships between industries and program staff couldn't be worse. We had good programs here, but they've all been sacrificed so that industries could make money. Some have been discontinued entirely, those that remain have only a few students. Most inmates were taken out of programs and put to work. We have good instructors, but no students. We have good equipment, but it's unused.
>
> I have nothing against the industries guys. They have a job to do and they're trying their best. But there's so much pressure on industries to make money that the inmates really suffer. We've had men go through a full year of academic training so that they could qualify for the vocational program, but when they were half way through vocational training the program was pulled out from under them because industries needed more bodies. The training and mental health programs have been ruined, and industries is largely responsible.

The situation described is not typical, and the problems involved several factors besides FV. However, the quotation points up a potential danger which is all the more serious when the early history of prison industries (when convict labor was exploited in pursuit of fiscal goals) is recalled and recent attacks upon correctional rehabilitation programs are considered.

A second danger is that inmates will voluntarily forsake needed rehabilitation opportunities in order to earn FV wages. As FV programs become more remunerative it may be increasingly difficult for educational and treatment programs to attract residents in need of them. An official in Minnesota complained that:

> Education is always the last program in line to receive resources. There are more pressures within the department for industries to make money than for sound educational programs. Inmates get sucked into production because educational programs can't match industries' monetary incentives.

A shop supervisor in S. Carolina explained why treatment staff were worried about the industries program:

> The school program must enroll at least 150 inmates to get their allotment. If too many drop out they will lose part of their budget. When we started our night shift in this shop the academic program director demanded that any inmate applying to work must sign a paper saying that industries would fire him if he dropped out of the academic program.

As these examples indicate, treatment staff frequently feared that a failure to coordinate FV with other programs would work to the detriment of their programs and the inmates in need of them.

Aware of the need to make treatment programs available to FV workers, Lino Lakes and Kirkland have adopted different solutions to the problem. At Lino Lakes treatment programs are conducted in the evenings, after FV work hours. Kirkland has added a night shift in its FV shops so that residents working the later shift can take advantage of treatment programs during the day. Both approaches have been successful and may serve as models for other institutions experiencing industries-treatment conflicts.

In summary, there is little evidence of FV effects upon other institutional programs. The most frequent reaction of directors of educational, training and treatment programs was concern that FV might affect them adversely. Coordination of FV with other programs is needed, but little progress has been made in most states. Failure to achieve this will have severely negative consequences for programs and inmates alike.

Other Effects. FV has involved adverse consequences for some civilian employees which are difficult to document but which help explain the origins of resistance to FV. In several states the evaluation team was told informally that FV brought stricter controls and an end to what had been regarded as "perks" by some civilian staff. Prior to FV, industries routinely provided free services and products to corrections officers and other civilian staff. In some cases, industries did not maintain records of their inventories and staff regularly helped themselves to tires, lumber and other materials. Industries civilian staff, who were often occuppied less than five hours per day prior to FV, found themselves with more responsibility but less authority as stricter controls were exercised by industries directors. Apart from the loss of autonomy, some staff lost the influence and status derived from previous control over inventories and products.

It is difficult to determine how widespread these questionable practices were. But it is certain that in some instances FV represented a radical departure from previous practices and was strongly resisted by civilian staff (particularly shop supervisors) with an interest in maintaining the status quo. To these individuals FV involved a loss of autonomy; an extension of their work day by 25% or more; reduced ability to divert industries goods and services to their friends or for personal use; increased accountability for productivity; and the need to make the difficult psychological transition from regarding their subordinates as inmates to regarding them as employees.

States whose industry programs are primarily make work projects run as the private fiefdoms of shop supervisors, can anticipate strong resistance to any movement toward FV. Several industries directors felt that the single most difficult task in implementing FV involved changing the attitudes of shop supervisors who had never been held accountable for the productivity of their shops.

III CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This monograph has presented the views of corrections professionals regarding Free Venture and an assessment of its impact upon host institutions. This concluding section summarizes our findings and makes recommendations based upon them.

Perceptions of Free Venture

Interviews with FV shop supervisors, FV inmates, industries directors, superintendents of FV host institutions, corrections officers, counselors and treatment program officials revealed general support for most of the six FV components. There were some benefits and concerns associated with each:

1) Full work day - This FV element was very strongly supported by each group of interviewees. There was general agreement that a full day of meaningful work is psychologically beneficial to inmates and promotes institutional security through alleviation of the stresses of confinement.

   Implementation of the full day usually requires modifications to institutional procedures (e.g. for movement, feeding, services, visiting, etc.) Superintendents confirmed that these changes were made with little difficulty and supported a seven-hour work day. Treatment staff and some inmates complained that scheduling conflicts prevent industries inmates working a full day from participating in rehabilitation programs.

2) Wages based upon productivity - The principle of relating wages to productivity was widely endorsed, but most shops find it administratively difficult to achieve and there is considerable opposition to paying industries inmates wages which far exceed payments available to other residents.

Opposition comes from superintendents and directors of treatment programs. Superintendents fear adverse effects (resentments, work stoppages, etc.) among inmates working in critical institutional support jobs such as kitchen and maintenance. Treatment staff feel that high industries wages would prompt an exodus of motivated residents from rehabilitation programs. The few institutions paying high wages (i.e. $2.00 per hour or more) reported no serious difficulties.

Despite the reservations noted above, there was strong support for payment of the minimum wage, provided that industries profits could justify it and chargebacks for room and board were withheld from inmates' earnings.

3) Hire/fire authority - Industries' staff argue that this authority is indispensable if economic viability is to be achieved. Institutional staff are concerned that an industries program which has both hiring authority and the resources to pay relatively high wages, will absorb the skilled and motivated residents ("creaming"), to the detriment of institutional support functions which rely on inmate labor. Treatment staff saw creaming as a threat to their programs in the absence of educational/vocational/therapeutic prerequisites for industries employment. Finally, there was some concern that supervisors are too quick to fire their subordinates and are inconsistent in the criteria they apply.

4) Productivity/profitability - These are discussed in detail in Assets and Liabilities of Correctional Industries, a monograph prepared under this contract by the Institute for Economic and Policy Studies, Inc. of Alexandria, Virginia.

Both production and fiscal goals are closely linked to the level of implementation of other FV characteristics. For example, significant wages are essential to both areas because few inmates will work hard for low wages and those that do subject themselves to strong peer pressures and harassment from their fellow inmates. The length of the work day is an important factor as well; supervisors cite call outs which interrupt the flow of work as important obstacles to productivity.

Supervisors were divided regarding the realism of FV productivity and profitability goals. Obstacles cited included callouts, industries' inability to borrow money, restrictions on purchasing, security procedures and high turnover rates. Few interviewees felt that profits per se were important, but most believed that a profit orientation was necessary to the establishment of a private sector shop environment.

5) Job placement mechanism - The most neglected FV component, this was also the least accepted by shop supervisors, half of whom did not consider this an appropriate industries function. Programs have devoted few resources to job placement, in part because it is not a revenue-generating activ-

ity. Industries' lack of integration with other correctional programs and its reluctance to dedicate significant effort to job placement have markedly reduced its effectiveness in the sphere of rehabilitation. Industries programs would be more inclined to devote effort in these areas if their accounting procedures reflected gains in rehabilitation of the inmate work force. Human resource accounting (discussed in Assets and Liabilities of Correctional Industries, supra) offers one approach to achieving this.

Overall, attitudes toward FV were favorable among most respondent groups.

Superintendents were concerned about the elimination of featherbedding, the effects of disparities in wage levels, the need to modify institutional procedures to accommodate FV and their lack of direct authority over the industries program. Yet they strongly support FV as a program which promotes stability and tranquility through providing meaningful work to inmates. Corrections officers were sometimes critical of industries' laxity regarding security procedures but noted that FV works to reduce tensions and therefore makes their job easier.

Most shop supervisors favored FV and welcomed the challenge which it represented. However, a minority resisted FV feeling that expectations in the area of productivity are too high or that training receives too little emphasis. Some resent the loss of autonomy, additional paperwork, or reduced opportunity to avail themselves of industries goods and services. Opposition and covert sabotage by disaffected supervisors can be expected unless their support is obtained during the FV planning phase or new staff are hired from the private sector. The latter option requires close attention to the attitudes of correctional staff, many of whom are suspicious of "outsiders".

Inmates employed in FV shops were generally well satisfied with their work experience. Wages, the opportunity to practice a skill and the opportunity to psychologically escape the prison environment were all powerful incentives. It is likely that many inmates who would like to work are dissuaded from putting forth maximum effort by strong peer pressures against laboring for "slave's wages". Thus, production levels will remain far below private sector norms in the absence of meaningful wages. Other forms of compensation (e.g., "good time" credits) may also be important to some residents.

The group most resistant to FV included staff of institutional rehabilitation programs (education, vocational training, counseling). They feared that FV would prove a threat to inmates' long term interests and to their own programs. Some feared that emphases upon production and fiscal goals would lead to exploitation of inmates; others that high FV wages would attract all but the least motivated residents to industries, leaving only FV rejects to be enrolled in rehabilitation programs. But even among this group there were individuals who saw in FV an opportunity to coordinate industries with other programs to the benefit of all concerned.

In summary, most respondent groups were favorable to most of the six FV principles, but serious concerns were expressed. Since full implementation of FV requires close collaboration and active support among both industries and institutional staff, it is essential that their perceptions be considered in implementing or strengthening FV programs. The institutional world is small; friendships among civilian staff often cut across work group boundaries. Negativism on the part of any group spreads quickly through social networks.

Institutional Impact of Free Venture

The impact of FV upon host institutions was assessed through evaluation of programs in twelve prisons in seven states. It is important to note that there were wide variations among these twelve implementations. The length of the work day ranged from six to eight hours. The number of inmates employed in FV shops ranged from 6 to 175; percentage of the resident population employed from 2% to 65%. Wages varied from $.20 to $3.74 per hour. There were also wide variations in quality of equipment, hire/fire procedures, linkages with other institutional programs and the nature of job placement mechanisms (if any). Some programs operated in maximum security institutions, others in medium or minimum security facilities. Implementation of FV principles in widely disparate settings increases confidence in the adaptability of the model. But wide variation in the level of implementation of the six principles constrains the types of evaluation conclusions which are possible.

Despite their diversity, however, FV programs generally differ markedly from traditional prison industries. Nearly all FV shops operate at least 6.5 hours per day; the average is closer to seven hours. Wage levels, even where not based upon productivity, are higher for residents in FV shops than for residents in other assignments. Formal and informal constraints upon hire/fire authority persist in some states, but in no case was a supervisor expected to accept unwanted inmates sent to him by a classification committee or retain employees whose performance was unsatisfactory. Featherbedding has been eliminated in some shops and reduced in most others. Financial records keeping procedures have been strengthened in all FV states and are more sophisticated than those of traditional industries programs. Most importantly, the psychosocial environment of FV shops is typically far more similar to that of private sector shops than has been the norm for prison industries.

The level of expectations regarding work habits and production, the quality of supervisor-subordinate relationships, the nature of personnel policies and practices are more similar to "real world" shop environments than has been traditional within prison industries. Most workers (68%) feel they are treated as employees rather than as inmates; most supervisors (74%) feel that an inmate who is treated fairly will work as hard as anyone else.

The differences between FV prison industries and traditional programs suggest that the two may have different impacts upon host institutions. Because of the diversity among FV programs, the impacts discussed below are more appropriately regarded as impacts of industry programs which differ from traditional industries in the ways specified rather than as impacts of a homogeneous, well-defined program "model".

Program impact was assessed through analysis of institutional disciplinary records and structured interviews. Conclusions presented here are based on aggregate data. Impacts in any specific facility reflect a large number of factors including the level of implementation of each FV principle, security level of the host institution, size of the FV program (i.e percent of inmate population employed), extent and nature of differences between FV and prior industries practices, and others.

Each of the following conclusions is discussed in detail in Section II:

- Residents assigned to FV shops are similar to their non-FV peers on demographic and criminal history variables.

FV employees do not differ significantly in age, race, criminal history, marital status, educational level, IQ or time to parole from the general inmate populations in their institutions. Some program staff and superintendents feared that FV would "cream" off the better qualified and motivated residents.

There is no evidence of "creaming"; FV programs have generally employed inmates who are neither better nor worse qualified than other residents. However, there is some evidence that states which combine FV hiring practices with high wages (e.g. Minnesota) may indeed attract disproportionate numbers of inmates with favorable backgrounds.

- FV participation has a favorable effect upon the behavior of participating inmates while incarcerated.

This finding is suported by both interview and records data. The rate of disciplinary reports for a random sample of FV workers declined after their employment while the rate for a comparison group of similar non-FV residents from the same institutions increased. The difference between the behaviors of the two groups was statistically significant, favoring the FV employees.

Superintendents, corrections officers, rehabilitation program staff, shop supervisors and other interviewees predicted that FV would have a favorable impact upon inmate behavior. Factors mediating FV employment and improvement in behavior include reductions in inmates' idle time, increased wages available to FV workers, pride and self respect derived from practicing a skill, and alleviation of the stresses of incarceration attendent to spending a full work day in a private sector psychosocial shop environment.

- In most states there is no evidence of FV impact upon the behavior of non-participating residents. In states with especially large or well developed programs observers report a favorable impact upon non-participating residents.

FV programs in most institutions are too small in relation to the inmate population to have had measurable effects upon non-participating residents. There was no evidence of negative impacts. Respondents predicted that large, fully developed FV programs would contribute to a reduction in violence among non-participating inmates who would not want to jeopardize their chances for

FV employment. Also, FV employees would have a strong interest in institutional tranquility and exert pressures in support of it. Finally, there is anecdotal evidence suggesting that FV may favorably impact the attitudes of correctional staff and the mores of the inmate social system.

- Implementation of FV requires modifications to institutional operating procedures, particularly in maximum security facilities.

The full work day, hire/fire procedures and economic viability components have substantial impact upon operating procedures. Economic viability (particularly when wages are high) requires that featherbedding be eliminated. Hire/fire procedures necessitate an industries role in classification committee procedures and may necessitate a mechanism for resolving conflicts between industries and other inmate assignments. The full work day and minimization of call outs require the most alterations to procedures. Included may be revision of operating hours for the canteen, barber shop, libraries, etc., as well as rescheduling of rehabilitation programs and changes in feeding or count procedures. All institutions studied made some changes.

- FV has had a favorable impact upon the tranquility of host institutions.

Evidence for this conclusion comes from analyses of disciplinary data and interviews with corrections officers and superintendents. As reported above, FV has had a positive effect upon the behavior of participating inmates. There are some indications of favorable effects upon non-participants and the culture of the institution as a whole. Superintendents and officers reported that FV contributes to reduced tensions and stability, particularly where programs employ a large percentage of the inmate population.

- FV has had only minor impacts upon other programs. However, the potential exists for strong positive or negative impacts.

With few exceptions FV programs operate independently of other programs and have negligible impact upon them. But staff of some educational, training or treatment programs feel that FV poses a threat to rehabilitation programs. They fear that the FV focus upon economic viability will result in lower priority and less resources available to treatment programs, and that their programs will be unable to compete with FV wages in attracting motivated residents. Alternatively, FV may contribute to closer coordination between industries and other programs which would benefit all concerned, especially inmates. Several states have taken steps in this direction, but much greate progress is needed.

Overall, our findings indicate that the impact of FV programs upon host institutions has been positive. Industries which differ from traditional prison industry programs along the dimensions of the FV model (e.g., higher wages related to productivity, longer work day, etc.) have been well received by inmates, and contributed to institutional tranquility and stability without adversely effecting other programs. But it is important to recognize that few sites have fully implemented all FV principles. There is very little data regarding large FV programs which pay high wages; no such programs exist in maximum security facilities. It cannot be known with certainty whether the effects of such programs would also be favorable. Findings at Canon, Somers, Lino Lakes, Stillwater and Riverview provide a basis for optimism, but also illustrate the necessity for careful planning and the difficulties of achieving coordination and support among correctional programs. Our current study indicates that the institutional impact, economic viability and rehabilitation potential of FV depend heavily upon these factors.

Recommendations

The following set of recommendations are based upon the findings reported in this paper. They are intended to indicate actions by the federal government in the areas of technical assistance, planning and research which will enhance the rehabilitative potential of FV programs and mitigate adverse institutional impacts.

Planning. Recommendation: A FV planning document should be prepared as an aid to states contemplating adoption of FV and states currently implementing one or more of the FV principles.

Many of the weaknesses of current FV implementations can be traced to inadequate planning. Insofar as the seven FV states pioneered this new approach, errors and omissions in implementation are not surprising; no road map was available to them. But it is important that the lessons implicit in their experience be made available to those who can benefit from them. Recommended content areas discussed below exclude those dealing primarily with business planning (e.g., development of records keeping systems, marketing surveys, etc.); the latter are discussed in the monograph prepared by the Institute for Economic and Policy Studies, Inc. (supra).

- Relationships between FV principles and institutional functions.

Varying levels of the six FV principles have different effects upon institutional functions (e.g. security, operations, programs); impacts also vary by the security level of the institution. Our findings indicate some impacts in all instituions. An assessment should be made of the implications of varying levels of the six FV characteristics for the correctional environment. Issues to be examined might include the implications of implementing a six, seven or eight hour work day in institutions of varying security levels;

an assessment of steps which are necessary to reduce call outs; the ramification of various hire/fire procedures; etc.

- Model Planning Procedures.

This section should include discussion of the objectives of the planning process; who should be involved during the various planning phases; time required for each step; and the advantages or disadvantages of different sequencings of the planning steps.

- Developmental histories of existing FV implementations.

In order that planners can derive maximum benefit from the experiences of current FV states, their successes and failures should be fully documented. The benefits of the hindsight of industries directors and superintendents of host institutions are considerable. Obstacles to FV implementation and approaches which have been successful/unsuccessful in overcoming them should be fully described.

The current study has demonstrated the need for this document and supplied some of its contents. Developmental histories of FV programs are described in detail in Free Venture: Blueprint for Change, prepared by the University City Science Center under this contract. Much information relating to the planning process and the relationships between FV and institutional functions is also available, but must be compiled and distilled in a format useful to implementors.

The planning document would be useful to LEAA, correctional administrators and industries planners. It would be useful to LEAA in establishing a more precise FV "model" by determining the range of options for each of the six FV principles which allow for adequate functioning of host prisons. The document will greatly enhance the transferrability of the FV model. Receptivity of correctional administrators to FV principles is related to

their certainty regarding institutional impacts; the planning document will help them to identify institutional policies and procedures in their facility which would be affected by FV. Finally, industries planners in states contemplating adoption of FV or fuller implementation of the FV principles will benefit from the experiences of the pioneers, become sensitized to probable institutional impacts and have access to a model planning procedure which they can adapt to their own situation.

Technical Assistance. Recommendation: LEAA should provide technical assistance to FV states focused upon (1) establishment of a private sector psychosocial shop environment and (2) coordination of FV prison industries with other correctional programs and services.

Findings of the current study clearly indicate the importance of both these issues. Inmates value the private sector shop environment very highly; it is strongly related to job statisfaction which is in turn related to productivity. Integration of FV with other programs is essential if rehabilitation goals are to be achieved. It also represents an important step in removing resistances to FV.

Technical assistance should be provided to identify ways in which prison shops could be made more similar to their private sector counterparts. The following suggestions reflect practices already adopted in some FV states and others which (except for upgrading of equipment) could be implemented at little cost:

1) Shop policies. Policies should be adopted to orient new inmate employees to all aspects of the work environment (including shop equipment, policies, production processes, rules, expectations, wage and benefit structure, co-workers and supervisors) and to maintain performance standards. In many shops new employees receive only the most cursory introduction to the shop; supervisors often complain that high turnover precludes a more extensive orientation. But achievement of private sector production standards requires that new workers realize that theirs is not a make work

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

assignment; expectations must be made explicit. This initial interaction between the worker and his supervisor will establish the tone of the future relationship. The supervisor must make the most of it to demonstrate that he (1) is looking forward to working with the new man, (2) can be counted upon to provide appropriate guidance and assistance, and (3) has realistic expectations of the man's performance.

Maintenance of performance standards is facilitated by probation periods for new employees, periodic performance reviews and formal shop disciplinary procedures. Performance reviews serve to reinforce the importance of work quality and help inmates to regard their supervisors as foremen rather than guards. Formal shop disciplinary procedures (e.g. verbal or written reprimands, docking of pay, etc.) provide flexibility and consistency in personnel management, allowing industries staff to guage their response to the nature of the infraction rather than having to ignore it or rely upon institutional mechanisms.

2) Communications. Inmate workers frequently complain of the lack of communications between themselves and civilian staff. Work group meetings should be held periodically (at least monthly) for information sharing and discussion of job-related issues. Industry directors should meet at least twice per year with all FV workers to discuss the status of individual shops and the industries program as a whole. Apart from information sharing, periodic meetings serve to demonstrate to employees that they are regarded as a critical component in a larger organization which values their work and takes their concerns seriously. Informal shop visits by the industries director and his staff also help to remind supervisors and inmates that their work is taken seriously. Some programs have found industries' newsletters to be helpful in promoting cohesion and a sense of mission.

3) Physical environment. The most important, though expensive, modifiction to the physical environment is upgrading shop equipment. Apart from increasing the efficiency of production and the scope of work which can be performed, up-to-date equipment is psychologically important in promoting appropriate work attitudes. In the words of one supervisor: "These guys aren't stupid. They know poor equipment when they see it. And they figure that only a mickey mouse shop would use this stuff; it's hard to get them to take their work seriously."

There are many other ways in which the physical shop environment can be made more similar to the private sector. Posting of production charts and schedules helps to focus workers' attention upon production goals and can be important as motivators. Superintendents should be asked to remove corrections officers from shops; supervisors who are

former officers should be forbidden to wear their (guards) uniforms. Production flow should be carefully planned to avoid unnecessary bottlenecks and inefficiencies.

4) Supervisory training for industries' civilian staff. Supervisors' attitudes and supervisory skills are critical factors in the success of FV. The supervisor's role is extremely demanding. Training and ongoing support should be designed to assist supervisors in establishing a private sector psychosocial environment in their shops. This involves identifying prescribed and proscribed behaviors, for both shop supervisors and inmate workers. Prescribed behaviors for supervisors should include treating employees with respect, providing constructive criticism of their work when it is unsatisfactory and conducting periodic work group meetings and performance reviews. Prescribed inmate behaviors should include punctuality, observance of shop rules, willingness to seek help from the supervisor with work related problems, and treating co-workers and supervisory staff with respect. Proscribed behavior for supervisors includes any actions reflecting a you-can't-expect-much-from-an-inmate attitude, complaining to inmates about any aspect of the industry programs' mission, or failing to discuss concerns with appropriate industries officials. Proscribed inmate actions include any rules violations, failure to work to the best of their ability or encouraging others to slow the pace of production.

Once identified, appropriate behaviors must be reinforced and proscribed behaviors discouraged. Supervisors should be trained in techniques to harness peer group pressures to achieve this. The process is easily sabotaged by disaffected staff; these must be identified and removed from their positions as quickly as possible.

Failure of most FV states to coordinate their industries programs with other correctional programs, together with the importance of this objective in realizing FV rehabilitation potential and reducing opposition to FV, indicate the need for technical assistance. Some important work has already been done (See, for example, "Training Prisoners for Industry Jobs: The Role of Vocational Education" by Dr. Jeffrey Luftig in A Guide to Effective Prison Industries, Vol. I, 1979,American Institute of Criminal Justice; Philadelphia, PA.) But in many cases the help of a change agent from outside the

correctional system would greatly facilitate the difficult processes of overcoming inertia and/or long standing animosities between programs. Models must be developed for the coordination of FV with educational, vocational, therapeutic and pre-release programs. Sources of resistance must be identified and their concerns addressed (See Section II of this monograph). Benefits of coordination include increased productivity of industries workers who had received previous training; improved worker self image; enhanced prospects for post-release employment and better relations between industries and treatment staffs. These benefits must be specified and proposals "sold" to correctional administrators and program staff.

Further Research. Recommendation: The effectiveness of FV as a rehabilitation program should be assessed through studies of (post release) effects upon employment and recidivism.

Benefits of FV employment are thought to include development of good work habits, increased self esteem, practice of a marketable skill and increased financial security. If the rehabilitative aspects of FV are effective, participation should lead to enhanced employability and reduced recidivism. However, to date there has been no study of post release outcomes except one which is limited in scope (involving only Minnesota) and follows releasees who participated in FV during the period immediately following its implementation. These two factors constrain the degree to which findings can be assumed to reflect impacts of mature FV programs in other states.

It may be that favorable intra-institutional effects of FV are sufficient to justify program support; that the concept deserves support even in the absence of demonstrable long range impacts. The proposed research could nonetheless provide information leading to the strengthening of existing FV

implementations. Relevant research issues include effects of FV participation upon:

- time to employment following release
- type of employment
- employment stability; length of employment
- recidivism rate; type of crime for which re-incarcerated.

Information could be collected to suggest whether there is a relationship between characteristics of FV workers (e.g., race, age, criminal or employment history, etc.) and post release outcomes; whether combinations of FV with other correctional program participation (e.g., voc. ed.) lead to more favorable outcomes; which aspects of FV releasees find helpful when job hunting or during post release employment; and strengths and weaknesses of various FV job placement mechanisms.

Research findings indicating favorable post release effects of FV participation would strengthen the position of industries officials seeking support for FV from corrections commissioners and state legislatures. Regardless of the findings, there remains a strong possibility that research data will provide important information leading to the enhancement of the rehabilitative potential of FV programs.

In conclusion, our findings indicate that existing FV programs have had a favorable impact upon participating inmates while incarcerated and upon host institutions. Serious problems remain, particularly regarding the coordination of FV with other institutional programs and pre-release services. There is room for considerable improvement in the level of implementation of some of the FV principles, especially wages and post release job placement. As programs develop their effects may change. Our findings suggest that fuller implementations will lead to even more favorable impacts, especially where inter-program coordination is achieved.

There is abundant documentation of inmates' ability to resist institutional efforts to reform them. Rehabilitation cannot be forced upon anyone who does not want to change. But in any humane society the mission of correctional institutions must include the maintenance of an environment which is conducive to the rehabilitation of offenders who are willing to make the effort to improve themselves. The evidence is convincing that Free Venture prison industries are an important part of that environment for inmates who wish to help support themselves, develop a skill, prepare for release or relieve the strains of incarceration.

APPENDIX A

Statistical Notes

This appendix provides statistical notes regarding analyses referenced in the body of the report. No attempt is made to discuss individual analyses or concepts underlying statistical methods. However, it should be noted that a value denoted by "p" is associated with all the notes. "p", the level of significance of a statistic, indicates the likelihood that differences between random samples reflect actual differences in the populations from which the samples are drawn and are not artifacts of the sampling process. The smaller the value of "p" the less likely it is that observed differences between samples are due to chance. By convention, the hypothesis that differences between samples indicate actual population differences is rejected if "p" is greated than .1 ($p>.1$); i .e., if there is more than a 10% chance that inter-sample differences are due to chance.

1. RACE: Chi-square = 2.53; $df = 3$; $p = .47$
2. MARITAL STATUS: Chi-square = 4.66; $df = 2$; $p = .10$
3. OFFENSE: Chi-square = 2.02; $df = 5$; $p = .85$
4. PREVIOUS COMMITMENTS: $t = .127$; $df = 166.0$; $p = .90$
5. HIGHEST GRADE: $t = .327$; $df = 290.8$; $p = .74$
6. AGE: $t = 1.70$; $df = 334.0$; $p = .09$
7. TIME TO PAROLE: $t = .323$; $df = 309.0$; $p = .75$
8. IQ: $t = 1.27$; $df = 168.0$; $p = .21$
9. $t = 1.34$; $df = 156.19$; $p = .18$
10. Analysis of Covariance of post-FV disciplinary rates for matched FV, non-FV groups, controlling for pre-FV rates; $F = 29.3$; $df = 1, 1, 227$; $p<.001$
11. Chi-square = 9.73; $df = 2$; $p<.01$
12. $t = 1.71$, $df = 37$, $p<.10$
13. $t = 1.96$, $df = 37$, $p<.05$
14. $t = 1.68$, $df = 37$, $p<.10$

APPENDIX B

INSTRUMENTATION

INSTITUTIONAL DATA WORKSHEET

1. INSTITUTION ID _____ _____

2. INMATE ID _____ _____

3. RACE 1 = WHITE 3. HISPANIC _____
2 = BLACK 4. OTHER

4. DATE OF BIRTH (MONTH & YEAR) ___ ___, ___ ___

5. MARITAL STATUS 1 = SINGLE 3 = Separated _____
2 = MARRIED 4 = Divorced
5 = Widower

6. NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS _____

7. HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED _____ _____

8. IQ _____ _____ _____

9. DATE COMMITTED (MONTH & YEAR) ___ ___, ___ ___

10. NUMBER OF PREVIOUS (ADULT) COMMITMENTS _____

11. EARLIEST PAROLE DATE (MONTH & YEAR) ___ ___, ___ ___

12. EARLIEST RELEASE DATE (MONTH & YEAR) ___ ___, ___ ___

13. OFFENSE 1 = MURDER 5 = BURGLARY _____
2 = SEXUAL ASSAULT 6 = AUTO THEFT
3 = AGGRAVATED ASSAULT 7 = LARCENY OR THEFT
4 = ROBBERY 8 = OTHER _____

14. CURRENT ASSIGNMENT 1 = FV SHOP 5 = VOC. ED. _____
2 = INSTITUTIONAL JOB 6 = UNASSIGNED
3 = OTHER CI SHOP (NON-FV) 7 = OTHER _____
4 = ACADEMIC

15. (FV GROUP ONLY) DATE ASSIGNED TO FV SHOP (Month & Year) ___ ___, ___ ___

16. (FV GROUP ONLY) FV TERMINATION DATE (Enter 9999 IF STILL WORKING) ___ ___, ___ ___

17. (IF TERMINATED) REASON FOR TERMINATION _____

1 = FIRED, 2 = QUIT, 3 = LAYED OFF, 4 = RELEASED OR PAROLED,
TRANSFERRED TO ANOTHER: 5 = PRISON, 6 = SHOP, 7 = PRISON JOB;
OTHER _____

18. Current HOURLY WAGE (FV GROUP ONLY) $ _____ _____ _____

19. DISCIPLINARY INCIDENTS SINCE JANUARY, 1977

TYPE	DATE	DISPOSITION

FV EMPLOYEE (INMATE) INTERVIEW FORM

Interview ID _____ _____

Shop ID _____ _____

Race of Respondent (1 = White, 2 = Black, 3 = Hispanic, 4 = Other) _____

The first set of questions deal with how you feel about the industries program -- what you like or don't like about it.

1. What do you like best about working in industries? _____

2. What do you most dislike about working in industries? _____

3. The following is a list of reasons some men gave for working in industries. Please indicate how important each reason is to you using this scale (Give card with response catagories to respondent)
(1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = only slightly important, 4 = not at all important)

1) To save money to use when I get out. _____
2) To make it easier for me to find a job when I get out. _____
3) Industries work looks good on my record when I come up for parole. _____
4) I like knowing how to do things. _____
5) When I work in the shop I feel less like I'm in prison. _____
6) To earn money to spend now. _____
7) I like working with the other men in the shop. _____

Which reason is most important to you? _____

Which reason is least important to you? _____

(Read "tied" items again to elicit responses. Record the number of the item)

4. Do you feel that the length of the work day in this shop is (1 = too long, 2 = too short, 3 = about right) _____

The next few questions concern what it is like to work here.

5. I am going to read a list of six statements. Some people agree with these, and some disagree. Please let me know how you feel about each statement. (Give card showing response categories to respondent)

(1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = not sure, 4 = disagree, 5 = strongly disagree)

A) Supervisors here treat you more like an employee than like an inmate. _____
B) In this shop, the harder you work the better your chances of getting more money. _____
C) The work that we do in this shop is as good as that done in most shops on the outside. _____
D) Even if you goof off a lot you won't be fired. _____
E) Most men here work hard to help the shop succeed. _____
F) Working in the shop will help me get a job when I get out. _____

6. Are there any programs which you would like to participate in, but can't because of your work hours? _____

(1 = No, 2 = VOC. ED., 3 = Academic, 4 = Counseling/Therapy, 5 = 2 and 3, 6 = 2 and 4, 7 = 3 and 4, 8 = 2, 3 and 4, 0 = Other)

7. If you had your choice of assignments, would you pick industries or some other assignment? _____

(0 = Industries, 1 = VOC ED, 2 = Academic, 3 = Laundry, 4 = Kitchen, 5 = Institutional Grounds Work, 6 = Institution maintenance, 7 = Other Institutional job, 8 = Other)

_____

8. We'd like to know whether your work in industries has had any effect on your life in prison. Since you began working in the shop, have you

A) Had any more (= 1) or less (=2) visitors? (for all items, 0 = No. change) _____
B) Had any more or less visits to the infirmary? _____
C) Had any more or less problems getting along with other inmates. _____
D) Had any more or less problems getting along with C.O.'s? _____

(Ask for additional information - "Can you tell me more about that" - regarding any reported changes; make notes below)

9. Has working in this shop affected either the amount of your leisure time or the way you spend it? _____

(0 = no, neither, 1 = now have less leisure time, 2 = now have more leisure time, 3 = same amount, but I spend it differently)

(If 1, 2 or 3: Specify which leisure activities have been effected and how. _____).

10. Do you understand how your salary and raises were figured? _____

(1 = yes, 2 = no, 3 = not sure, 4 = N/A)

11. Some correctional industry programs are trying to run their shops as much as possible like industry shops on the outside. Do you know whether the industries program here is moving in this direction? _____

(1 = yes, 2 = not sure, but I think so, 3 = D.K.
4 = not sure, but I don't think so, 5 = no)

12. How did you hear about the job? _____

(1 = from another inmate, 2 = from industry staff, 3 = from a C.O.,
4 = newspaper, 5 = posted notice, 6 = counselor, 7 = classification
8 = other (specify) _____)

13. If you could buy better housing or meals, would you do so? _____

(1 = no, 2 = yes, both, 3 = housing, 4 = meals, 5 = N/A: chargeback system already in affect).

14. Would you like to change the method for calulating your wages? _____

(0 = no)
(If yes) What method would you prefer?

(1 = hourly rate, 2 = individual piece rate 3 = group piece rate,
4 = % of each job, 5 = % of sales, 6 = % of profits,
7 = other (specify) _____)

15. About how much do you make per month? (dollars) $_____ _____ _____

How much of that do you spend in the canteen? $_____ _____ _____

How much do you put in a prison saving account? $_____ _____ _____

How much goes for outside payments? $_____ _____ _____

How much do you put in an outside saving account? $_____ _____ _____

50

Other (specify _____)

16. If you could use your earnings to purchase one day of non-revocable good time per month, how much would you be willing to pay? (dollars) $_____ _____

17. Suppose earned good time were treated like vacation - you could take it a day at a time or save it until release. Would you take it as you earned it, save it all until release, or take some and save some? (1 = take all, 2 = save all, 3 = mixture) _____

(If mixture) About how much would you save? (% saved) _____ _____

The last set of questions are about what you were doing before you began working in industries.

18. About how many months did you work during the last year you were on the outside (before you were incarcerated)? (months) _____ _____

19. About what was your weekly gross income (before taxes)? (dollars) $_____ _____ _____

20. Did you participate in a prison vocational program before starting work in industries?
(If "yes") Did it help prepare you for your job? _____
(0 = did not participate, 1 = participated and it helped,
2 = participation did not help)

21. Did you receive enough training before you started working at your job? (1 = yes, 2 = no, 3 = not sure) _____

22. Have you ever worked in this type of shop on the outside?
(0 = no)
(If "yes") How long? (months) _____ _____ _____

23. Will you look for work in this type of shop when you get out? _____
(1 = yes, 2 = no, 3 = not sure, 4 = N/A)

24. Does industries staff do anything to help you find a job on the outside? _____
(1 = yes, 2 = no, 3 = not sure, 4 = N/A)

25. Overall, how satisfied are you with the industries program? _____
(1 = very satisfied, 2 = satisfied, 3 = not sure
4 = dissatisfied, 5 = very dissatisfied) 68

(If interviewee is responsive and seems interested in the interview process, ask:)

26. If you were put in charge of the industries program here, what changes would you make in the way the shop is run?

Thank you for your help.

FV SHOP SUPERVISORS INTERVIEW FORM

Shop ID _____ _____

Race of Respondent (1 = White, 2 = Black, 3 = Hispanic, 4 = Other) _____

Let me begin by asking you some general questions about your work in this shop.

1. What do you like best about working in industries? _____

2. What do you most dislike about working in industries? _____

3. Are you aware of any changes in the industries program during the last year or two? _____

   (1 = yes, 2 = no, 3 = not sure)

   (if yes) What were they?

4. Some correctional industry programs are attempting to run their shops as much as possible like industry shops on the outside. Do you know whether the industry program here is moving in this direction? _____

   (1 = yes, 2 = not sure, but I think so, 3 = D.K., 4 = not sure, but I don't think so, 5 = no)

5. Do you have the final say in hiring men for your work group? _____

   (1 = always or almost always, 2 = usually, 3 = sometime 4 = rarely or never).

   What information do you have about job applicants?

   (1 = available and used, 2 = available but seldom used, 3 = not available)

   1) Formal job application form? _____

   2) Work history? _____

   3) Disciplinary records? _____

   4) Word of mouth? _____

12

6. Do you have the authority to fire inmates who do not do their job? (1 = yes, 2 = no) _____

   (If yes) How many inmates did you fire last year? _____ _____

7. How would you rate the productivity of the shop? Approximately what percent of capacity? (Give example if interviewee appears not to understand the question). % _____ _____ _____

8. Are there specific institutional procedures (e.g., counts, call outs, etc.) which interfere with shop operations? _____

   (1 = yes, 2 = no)

   (If yes) Please specify

9. How often do call outs interfere with meeting production schedules? _____

   (1 = very often, 2 = fairly often, 3 = seldom, 4 = never)

10. Do you use inmate "lead men" in the shop? _____

    0 = no

    (if yes) Would you say that:

    1 = It works very well with few or no problems.
    2 = It causes some problems, but its worth it.
    3 = It causes too many problems and should be discontinued

11. How realistic is the expectation placed upon you in each of the following areas?

    (1 = unrealistically high, 2 = realistic, 3 = unrealistically low

    Feel free to comment further to clarify your response

    A) Meeting production schedules _____

    B) Supervising inmate workers _____

    C) Meeting product quality standards _____

24

12. Use this scale to tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Feel free to comment about any statement or give your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing:

(1 = agree strongly, 2 = agree, 3 = not sure
4 = disagree, 5 = disagree strongly)

A) Most inmates in this shop don't care whether the shop succeeds or not. _____

B) Industries supervisors do not receive enough training. _____

C) If you treat them fairly, most inmates will work as hard as anyone else. _____

D) You can't expect a shop using inmate labor to be profitable. _____

The next questions involve the goals of correction industries and your own goals.

13. Please use rank ordering to indicate what you feel the goals of correctional industries in this institution actually <u>are</u> and also what they <u>should be</u>. Use a "1" to indicate the most important goal, a "2" for the second most important goal, etc.

	Actual	Should Be
A) Economically self sufficient or profitable.	_____ 29	_____ 30
B) Provide inmates with specific skills.	_____ 31	_____ 32
C) Help inmates develop good work habits and attitudes.	_____ 33	_____ 34
D) Keep the largest possible number of inmates occupied.	_____ 35	_____ 36
E) Provide an opportunity for inmates to obtain money.	_____ 37	_____ 38

14. If industries profits could justify it, would you favor paying industries inmates:

1. Nothing.
2. No more than whatever is necessary to get them to work.
3. The wage earned by inmates holding institutional jobs.
4. Minimum wage with chargebacks.
5. Prevailing ("real world") wage, with chargebacks for room and board.

_____ 39

15. Use this scale to tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following eight statements:

(1 = agree strongly, 2 = agree, 3 = not sure,
4 = disagree, 5 = disagree strongly)

Feel free to comment about any statement or to give your <u>reasons</u> for agreeing or disagreeing

1. Industries should be set up to provide inmates at least a seven hour work day. _____
2. Each inmate should be paid a wage based in part upon how hard he works. _____
3. Each inmate should be paid a wage based in part upon how much profit the shop makes. _____
4. A goal for the shop should be to meet private sector standards of quality in our products. _____
5. A goal for the shop should be to meet private sector standards in the quantity of goods produced. _____
6. We should try to make the shop nearly as profitable as private sector shops. _____
7. Industries staff should be involved in helping workers find employment when they are released. _____
8. Shop supervisors should have the final say about hiring or firing inmate workers. _____

16. How important would each of the following opportunities be to you?

(1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = slightly important
4 = Not at all important)

1) Increased participation in industries decison making. _____
2) Opportunity to observe and discuss production processes in private sector shops. _____
3) Opportunity to discuss your work with staff working in correctional industries in other states. _____
4) Opportunity to find out what becomes of some of the inmates under your supervision when they are released. _____
5) Opportunity to play a more active role in helping inmates to find jobs when they are released. _____
6) Opportunity to attend a workshop on "Supervising Inmates in Correctional Industries". _____

Which of these would be most important to you? (record item number). _____ 54

We would like to know something about the men who work in this shop.

17. Use the following scale to describe the typical inmate in this shop.

(Place a circle around your rating for each characteristic).

lazy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	hard working
trustworthy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not trustworthy
hard to get along with	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	easy to get along with
cooperative	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	uncooperative
not dependable	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	dependable
disruptive	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not disruptive
tries to improve himself	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	does not try to improve himself

Use the following scale to describe the ideal industries inmates.

speaks his mind	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	keeps his thoughts to himself
not much pride	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	proud
active	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	doesn't do much
likes others to decide	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	likes to decide things for himself
accepts conditions the way they are	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	tries to make his life the way he wants it
leader	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	follower

18. Do you find that the amount of money paid to inmates in this shop is: _____

(1 = far too high, 2 = somewhat high, 3 = about right, 4 = somewhat low, 5 = far too low)

Finally, let me ask you a few questions about yourself.

19. Have you ever worked in a private sector shop?

(If yes) For how long? (months) _____ _____ _____

(0 = no) Otherwise number of months worked.

20. Have you ever worked as a corrections officer?

(If yes) How long? (months) _____ _____ _____

21. How long have you worked in correctional Industries? (months) _____ _____ _____

22. How old are you?

(years) _____ _____

23. Overall, how satisfied do you feel with your job? Would you say you are (1 = very satisfied, 2 = usually satisfied, 3 = sometimes satisfied and sometimes dissatisfied, 4 = usually dissatisfied 5 = very dissatisfied) _____

80

CORRECTIONS OFFICERS INTERVIEW FORM

Institution ID _____ _____

Race of Respondent (1 = White, 2 = Black
3 = Hispanic, 4 = Other) _____

Presently assigned to industries area? (1 = yes, 2 = no) _____

The first few questions are about the industries program.

1. Are you aware of any changes in the industries program during the last year or so? _____

(1 = yes, 2 = no)
(If yes) What were they? _____

2. Please use rank ordering to indicate what you feel the goals of correctional industries should be. Use a "1" to indicate the most important goal, a "2" for the second most important goal, etc.

A) Economic self sufficiency or profitability. _____

B) Provide inmates with specific skills. _____

C) Help inmates develop good work habits and attitudes. _____

D) Keep the largest possible number of inmates occupied. _____

E) Provide an opportunity for inmates to obtain money. _____

Are there other goals that you feel are important?

3. Some correctional industry programs are attempting to establish profitable shops which are run according to private sector principles - full work day, inmate wages based upon productivity and high productivity standards.

(1 = yes, 2 = no, 3 = not sure or don't know)

Do you know whether the industries program here is moving in this direction? _____ 11

Would such a program create any special problems for custody? (1 = yes, 2 = no, 3 = not sure) _____

(If yes) Please specify _____

The next questions are about inmates and the effects of the industry program upon inmates and the prison.

4. Please use the following scale to describe the typical inmate in this institution.

(Place a circle around your rating for each characteristic).

lazy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	hard working
trustworthy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not trustworthy
hard to get along with	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	easy to get along with
cooperative	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	uncooperative
not dependable	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	dependable
disruptive	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not disruptive
tries to improve himself	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	does not try to improve himself

19

Use the following scale to describe the ideal inmate, from a custody perspective.

speaks his mind	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	keeps his thoughts to himself
not much pride	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	proud
active	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	doesn't do much
likes others to decide	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	likes to decide things for himself
accepts conditions the way they are	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	tries to make his life the way he wants it
leader	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	follower

5. I'm going to read a list of statements indicating ways in which an industries program might effect the inmates and the prison. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

   (1 = agree strongly, 2 = agree slightly, 3 = disagree slightly, 4 = disagree strongly)

   Feel free to comment upon or discuss your responses if you wish.

   A) Industries inmates who earn a significant salary may be threatened by other inmates who want their money. ____

   B) Inmates who work a full day in industries would be less likely to get into trouble than if they worked a shorter day. ____

   C) Gambling increases as inmates earn more money. ____

   D) Contraband increases as inmates earn more money. ____

   E) Inmates working in industry develop self respect. ____

30

   F) Overall, the industries program here is good for most inmates. ____

   G) An industries program that pays significant wages to inmates causes more problems for custody than its worth. ____

   H) Inmates who earn money in industries will become more influential with other inmates. ____

6. If industries profits could justify it, would you favor paying industries inmates: ____

   1 = nothing

   2 = no more than whatever necessary to get them to work

   3 = the wage earned by inmates holding institutional jobs.

   4 = minimum wage with chargebacks.

   5 = prevailing ("real world") wage, with chargeback for room and board.

That's about it. There are just two more questions we ask of everyone we interview:

7. What's your age? (years) ____ ____

8. How long have you worked as a corrections officer? (months) ____ ____ ____

39

That's all. Do you have any other questions or comments? Thank you.

PRISON ADMINISTRATION

Institution ID _____ _____

Respondent (1 = Superintendent, 2 = Deputy Superintendent 3 = Other:). _____

The first set of questions deal with the desirability and achievability of Free Venture objectives, and the goals of correctional industries. _____

1. Please comment upon each of the six FV objectives as I read them. Is the objective desirable and consistent with institutional goals? What are the institutional constraints or obstacles to achieving the objective?

   A) Full (i.e., at least 7 hours) work day for inmates, with call outs minimized. (Prompt: Which call outs would be most difficult to elliminate)?

   B) Wages based upon productivity (Prompt: Would you favor tieing industries wages to the wage scale for institutional jobs)?

   C) Hire/fire authority exercised by shop supervisors. (Prompt: Should industries be permitted to hire applicants who are currently assigned to institutional jobs on other programs? Should industries job openings be posted)?

   D) Private sector productivity standards.

   E) Profit-making shops.

   F) Post release job placement mechanism (Prompt: What is most appropriate industries role)?

2. Are there any objectives you would like to see added to or deleted from the Free Venture model? What modifications would you make?

3. Please use rank ordering to indicate what you feel the goals of correctional industries in this institution actually are and what they should be. Use a "1" to indicate the most important goal, a "2" for the second most important goal, etc.

	Actual	Should Be
A) Economic self sufficiency or profitability.	_____	_____
B) Provide inmates with specific skills.	_____	_____
C) Help inmates develop good work habits and attitudes	_____	_____
D) Keep the largest possible number of inmates occupied.	_____	_____
E) Provide an opportunity for inmates to obtain money.	_____	_____

4. If industries profits could justify it, would you favor paying industries inmates: _____

   1 = nothing.

   2 = no more than whatever is necessary to get them to work.

   3 = the wage earned by inmates holding institutional jobs.

   4 = minimum wage,

   5 = prevailing ("real world") wage, with chargeback for room and board.

What problems would you expect if industries wages were increased to at least minimum wage?

The next questions involve the relationship between industries and other institutional programs.

5. What is the relationship between industries and voc. ed., academic and pre-release programs? Would you favor closer coordination?

   (If "yes") What would have to be done to achieve this; What are the major obstacles?

* 6. Is there a formal mechanism (e.g., committee) for planning and implementing policies which impact upon both industries and institution management? What is the process through which decisions effecting both areas are reached? Is this process satisfactory to you?

* 7. With specific reference to FV, were there any non-industry staff (e.g., custody, voc. ed., academic, counseling) involved in planning? What was the planning process?

* 8. Have any procedures been established to make non-industry staff aware of the objectives of FV? What are they?

9. Are you aware of any reactions of non-industry staff to FV?

The final questions have to do with the impact of Free Venture.

10. Have institutional procedures been changed in any way (e.g., changes in visiting hours, classification committee practices, commissary hours, count procedures, etc.) to accomodate the Free Venture model? Has there been any attempt to minimize call outs (Specify)?

11. Has adoption of the FV model had any effect upon institutional tranquility (Specify)?

12. Is there anyother way in which FV has had an impact upon prison procedures or staff?

Unless you have other comments you'd like to make, that's it. Thanks for your time.

NOTE: * Superintendent Only

COUNSELORS/THERAPISTS

Institution ID _____ _____

Respondent (1 = Counselor/Therapist, 2 = Counselor Administration or Supervisor, 3 = Other) _____

Race of Respondent (1 = White, 2 = Black 3 = Hispanic, 4 = Other) _____

The first two questions involve the relationship between the counseling and industry programs.

1. Is there any formal or informal relationship between the industry and counseling programs? _____

   (1 = yes, 2 = no)

   (If "yes") Please describe.

2. Would you favor closer coordination between the industries program and counseling? _____

   (1 = yes, 2 = no , 3 = not sure)

   (If "yes") How could this be achieved?

The next questions concern the impact of the industries program.

3. Are you aware of any changes other than personnel in the industries program in the last year or so? _____

   (1 = yes, 2 = no , 3 = not sure)

   (If "yes") What were they?

4. Some industry shops have attempted to replicate conditions in private sector industries by paying wages based upon productivity, reducing featherbedding, adopting private sector productivity standards and other changes.

   Were you aware of this? _____

   (1 = yes, 2 = no, 3 = not sure; was aware of some of it)

   If response other than "no": Has this had any impact upon:

   A) Your working hours? _____

   (For all subitems: 1 = yes, 2 = no)

   If "yes" ask for additional comments)

   Comments

   B) The number of inmates seeking counseling? _____

   Comments

   C) The type of problems inmates bring the counselor? _____

   Comments

   D) The attitudes or behavior of counselors. _____

   Comments

5. If industry shops were successful enough to employ at least 1/3 of the inmates full time and pay at least $3.00 per hour, what do you think would be the impact upon:

A) Relationships between inmates and prison staff? (e.g., Would increase in money in the prison cause more gambling, bribery of guards, etc.).

B) The status of industries inmates in the inmate social order (e.g., would industries inmates become any more or less influencial)?

C) The industries inmates? (e.g., would they be subject to more extortion)?

D) Other prison programs, (e.g., would drop-out rate increase)?

The final questions are about the goals of the industries program.

6. If industries profit could justify it, would you favor paying industries inmates: _____

1 = Nothing.

2 = No more than whatever is necessary to get them to work.

3 = The wage earned by inmates holding institutional jobs.

4 = Minimum wage

5 = Prevailing ("real world") wage, with chargeback for room and board.

7. Please indicate what you believe the goals of correctional industries actually are and should be by marking the most important goal with a "1", the second most important with a "2" and so on:

	Actual	Should Be
A) Economic self sufficiency or profitability.	_____	_____
B) Provide inmate with specific skills.	_____	_____
C) Help inmates develop good work habits and attitudes.	_____	_____
D) Keep the largest possible number of inmates occupied.	_____	_____
E) Provide an opportunity for inmates to obtain money.	_____	_____

Are there other goals you feel are important?

8. How long have you worked in the counseling program? (Months) _____

9. How long have you worked in corrections? (Months) _____

Do you have any other comments or questions? Thank you.

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1982—361-233/1832

END