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Federal Bureau of Prisons



Federal Prisons

JOURNAL

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60 Years of Public Service, 1930-1990

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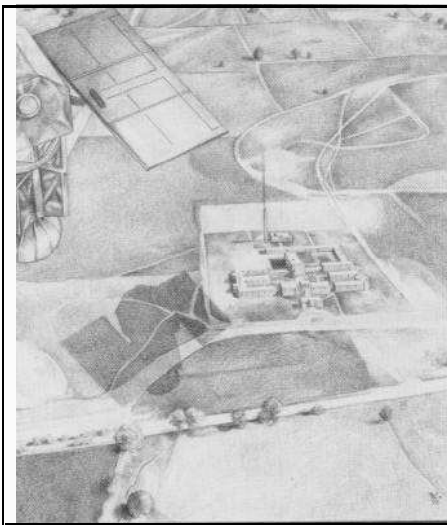
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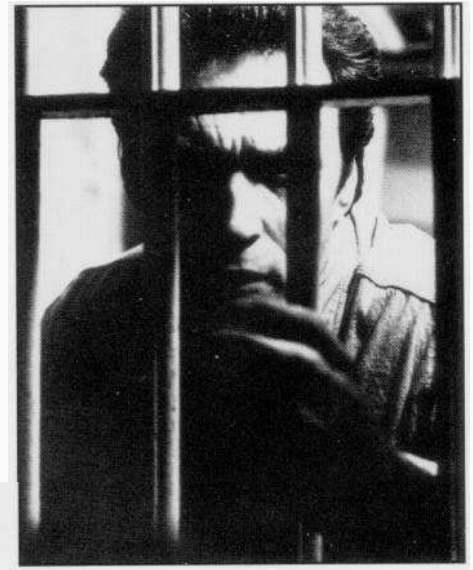
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Federal Prisons

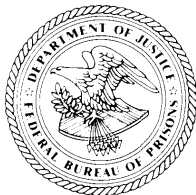
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From the editor

This special issue of the *Federal Prisons Journal* marks the 60th anniversary of the Federal Bureau of Prisons—and completes the first year of this magazine's publication.

Guest Editor John W. Roberts, the Bureau's archivist, conceived and helped assemble the historical material for this issue; our thanks to all who helped with photographs and illustrations. "The Log" will return in the next issue.

During the past year, the Bureau has been installing and testing a new mailing list data base, which is now operational. It should provide quick responses to your subscription inquiries and changes of address. If you know someone who would benefit professionally from reading the *Federal Prisons Journal*, please pass along his or her address.

As always, we welcome your feedback and ideas for articles—and manuscripts, of course.

What Should the Public Expect From Prisons?

Overcoming the myths

J. Michael Quinlan

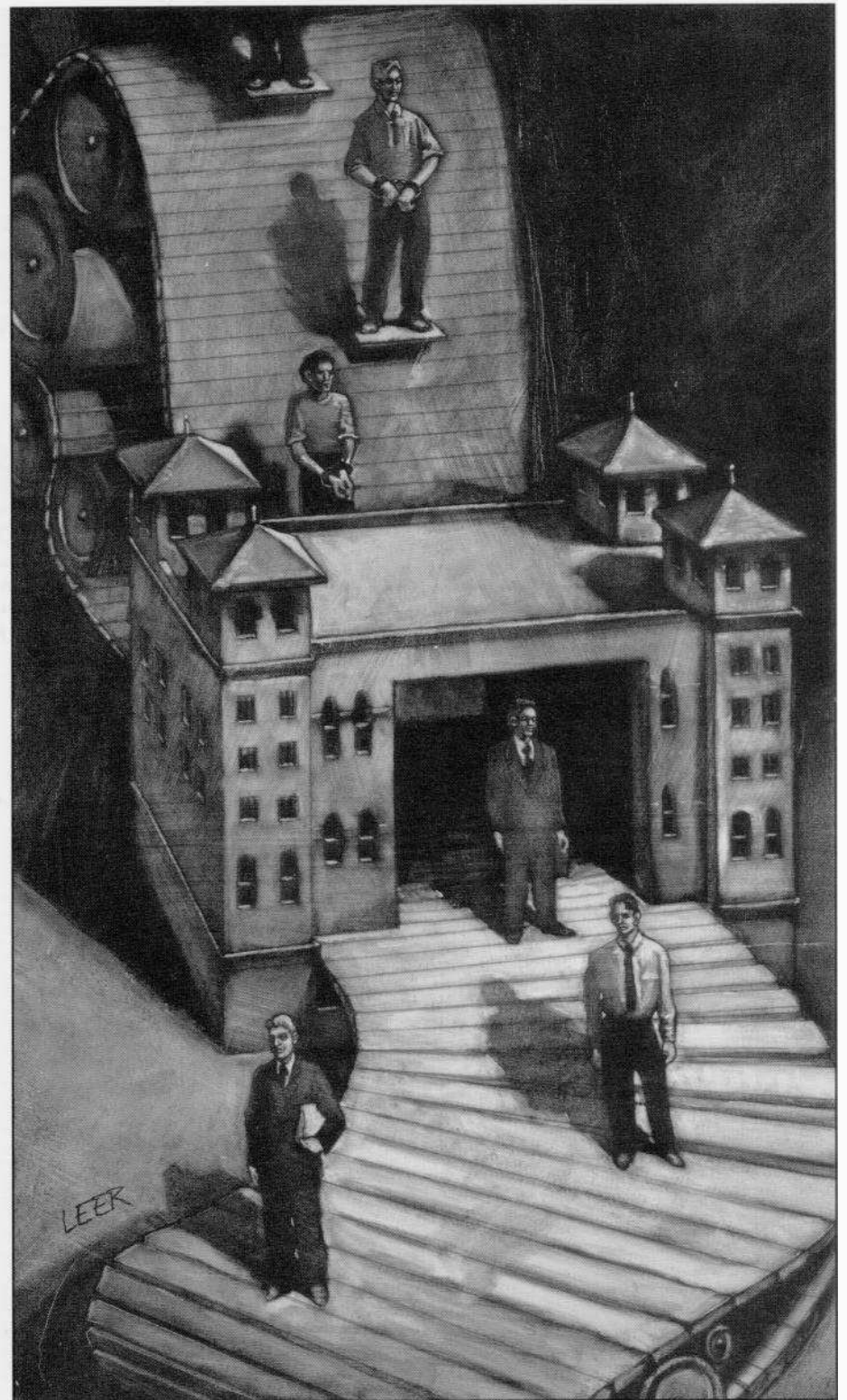
As the Federal Bureau of Prisons begins its seventh decade, the public is aware that we are in the midst of a huge expansion of our Nation's prisons. Citizens are increasingly scrutinizing the management of the vast sums that legislatures are dedicating to prison construction and operation—properly so, for they have a right to know that their tax dollars are well spent.

Anyone who has worked in prisons for more than a few years will remember that this kind of scrutiny was rare in the past. Historically, the public has turned its attention to prisons only in times of crisis, when debates tend to focus on the issues of the moment, without the slightest reference to the everyday realities of prison management.

It's not surprising, then, that our perception of how well we do our job is different from the public's. The Federal Bureau of Prisons has a very positive reputation among corrections agencies, both domestically and abroad, of which we can be proud. The growing professionalization of the entire corrections field means that corrections work is an increasingly attractive career choice.

Yet the public is largely unaware of this, for two reasons. The first is a failure of omission. We have simply failed to devote the time and resources we need to get our story across. The second reason, however, is more difficult to deal with. People already think they know what they need to know about prisons.

Unfortunately, however, these public opinions are largely a collage of inaccurate, outdated impressions garnered from sensationalistic accounts of escapes or riots, or from James Cagney and Clint Eastwood movies. Woven from bits and



Rebecca Leer

pieces of history and anecdote, these images are far from the truth, but they also are far too easy for the average citizen to absorb as facts. In short, the myths of mismanagement, staff brutality and neglect of inmates' needs, rampant sexual assault, and unfettered drug use in prisons seriously misrepresent most prisons in America today.

A subtle but pervasive misconception is associated with these beliefs—the notion that prisons should, in some unique way, be able to change all inmates into law-abiding citizens. Prison programs for self-development can help some offenders. However, to expect such programs to do so invariably is unrealistic.

Prisons primarily house offenders who are products of failed experiences with every other institution of society. By the time an inmate arrives in prison, the home, school, church, and other social agencies have all had an opportunity to intervene in this person's life—to no avail. It is totally unrealistic to think that in a context defined by deprivation of society's freedoms, imposing prison programs (no matter how good they might be) on such individuals will automatically change an inmate for the better.

To be realistic, how can we expect prisons to do what every other instrument of society with far more constructive potential has failed to do?

Upon reflection, most people would acknowledge that prisons are far from the ideal setting for effecting change in attitudes and behavior. Even the best managed are artificial environments with fewer resources and many more constraints than the average community-based education, counseling, or job training program. Inmates are held involuntarily, away from family and



Inmates in fiction—James Cagney and Edmond O'Brien in White Heat. Most people's impressions of prison life come from movies such as this one. Inmates in reality—right, an inmate crew at the Federal Correctional Institution, McKean, Pennsylvania, clears trails for the U.S. Forest Service; inset, the Emergency Response Team of firefighters at the Federal Prison Camp in Boron, California.

friends, in a single-gender environment, supervised by staff who are necessarily concerned with security first. They are not as likely to develop and successfully pursue personal goals as those in the “free community” who do so voluntarily, with the support of significant others and helping professionals—who are not burdened with the “role duality” that comes with being a correctional worker.

Prisons characteristically receive that select group of offenders who pose a significant risk to the community and have been poorly motivated to change in other, less stringent settings and programs. The prison population is, in a sense, defined by its very unwillingness or inability to change positively. As a result, we should not expect the prison experience to produce successes at the same rate as programs in the free community.

Moreover, that community measures correctional success by the ex-inmate's

performance in the community upon release. Yet inmates released from prison face stigmatization that virtually ensures major obstacles for even the best candidates for a productive, crime-free life. No matter how well behaved or well intentioned an inmate might be upon return to the community, or how many programs he or she might have completed, the “ex-con” label can unravel the best plans and intentions. The best prison programs are often neutralized by adverse community reaction.

Thus, prisons are in a double bind—on the one hand, society's expectation that imprisonment must have an improving effect on inmates' characters and make them less likely to recidivate; on the other, the incapacitation-, just deserts-, deterrence-driven “warehouse” image, which implies that prisons exist essentially to stack inmates out of harm's way, without attending to their betterment. No

corrections professional subscribes simplistically to either of these notions. That so many citizens do suggests what a large public relations task the profession has in front of it.

Is there a way out of this double bind?

I believe there is. We must encourage society to take responsibility for its offenders—to come into our prisons, bringing with them normal social values. One way to do that is through a highly professional staff, as I have mentioned; this process is well underway in American corrections as a whole. Staff members bring “outside” values in to work with them each day, and have the opportunity to convey those values and societal expectations to prisoners in their daily interactions. This also conveys the message that the offender is considered part of the community to which he or she will return. Receiving fair and consistent treatment is a new experience for many inmates, and it does not go unnoticed by them.

Another avenue of “normalization” has been too little explored—bringing the public directly into our prisons through a greatly expanded program of volunteerism. We are working to create such opportunities for expanded involvement with Federal prisons:

- In more remote areas, prisons can provide services—such as fire protection—that smaller communities sorely need.
- We are also working closely with Prison Fellowship, Alcoholics Anonymous, and other organizations and volunteer groups who counsel inmates and attend to their personal needs.



Courtesy FPC Barron

- Most of our institutions now have Community Relations Boards, in which prominent citizens meet with prison officials to discuss issues of mutual interest—including child-care initiatives, emergency preparedness, open houses, local procurement, and recruitment. The next few years should see a wide variety of innovative joint projects.
- In our nonmandatory prison programs, particularly in comprehensive and intensive drug treatment (discussed elsewhere in this issue) and in literacy, we have the opportunity to play a “quasi-parental” role, to reinforce inmates’ motivation to stay out of prison by improving the quality of their lives. Citizen participation is essential here as well, if these programs are to realize their full potential.
- At many Federal prisons, inmates are involved with BOP employee sponsors and representatives of local communities

to provide outreach services to the community, such as drug education and “toys for tots.”

- We are collaborating with other Federal agencies on a number of projects; for instance, helping the Forest Service keep trails clear of debris, and supplying inmate labor to the Department of Defense to perform maintenance functions on military bases. Both types of projects provide on-the-job supervision to inmates, through personnel who, while not volunteers, are non-correctional representatives of community norms and values. This resource-sharing will be increasingly valuable as government budgets tighten, since they enhance cost efficiencies by reducing labor costs.

By bringing the “inside” and the “outside” into regular contact, these types of activities will help ease the inmate’s

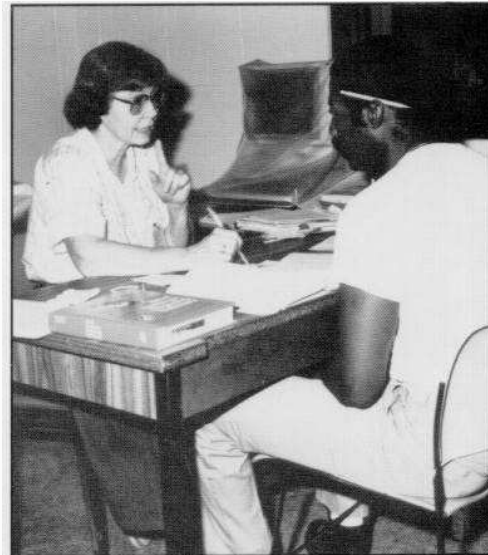
eventual reentry into society. One of the most vexing problems inmates face upon release is the lack of support networks to help them stay straight. This breeds a sense of failure—all too often a self-fulfilling prophecy. If, instead, an inmate knows that he or she remains part of a community (even if not his or her own), that inmate may be much more strongly motivated not to return to prison. Hence, it is imperative that corrections engage the community in “taking responsibility” for its offenders by educating them in mainstream norms and values, and by supporting them upon their release.

Bringing citizens into closer contact with the justice system has other benefits. We can hope that it will help to reduce the sense of alienation from prisoners and prisons that so many people feel. And it will definitely improve their knowledge of what goes on inside, reducing the mythology that breeds distance and even fear.

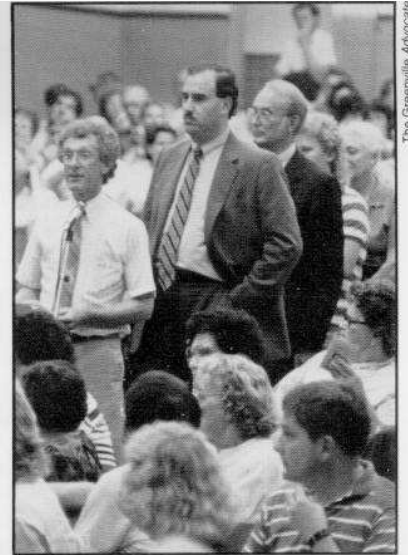
Thus, in the final analysis, what should society realistically expect from prisons?

Society should expect that prisons will protect public safety. It should expect that inmates will be confined safely and humanely. It should expect prisons to provide inmates with a reasonable diversity of programs and services that will give them the opportunity to better themselves before returning to the community. It should expect that such programs will be cost-efficient: in practical terms, this means stratifying programs according to inmates' needs (such as educational deficiencies), motivation to change, and severity of criminal history.

In America today, these correctional initiatives are increasingly the norm. To help the public begin to learn this,



BOP/Tony Calabrese



The Greenville Advocate

Public involvement with the Bureau of Prisons can take many forms. Left: a volunteer teaches reading. Right: citizens testify at a public hearing on prison siting in Greenville, Illinois.

corrections administrators need to be increasingly open about their profession and its accomplishments. The public should know that the Federal Bureau of Prisons and, indeed, prison systems in many States and in Canada, protect society in an effective, humane, efficient manner. Great strides have been made in program development, staff training, and professionalization, particularly when one considers that we are ending a decade when inmate populations have almost doubled, and that until recently resources devoted to corrections have not grown proportionately.

The myths that Americans believe about corrections are an impediment to an optimally effective correctional system because they prevent the community from taking its full responsibility for the offenders who will eventually be challenged to productively reenter society. These myths inhibit the community from undertaking the partnership with corrections that is required if prisoners are to be given the best possible opportunities for self-betterment. Even so, line staff,

as the “public face” of the Bureau, deserve the credit for slowly eroding those inaccuracies and building confidence in corrections. To the extent that correctional programs and issues can be put into proper perspective, our prisons will run even better.

If we are successful in bringing the “outside” and “inside” together, we can, I think, expect reasonable progress toward better public understanding of the true nature, purpose, and process of punishment in our society, that ultimately will result in an improved climate for reducing the recidivism rate. Public understanding, and participation, will help these human beings—who have the potential for either productivity or further disruption—contribute to society upon release, not take from it. ■

J. Michael Quinlan is Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

Prisons That Work

Management is the key

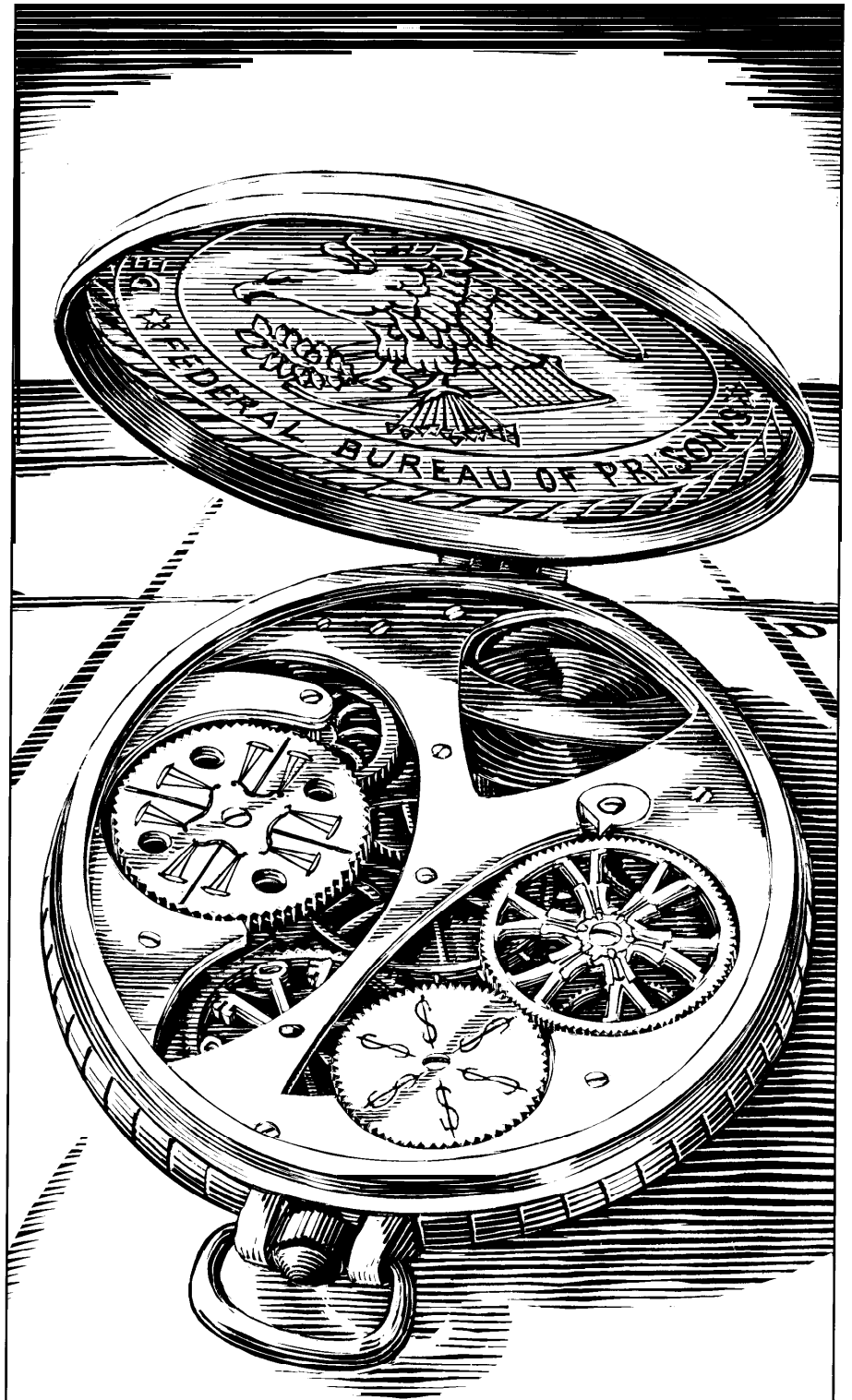
John J. DiIulio, Jr.

For most of its 60 years, the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) has been a standing rebuttal to those who believe that Government bureaucrats are inherently wasteful, self-interested, and uncreative. It has likewise been a demonstration of government's ability, despite all of the political and other problems associated with this thankless task, to run safe, civilized, cost-effective prisons. If someone were to write an *In Search of Excellence* on public organizations, the BOP story would have to be chapter one.

I was slow to develop this buoyant opinion of the agency. In mid-1986, I had just completed 3 years of research on prison management in several States, focusing on Texas, Michigan, and California. I had spent most of this time going in and out of maximum security prisons as a Harvard graduate student researcher, and wasn't terribly eager to continue this line of research. But then I heard from BOP Director Norman A. Carlson, who directed the agency from 1970 to 1987. He had read the draft chapters of my book on State prison management and invited me to take a look at how the Feds do it.

So I accepted Carlson's invitation and took a trip to the Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) in Butner, North Carolina. Opened in 1976, FCI Butner was designed to test ideas about prison management advanced by the University of Chicago's Norval Morris in his 1974 book, *The Future of Imprisonment*.

At that time, liberal penologists still had the notion that criminals could be rehabilitated by "treating" them in mandatory counseling sessions and other programs. Penological radicals alternated



Bob Dahm

between “tear down the walls” and “inmate self-government.” Conservatives continued to peddle the ancient maxim “throw away the key.”

Morris had a saner set of ideas. Offer prisoners educational and other programs on a voluntary basis. Use state-of-the-art classification procedures to place prisoners in the least restrictive setting commensurate with their basic security needs. Train staff to live up to the correctional credo—“firm but fair”—in their dealings with inmates.

To be safe, humane, and productive, Morris conjectured, most prisons need not look like fortresses or be run like boot camps. He hoped that, compared to more conventional practices, a regime like the one he envisioned might reduce the propensity of prisoners to commit new crimes (recidivate) once they returned to the streets. But he argued only that, if properly instituted, life behind bars would be more civilized and less costly in human and financial terms.

Carlson articulated the BOP’s historic mission as operating prisons in which inmates enjoyed “safety, humanity, and opportunity.” He saw no contradiction between strict administrative controls and tight discipline on the one hand, and the provision of basic amenities (such as good food and clean cells) and life-enhancing programs (from remedial reading to vocational training) on the other.

In fact, experience taught Carlson that these things went hand in hand. For some years, the agency had experimented with the “medical model” of corrections in which rehabilitation was emphasized above all else. By the mid-1970’s, he was rethinking this emphasis. The heavy



Norval Morris. His book *The Future of Imprisonment* greatly influenced the Bureau’s direction in the 1970’s.

emphasis on rehabilitation, he thought, had begun to crowd out other values—internal security, public protection—both in the BOP and in many State prison systems.

Thus, in Morris’s proposals, Carlson found a reflection of his own evolving ideas about prison management, as well as a well-argued expression of his core conviction that “imprisonment itself is the punishment, and horrible, repressive conditions of confinement are an illegal and immoral” burden that must “not be heaped upon the deprivation of liberty.”

FCI Butner put these ideas into practice. Inmates chose programs as they wished. Restrictions on inmate movement were minimal. By the time I visited the prison, it had a decade’s worth of statistics and studies behind it. In sum, they showed that it had done nothing to reduce

recidivism (or, for that matter, to improve prisoners’ post-release ability to get and keep jobs). But the studies also hinted at reduced violence, increased rates of inmate participation in (and completion of) educational and other programs, and lowered staff turnover and job-related stress.

The quality of life inside Butner was amazing compared to what one could see in most State medium and high security prisons. When I visited Butner, its warden was Sam Samples, an agency veteran with a doctorate in education who followed the principle of “management by walking around.” The prison staff was on top of things. Every unit sparkled. The food was excellent. The work areas hummed. No shouting. No aggressive horseplay. Little inmate idleness. In short, there were few of the unpleasant sights and sounds I had come to expect when observing life behind bars.

So I returned from North Carolina impressed with the way the Feds ran Butner. But the prison was known as one of the agency’s “showplace” facilities. Besides, I “knew” that, compared to the States, the BOP got “a better class of criminals,” that it spent buckets of money lavished on it each year by Congress, and that it had almost as many officers as inmates.

Or at least that is what I thought I knew. A little archival digging revealed that, historically, the BOP spent pretty much at the national median per prisoner per year. In 1987, costs ranged from under \$6,000 per year per prisoner at minimum security Federal Prison Camps (FPC) such as Eglin in Florida, to a high of nearly \$25,000 at the supermaximum United States Penitentiary (USP),

Marion, Illinois. At its regular maximum security penitentiaries, the agency spent less than \$13,000. The agency-wide average was about \$14,000 per prisoner per year—roughly \$7,000 less than in most State systems.

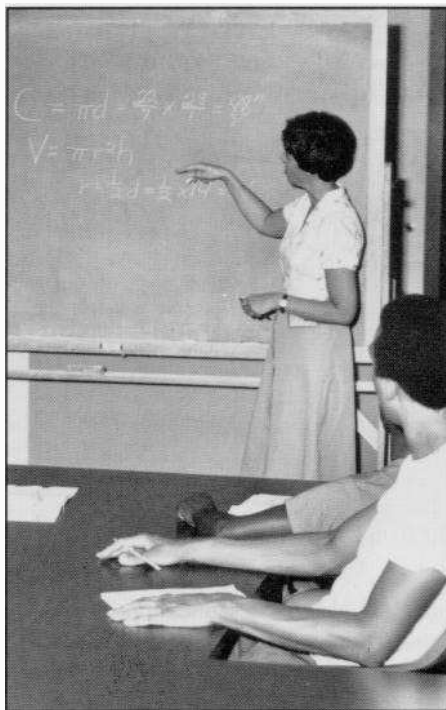
The “Club Fed” explanation for the BOP’s relative success did not withstand scrutiny either. In 1987, for example, 45 percent of the agency’s prisoners had a history of violence. For years many States have transferred their “too-hard-to-handle” inmates to the BOP; the agency now holds hundreds of these inmates.

Finally, I found little evidence that inmate-to-staff ratios in the BOP were lower than in most State systems. In 1988, the BOP had about eight inmates for every correctional officer; the ratio in California and most other State systems was closer to six to one.

Furthermore, when one compares BOP inmates at any level of security to comparable inmates in the States, it turns out that the rates at which Federal prisoners commit violent infractions of all kinds (rapes, assaults, homicides, escapes) behind bars have been substantially lower, while the rates at which they participate in work and other programs have been substantially higher than the rates for State prisoners.

The “x factor”: management

What then accounts for the comparative success of the BOP in bringing about safe and humane conditions behind bars without emptying the public treasury, handling no one but convicted Wall Street traders, or employing wall-to-wall staff? The answer is simple: how the agency has been led, organized, and managed, both in the cellblocks and in the corridors of political power.



The Federal Correctional Institution at Butner, North Carolina, was designed to put the new ideas of the 1970's into practice.

In the 1920's, Federal prisoners were beaten for minor rule violations. They ate rotten food served from slop buckets. Recreation and work programs were virtually nonexistent. Crowding mounted as Prohibition violators were arrested, tried, and convicted in ever-increasing numbers.

In 1929, Sanford Bates, the reform-minded director of the Massachusetts prison system, became Federal Superintendent of Prisons. In the same year, the congressionally sponsored report of the Cooper Commission documented the horrors of the existing system, and contained the seeds of the legislative proposals that gave birth to the Bureau of Prisons in the following year.

Not unexpectedly, Bates became the first BOP Director. Everyone had confidence in Bates' administrative abilities, but he

and his young aides made sure that the enabling legislation also made the director's post a strong one. They had previously witnessed the failure of California's newly formed Department of Penology, headed by a director whose only formal power was to call a meeting of five deputies once a month.

Bates and company avoided this mistake. The BOP director was granted the power to hire and fire wardens and other personnel (staff were brought under Civil Service regulation for the first time), and Bates wielded this power. Staff found guilty of acts of brutality were terminated or demoted; staff who publicly bucked the agency's official commitment to the “individualized care and custody” of inmates did so only once before having to find new jobs during the dog days of the Great Depression. At the same time, Bates used his extensive personal connections to Republican Party figures, including former President Calvin Coolidge, to rally political support for the agency.

In 1937, Bates was succeeded by James V. Bennett, who directed the agency from 1937 to 1964. A clerk in the Bureau of Efficiency (forerunner of the Office of Management and Budget), Bennett was on the team that investigated conditions inside Federal prisons for the Cooper Commission; indeed, he wrote most of the Commission's report. Bates made the enterprising Bennett his assistant director. Bennett repaid Bates' confidence with two major innovations, one technical, the other political.

First, Bennett guided the development of a prisoner classification system intended to rationalize inmate management and promote individualized treatment. For its time, the system he developed was sophisticated and precise; its elements

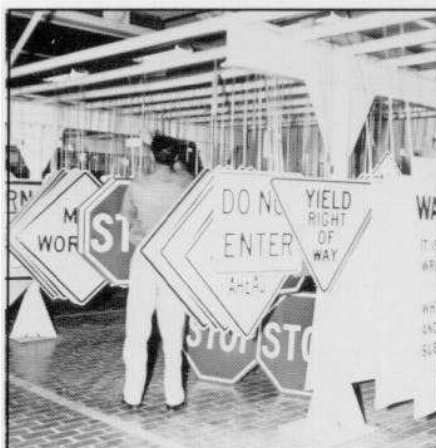
remain in the classification instrument that the BOP uses today.

Second, Bennett laid the political groundwork on which Federal Prison Industries (known since 1978 as UNICOR) was built. Then, as now, opposition to the production and sale of prison-made goods was fierce. But Bennett argued, persuaded, and compromised his way to the centralization of formerly scattered Federal prison industries, anticipating by decades the call of former Chief Justice Warren Burger that prisons be turned into “factories with fences.” Today, UNICOR employs tens of thousands of Federal prisoners and is a multimillion-dollar enterprise that produces goods from clothes and Army helmets to highway signs and furniture.

For nearly three decades, Bennett was the agency’s “public face” and chief spokesman. He cultivated positive relationships with key judges, attorneys general, activists, and academic opinionmakers. He developed a selective recruitment and training program for agency workers, instituted award programs for institutional managers, and remained sensitive to the needs and perceptions of line staff.

Bennett’s work was carried on by Myrl Alexander, who directed the BOP from 1964 to 1970. Alexander was an intelligent man who had spent plenty of time in Bennett’s enormous shadow. Nevertheless, he was able to consolidate many of the gains Bennett had made, and he made a few innovations of his own.

By the time Norman Carlson became director in 1970, he faced the problem of maintaining control over an increasingly large and far-flung penal bureaucracy. At the same time, throughout the country,



Federal Prison Industries has been a cornerstone of Bureau operations since the Bennett era.

political, judicial, and media pressures on prison administrators were starting to mount. Though even its harshest critics felt obliged to acknowledge its achievements, in the early 1970’s the BOP faced calls for its abolition as an affront to the principle of federalism; others merely opposed further construction in the belief that crime trends spelled an end to the need for more prison beds.

In this environment, Carlson saw the need to make sure that the agency was carrying out its mission in the most professional manner possible. Over time, the BOP had instituted a number of practices designed to ensure “field compliance” with Washington’s policy directives: frequent transfers of personnel from prison to prison, an elaborate system of internal audits (fiscal and operational), and a common training program for all employees. Each institution would have its special operational needs, and Washington would make provisions for those.

Fundamentally, however, all institutions operated on the same principles via the same basic procedures. As one measure of the importance of administrative

uniformity to the agency’s leaders, persons who came to the agency with experience in other prison systems were screened carefully and retrained extensively.

Carlson restructured the agency in ways that would reinforce this tradition. He carved the agency into five regions, each with its own headquarters and regional director. Some observers read this as an attempt to decentralize BOP operations. The opposite was true. Rather than creating semi-autonomous decision-making centers, regionalization was Carlson’s way of reinforcing accountability and control by strengthening Washington’s administrative appendages in the field.

Carlson implemented unit management throughout the Bureau. Under this concept, teams of security staff and counselors were placed in charge of a given wing or “unit” of a prison and held responsible for the quality of life therein. Unit managers served as “mini-wardens,” responsible for everything from sanitation to keeping track of their inmates’ activities and release dates.

In addition, Carlson sponsored agency meetings, seminars, and award ceremonies intended to deepen the close-knit, “family” culture of the BOP. Frequent moves encouraged staff to anchor their social lives with other agency workers and their families. (The talk of the agency as family is more than a metaphor: “Bureau brats”—children or grandchildren of agency workers—can be found in most Federal prisons. The current warden of USP Lewisburg has a father, two brothers, and a son, all of whom worked in the BOP.)



Photos courtesy Patrick Keohane

The Bureau as family. The picture at left, taken in 1959, shows Lt. Thomas F. Keohane at the Federal institution in Springfield, Missouri, with two of his sons. Correctional Officer Thomas F. Keohane, Jr., at left, eventually became warden at Miami and Terre Haute. Correctional Officer Timothy M. Keohane, at right, became warden at Safford, Englewood, El Reno, Lompoc, Terminal Island, Florence, Arizona (now closed), and San Diego. The picture at right, taken at Leavenworth in 1968, shows another son, Correctional Officer Patrick Keohane, who became warden at Memphis and is currently warden at the U.S. Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

Finally, while feeding the agency's culture, Carlson maintained and enhanced the network of outside alliances handed down from Bates and Bennett through Alexander. He maintained this network in part by opening the prisons to any credible person who cared to learn. He also kept abreast of legal changes, striving always to stay "one step ahead of the courts." (For that reason, the agency has never invited the sort of sweeping judicial intervention that has occurred in many State corrections agencies.)

Planning for the future

By most estimates, over the next decade the BOP's prison population will double, to more than 100,000. Given its rapid growth, will the BOP be able to run progressively safe and humane prisons and detention centers? Will it continue to boast a "family" organizational culture, an innovative management approach, and a balanced penal philosophy?

The answer, I think, was made clear in how the agency resolved its first major crisis under Carlson's successor, J.

Michael Quinlan, who took over from Carlson in mid-1987. He had served as a BOP attorney, as Carlson's executive assistant, and as the warden at FCI Otisville, a medium security facility in New York State. He was the agency's deputy director prior to his appointment as Director.

On November 21, 1987, just months after Quinlan became Director, the Federal Detention Center in Oakdale, Louisiana, had a major disturbance, followed 2 days later by a disturbance at USP Atlanta, Georgia. The former disturbance lasted for 8 days; the latter went on for 11. All told, 138 hostages were taken, several mass escape attempts were made, \$64.6 million worth of property was destroyed, and another \$48.9 million was spent to quell the uprisings and to relocate the rioters. In both cases, the disturbance was caused by political events essentially beyond the BOP's control.¹

¹Virtually all who participated in both disturbances were Cuban detainees who came to America in the 1980 "Mariel boatlift." The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) found thousands of them unfit for immediate admission due to mental illness

Quinlan resisted the temptation to storm the facilities. He publicly declared a policy of "endless patience" as long as there was no evidence that hostages were being abused, tortured, or killed. He kept the BOP in charge of the situation, placing personnel from the FBI and other law enforcement agencies who came to the scene under his authority. The trouble ended with all hostages being released, and with only one inmate death (in the first moments of the Atlanta disturbance).

The amazing response to the disturbances by BOP employees from all over the country is perhaps the strongest indication of the agency's ability to do as well in the future as it has done in the past.

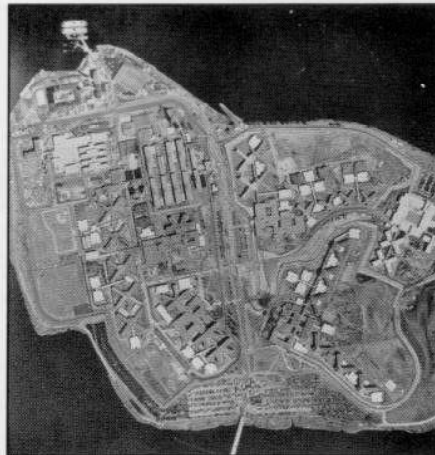
or criminal records; many have been detained in BOP custody since 1980. Others were released to the community at some point, committed new crimes, and returned to BOP custody; most of this second group were sent to Atlanta and Oakdale—the latter Institution administered jointly with the INS. On the morning of November 20, 1987, the State Department informed the Department of Justice that a repatriation accord with Cuba, suspended by the Cuban Government 2 years earlier, had been reinstated. The agreement was made public only 4 hours later; the Oakdale disturbance occurred the next day.

Though by no means uniformly popular with staff or clearly cost-effective, the BOP's policy of frequent transfers means that most employees personally know someone at most facilities. Of the hundreds of BOP staff I have interviewed, all but a few knew one or more of the hostages at Oakdale and Atlanta. Moreover, the BOP's "family" traditions and ethos are never more in evidence than when co-workers are threatened or harmed.

The crises made visible some intangible qualities of organizational life. Staff members reached inside their flak jackets to pull out some cash for the families of the hostages. Middle-aged secretaries stood watch on the prison's perimeter with counselors, unit managers, uniformed officers, and administrators. Union representatives put aside outstanding disputes until the trouble was past. Retirees phoned each other, watched the news on television, and listened anxiously for any word on the disturbances.

As one of the former hostages remarked: "So you see, this is what you get from lousy Government bureaucrats, most of whom make less than \$30,000 a year—loyalty to each other, selflessness in the line of duty, and a dedication to protect the public they serve." He might have added "commitment to the rule of law" and "professional calm"; in the wake of the disturbances, not a single act of vengeance was taken by a BOP staff member against a rioter.

The crises could easily have—but didn't—derail Quinlan's plans to reorganize the agency's management structure in ways that can accommodate by the year 2000 (or before) twice as many Federal inmates, staff, and institutions as there were on the day that



Courtesy N.Y. City Dept. of Corrections

A number of State and local corrections systems have adopted Bureau of Prisons innovations. Here, the Rikers Island jails (New York City).

Quinlan became director. Quinlan has drawn upon public management experts and outside consultants to develop a "Human Resources Management" (HRM) program within the BOP—giving the agency a corporate management structure without gutting its "family" customs and traditions.²

Lessons for American corrections

What broader lessons should be learned from this 60-year-old Federal agency that runs prisons that work? I think there are four.

²Thus, one part of the HRM strategy is an active program to involve staff more directly in decisions about where they serve, what they wear on duty, and how job-related stress and other problems can be ameliorated. Another part is the move toward a computerized "key indicators" system that will smooth and standardize the flow of data among and between the institutions and the regional and central headquarters, and that will make possible more sophisticated and useful analyses of what management and staffing practices work best under given conditions. The institution of the Program Review Division and the increasing use of strategic planning at the national, regional, and institutional levels are other examples.

Success is possible

The BOP experience proves that decent prisons are possible, and that wretched prisons are not inevitable. Historically, the key to the BOP's success has been good management. The BOP has faced all of the problems often said to make safe and humane prisons impossible—overcrowding, understaffing, a diverse inmate population with plenty of hardcore offenders, old physical plants, and so on. It has met these problems with administrative creativity and resourcefulness. It has enjoyed stable leadership (in most States, corrections chiefs come and go every few years), and each of its five leaders has managed the agency's external constituencies with as much energy and thoughtfulness as in managing its inmates.

One might wonder whether State and local correctional systems could borrow pages from the BOP's book with the same results. The answer is that many have already done so. For example, New York City's Department of Corrections has instituted unit management in the new Manhattan Tombs and in selected jails on Rikers Island. The results: a reduction in the frequency and the severity of inmate violence, less use of force against inmates by staff, and an improvement in officer morale. To cite just one other example, a few years ago the Maryland Department of Corrections, a troubled prison system, adopted the BOP's classification procedures. Maryland officials are convinced that the procedures have given them a better handle on inmate management, and data on the rates of disorders and inmate participation in educational and other programs tend to bear them out. (It should be noted that the BOP is rivaled in many respects by the Minnesota Department of Corrections and several other agencies. Over the years, the BOP has also learned from other corrections departments.)

The moral of the BOP story is not that we should continue to incarcerate with reckless abandon. The fact that prisons can be well run is no argument for putting more people behind bars.

Many offenders must be incarcerated. The threat posed by violent and repeat offenders cannot be taken lightly. Over three-quarters of the Nation's 3.5 million convicted criminals are now on the streets, on probation or parole. Tens of thousands of them should not be. Some State offenders were released early to relieve population pressures (or to honor court-imposed population caps); others (including murderers, who serve a median of under 8 years in confinement) "paid their debt" (minus overgenerous "good time" sentence reductions) and were freed prematurely; most were freed without anyone looking over their shoulders or helping them to find jobs and adjust. Some of these freed criminals have killed, raped, and robbed.

However well administered, prisons are not terribly conducive to the better angels of our nature. If our moral strictures do not prevent it, then first-time and low-level nonviolent convicts who can "do time" in the community—that is, serve their sentences under meaningful supervision, and without posing more than a small statistical risk of committing new crimes against property or persons—must not be locked up. To incarcerate these offenders is to engage in nothing more than moral quackery and practical foolishness.

Yet the possibility of sensible alternatives to incarceration does not make prisons obsolete. With characteristic carefulness, the BOP has proposed that the new Federal sentencing guidelines, the constitutionality of which was



Gregg Rummel, courtesy NII/NCJ/RS



Courtesy BOP Community Corrections office, New Orleans

Left: Electronic monitoring is likely to be used more intensively in years to come as an alternative to incarceration. Right: Marian Manor, Louisiana, one of many community corrections facilities managed with Bureau of Prisons oversight.

recently upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, be interpreted so that at least some Federal felons can be "incarcerated" in the community under various punitive intensive supervision and house arrest programs.

Private management is no panacea

A second lesson is that proponents of "private prisons," and champions of the ostensibly greater efficiency, flexibility, and innovativeness of private management over public management, should take a second look.

Research shows that private prison construction and financing arrangements do offer substantial savings and raise few moral dilemmas. But private correctional management has not even begun to prove itself. Of the roughly 22 facilities now run by the more than 25 existing private prison firms, not one is a maximum-security prison for adult male offenders. Instead of Atticas, San Quentins, and Leavenworths, the private firms have locked themselves mainly into jails for juveniles and similar institutions. Moreover, even with this "corrections creaming," the comparative cost-

effectiveness of their operations is often asserted but never demonstrated.

There is more than human caprice behind the fact that we have MPA's and MBA's, government and business, politics and markets, public agencies and private firms, a public sector and a private sector. When society's goals are multiple, vague, and contradictory (e.g., punish, deter, incapacitate, rehabilitate), and its desire to achieve these goals is constrained by legal and constitutional norms (e.g., no "cruel and unusual punishments," rights of due process, equality of treatment), there will be an ongoing political debate.

As political scientist Herbert Kaufmann observed, government bureaucracy and its "red tape" are creatures of our democratic values. "One person's red tape," he noted wisely, "may be another's treasured safeguard." When privatization spokesmen say they will cut the "red tape," they may unwittingly be promising to "cut" inmates' legal and constitutional rights, and the rights of staff to unionize freely and bargain collectively.

In a free society, citizens may value the public nature of a process as much as they value its results. Even if private firms could somehow overcome the labor-intensive demands of the “prisons business” and run more safe and humane prisons for less money, would the moral questions surrounding their enterprise be resolved? Does it matter whether the hand that pulls the trigger on a would-be escapee is the hand of a duly authorized public official? I believe that it does, though many people I respect disagree.

The BOP has taken a cautious approach to privatization. Like many other prison agencies, for years the BOP has contracted for a host of auxiliary services, from food preparation to mental health counseling. But there are no plans to privatize any of its major facilities, and most agency veterans would balk at such a move.

I believe that the BOP experience makes privatization a less enticing option than “nationalization.” By nationalization I mean an enhanced Federal role in State and local corrections policymaking directed from the executive branch (BOP officials) instead of from the Federal bench (interventionist judges). In a forthcoming book, I argue the need to develop a full-scale National Academy of Corrections run by the BOP. The Academy would be a center for training State and local corrections officials: the funds would come from the Federal Government, supplemented by private foundations.

Cynicism about Government is unwarranted

A third lesson of the BOP experience is that “bureaucrat-bashing,” and the concomitant view of public servants as self-interested “empire-builders” out mainly to maximize their budgets and their perks, does not reflect reality.



Bureau of Prisons line staff: a rebuttal to “bureaucrat-bashers.”

This cynical view informs many journalistic accounts, punctuating “insider” stories about what government agencies do. Worse still, it has been elevated to the status of a “theory” among many academics who have rarely, if ever, studied the workings of government except from their offices or from the computer room, a cloister where prepackaged statistical programs can shield one from real-world complexities that are hard to quantify or model.

The unpaid hours worked, the thankless tasks completed, and the undeserved criticisms suffered over the years by BOP employees are a rebuttal to those who can read only cynicism and defeatism on the face of civic virtue and can-do government.

Corrections has a moral dimension

Finally, the BOP experience furnishes a lesson—a very compelling lesson because it involves how we treat our least popular citizens—of what a “kinder, gentler nation” (and a government organized to bring it about) might look like.

The BOP, like other corrections agencies, handles people whom most of the rest of us would neither care nor dare to be around. Some of them are remorseless criminals who harmed others and would do so again given the slightest chance. Others are people who simply, and only half-intentionally, were in the wrong place at the wrong time and will regret it for the rest of their days. Still others were trapped in whole or in part by their life circumstances. (I recall one Federal prisoner who was convicted of armed robbery. His gun, however, was not loaded, and there was evidence that he knew it at the time of the holdup. “I wanted,” he said, “to just use a stick-up note but I didn’t know how to write.”)

Regardless of their crime or their background, the BOP has managed these criminals in a way that provides for their protection and future self-betterment. For six decades it has sought for better ways to run decent facilities while protecting the public and its purse.

For criminals, America’s Judeo-Christian culture prescribes revenge tempered by forgiveness, justice tempered by mercy. In light of the BOP’s record, those of us who feel a part of that culture have something in which to rejoice. ■

John J. DiIulio, Jr., is Associate Professor of Politics and Public Affairs at Princeton University and Director of the Center of Domestic and Comparative Policy Studies. He is the author of Governing Prisons: A Comparative Study of Correctional Management (Free Press, 1987), and is completing No Escape: The Future of American Corrections (Basic Books) and Barbed Wire Bureaucracy: Politics and Administration in the Federal Bureau of Prisons (Oxford University Press).

Marion—Turning a necessity into a virtue

The BOP has not been perfect. Alcatraz, for example, was the scene of heavy-handed administrative tactics. More recently, USP Marion has been attacked as a prison that does nothing but “warehouse” criminals. I have visited Marion and studied every published document pertaining to its history. Some persist in seeing it as a wart on the agency, but I see it as the BOP’s way of turning an administrative necessity into a virtue.

Between February 1980 and October 1983, there were 14 escape attempts, 10 group disturbances, 57 serious inmate-on-inmate assaults, 33 inmate assaults against staff, and 9 inmate murders at Marion. On October 22, 1983, two Marion officers were killed and two others seriously injured. A few days later an inmate was murdered, and a riot occurred in which five staff members were beaten.

More than 98 percent of Marion’s prisoners have a history of violence; 55 percent of them have been involved in murder, and almost 30 percent of them have killed while in State or Federal prison. Nearly 40 percent have made escape attempts. The average Marion prisoner is serving a 39-year stretch; many will never return to the community. As one Marion officer remarked: “Here we have the hardest of the hard, the most aggressive, the most uncaring—the most dangerous to the public, the staff, and other inmates.”

Marion was built in 1963 as a modern, “open” institution, but it was only after the violence of 1983 that the BOP decided that its attempt to manage Marion via normal maximum security procedures simply could not work. It

was a tough decision for Carlson and his executive staff. They prided themselves on having done as much as possible to deregiment the agency’s prisons. And they certainly anticipated the political and legal challenges (and the intense media scrutiny) that would follow any move to run Marion as a supermaximum.

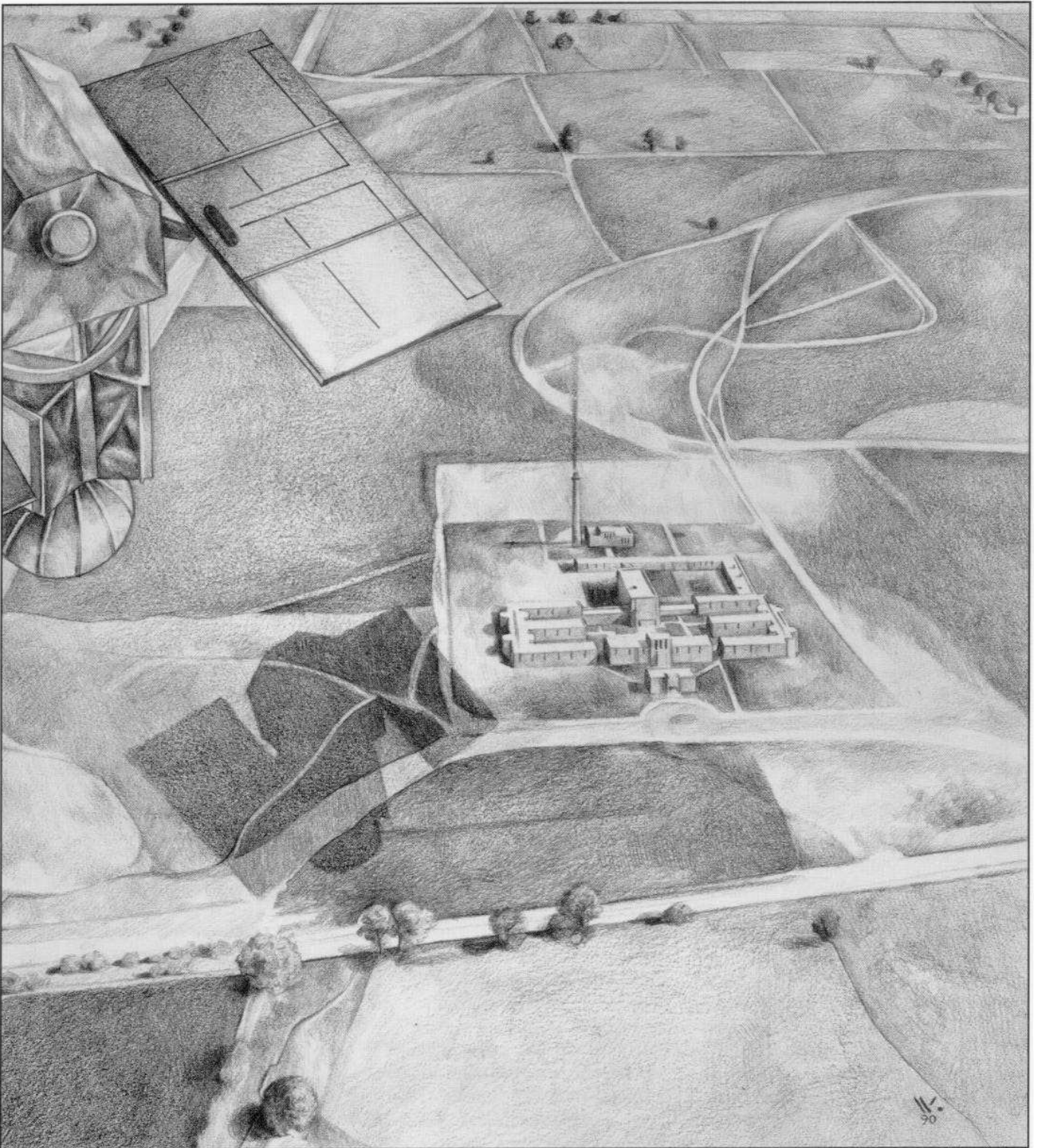
Initially, Marion was placed in normal “lockdown” status. Inmates were confined to their cells for all but an hour a day. Quickly, however, Carlson moved to develop a “controlled movement program.” This program differed from a lockdown in that, while at Marion, inmates who demonstrated good behavior could gradually work their way into a less restrictive (though still highly monitored) daily routine. Inmates who qualified would be permitted to take all three meals out of their cells and to work in the prison’s UNICOR plant. Those who worked their way into the prison’s pretransfer unit could work in the factory 7 hours a day, 5 days a week. Through this program, about 100 inmates have been transferred out of Marion each year since 1983. All inmates, with the exception of those in disciplinary segregation status for serious misconduct, have a television and a radio in their cells, and are permitted to enroll in correspondence courses.

In the year after the heightened security procedures went into effect at Marion, inmates filed a class action suit. In *Bruscino v. Carlson*, they claimed that conditions at Marion violated the Eighth Amendment’s prohibition on “cruel and unusual punishments.” In a decision issued on February 24, 1987, the Federal District Court of Southern

Illinois found that “...the controls are a unitary and integrated system for dealing with the nation’s least corrigible inmates; piecemeal dismantling would destroy the system’s rationale and impair its efficacy.” In a ringing endorsement of the *Bruscino* decision, the U.S. District Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit stated: “...the plaintiffs described as cruel and unusual punishments...procedures which were protecting them from murders and attacks by fellow prisoners.”

Part of the BOP’s rationale for Marion is that, rather than permitting incorrigible inmates to disrupt operations at its other facilities, they should be isolated in one place. Normally, inmates who commit serious infractions are placed for a brief time in the “lockdown” segregation wings of their facility (their “prisons within a prison”). If this does not cause them to behave in the future, or if they are determined “heavies” who exploit their peers for sex, drugs, or money, or if they have extraordinary protection needs, then Marion is waiting. “Marion,” said one BOP official, “is a way to put all the rotten apples in one basket so that the others don’t go bad. If one of the rotten apples ripens, we’re glad to transfer him....”

Correctional experts have debated the wisdom of this approach. But whatever its shortcomings, if forced to choose, I would rather be confined in Marion than in most State maximum security prisons. At least I could count on being safe from the violent whims of my predatory neighbors. As former warden Gary Henman noted, “Our first job is to protect the public; our second job is to protect the inmates.”—*J. DiIulio* ■



Anthony Woolridge

High Tech in Corrections

Arthur S. Lucero

Imagine a correctional facility where inmates are identified by voice analysis as they pass from one area to another. By the end of the day, the inmates' entire itineraries have been logged by a computer. In addition, they have been scanned for drug use and changes in stress levels 10 to 20 times during the day.

Imagine a facility with electromagnetic scanners that detect any contraband on or in the human body in a matter of seconds. Or an air sampling system integrated into the ventilation system that can detect the presence of narcotics or explosives in any part of a facility. How about a perimeter security system so sophisticated it can distinguish and automatically record the difference between a sedan and a station wagon?

Imagine robots that can control the strongest, most aggressive inmate, using no more than exactly the amount of force necessary to subdue the inmate. How about an electronic monitoring system that can pinpoint an individual's location within inches?

Although these systems are not currently in operation, a 2-year project involving the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) could help make these and other technologies available in the near future. In May 1989, NIC launched a project to study aerospace technology that could have a significant impact on corrections.

Identifying key concerns

The first phase of the NIC/NASA project is to identify and prioritize correctional problems that might be addressed through the use of aerospace technology. The second phase is to review NASA's present technology data base and the process for transferring that technology to other governmental or private entities. The third phase entails selection of the technologies to be developed and the tailoring and actual transfer of those technologies to corrections. The targeted technologies will be selected by NIC and NASA, with input from correctional practitioners throughout the country.

In early 1989, a request for suggestions regarding correctional problems that might be solved by aerospace technology was sent to all 50 State departments of corrections, the District of Columbia, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and a number of probation departments. Comments from sheriffs were solicited through the NIC Jail Center. The hundreds of suggestions received yielded about 50 topics arranged in seven areas. Not surprisingly, the greatest number of responses was in the area of security—automated perimeter surveillance, contraband detection, electronic monitoring, alternative weapons, locking systems, personal security alerts, and robotics.

Responses in the area classified "behavioral" were next in frequency. These included the impact of long-term confinement, stress and stress reduction, the aging process, education, and recreation. The "materials" area included concerns regarding glazing materials, acoustical wall and floor coverings, construction materials, and materials for bedding and clothing that do not give off toxic fumes when burned.

"Environmental" concerns included air and temperature controls and fire security. "Information and communications" included identification of inmates, evaluation of programs, systems management, image processing, information processing, artificial intelligence, work schedules, and accountability. "Medical" concerns included reducing costs, communicable diseases, and physical fitness programs for confined environments. Also mentioned were staff training, inmate work and employment, and food preparation and serving.

The second phase—reviewing NASA projects with potential corrections applications—involved screening thousands of technical briefs, computerized literature searches, and numerous meetings with engineers and scientists at NASA Research Centers across the country. On September 13-14, 1989, top NASA and Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) engineers and scientists met with California prison wardens and parole administrators at the JPL in Pasadena. They discussed such high-tech developments as magnetic resonance imaging for contraband detection, computer-based automation of prisons, neural network computers and voice recognition, the reversal electron attachment detector for explosives detection, and systems analysis methodologies.

In an expanded meeting on April 14-15, 1990, NASA scientists and corrections and law enforcement officials from around the Nation met at Goddard Space Flight Center outside Washington, D.C., to explore technological spinoffs from the space program and their possible applications to corrections, law enforcement, and the war on drugs. Those in attendance included State and local

corrections officials from California, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Virginia, the District of Columbia, Chicago, and Arlington, Virginia, as well as representatives from national corrections associations, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the FBI, the National Institute of Justice, The Office of National Drug Control Policy, and the U.S. Navy. Scientists from various NASA research centers—Goddard Space Flight Center, Johnson Space Center, the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, Langley Research Center—made presentations to the group on a variety of topics.

NASA has been involved in the transfer of its technology to other fields for more than 25 years. Because its charter does not allow it to directly develop commercial products, it must match up a potential user (such as the Veterans Administration or a small machine shop owner) with an appropriate technology and a vendor who will modify that technology into a form that can be used commercially. The process can be expensive: development costs are usually shared between the user and the vendor. The payoffs? The user has a problem solved, the vendor retains licensing rights, and NASA fulfills its mandated task of transferring technology to fields outside of aerospace.

Technologies with corrections potential

Many of the NASA technologies show great potential, but the area presently attracting the greatest attention is Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) for use in contraband detection. MRI—familiar



Above: A technician uses ultrasound on a burn victim. The same technology could be used to detect hypodermic injection sites. Top right: The Bio-Home at NASA's Stennis Space Center, where researchers are exploring the capabilities of plants to absorb gases and reduce pollution in closed environments. Bottom right: An M200 Microsensor Gas Analyzer, developed by Microsensor Technology Inc. The technology has great potential for detecting contraband.

to many as a result of its medical uses—could be used for nonintrusive body searches to detect any contraband on or in the body. Initial indications are that this technology can be modified significantly, reducing the cost to a reasonable level and the time required for a scan to a few seconds. This method for nonintrusive body searches could hold great significance not only for corrections, but for other applications such as U.S. Customs and airport security.

NASA technology in the area of eye measurements of the pupil and retina, used to detect biological and psychologi-

cal changes in astronauts, could be applied to several problem areas in a correctional institution. Rapid eye scans could simultaneously record involuntary pupillary movements to detect drug use and changes in stress levels, while a scan of the pattern of blood vessels in the retina could provide additional medical information and a method for positive identification of individuals (the retinal pattern is as unique as a fingerprint). This information could be integrated into systems for access control, timekeeping, and tracking movements within a facility.

A similar system, based on voice analysis and identification, could also be developed to quickly detect drug use and positively identify an individual. These types of nonintrusive systems would be especially effective in corrections, because baseline measurements of individuals could be established against which subsequent measurements could be taken.

Some other possibilities:

- Technologies are being developed that will detect explosives and contraband based on air sample analyses that are a hundred times more sensitive than those used today.
- Detecting hypodermic injection sites using ultrasound could help identify contraband drug use.
- Insulated food trays made of very strong, ultralight plastic that last for years, yet could not readily be made into weapons, could be developed relatively quickly.

■ Satellites can presently analyze the ground below a selected prison site or analyze cooling and heating problems in a facility using infrared photographs.

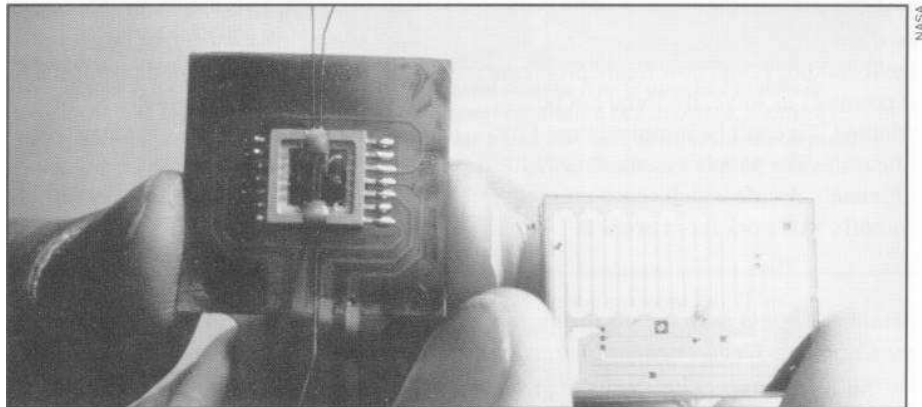
Frontiers in computing

New “supercomputers” that are faster and have greatly increased memory capacity, enabling them to process incredible amounts of data, have led to the use of artificial intelligence and pattern recognition in such areas as “expert systems” that can teach individuals to pilot a space shuttle, learn high school physics, or learn to read and write. The same technology used for training and planning for worldwide military operations and for protecting nuclear facilities could easily be adapted in prisons for computer simulation of riots or natural disasters.

Pattern recognition could be used in the classification of inmates and program planning for probationers and parolees, with the added benefit that the system could provide continuous feedback on the ability of the program to predict behavior. A literacy tutor program presently being developed at the Johnson Space Center in Houston, Texas, uses artificial intelligence and pattern recognition to incorporate a voice simulator and voice identification program that speaks in sentences and can recognize and correct entire spoken sentences. The student does not need to touch the computer. A word or phrase is displayed on a screen; the student is given verbal instructions and then responds verbally. The computer evaluates the student’s response and provides immediate feed-



NASA



NASA

back. In addition to teaching reading, the literacy program can also evaluate the reading level of a student, thus relieving the instructor of a time-consuming and difficult process.

Advances in computerization will be able to give administrators real-time information on a scale beyond the capacities of today’s management information systems—on inventories, staffing, staff locations, training, inmate counts, classi-

fication, and budget (as well as instant projections in all of these areas).

The next steps

Obviously, a major concern in selecting which technologies are to be developed will be to identify those that will have the most significant impact on corrections. Other considerations include the cost of development, the length of time needed

for development, and political and legal implications. As this issue of the *Federal Prisons Journal* goes to press, a meeting of corrections officials from across the country with a knowledge of and interest in the application of technology in corrections will convene to help NIC and NASA select and prioritize the technologies that will be targeted for development. The actual development of the selected technologies will begin soon thereafter.

Corrections has traditionally been a "bricks and mortar," people-intensive profession. While prisons and spaceships wouldn't seem to have much in common, both are systems that must be as self-contained as possible. Many of these technologies seem exotic, but others are simply extensions of well-established correctional practices. While the promise is great, experience shows that no matter how exotic, expensive, and sophisticated the technology, and how many problems it promises to solve, it should not be adopted if it can't be intuitively used by line staff. The people "on the line" will ultimately decide which space program spinoffs will work for prisons. ■

Arthur S. Lucero is an administrator for the California Department of Corrections currently on detail to the National Institute of Corrections, Prisons Division. After a nationwide search, he was selected to develop and direct the NIC/NASA project based on his 11 years of experience in engineering, and 16 years in corrections.

Video imaging at FCI Lexington

*Thomas J. Gora
and W. Travis Lawson*

Manpower shortages and limited access to centralized medical referral facilities are issues that must be addressed daily in the Bureau of Prisons. Given the tremendous growth anticipated within the next 5 years, creative ways must be found to address these increasing demands—including high technology.

Video imaging, sometimes referred to as telemetry, is the ability to transmit a live, still picture over regular telephone lines in as little as 7 seconds. These pictures are received on a television screen in the office or hospital of selected medical specialists. By use of a built-in microprocessor, the image is recorded on a floppy disk so that it can be stored and reviewed in the future. Operation of this device is comparable to, and as simple as, the use of a fax machine.

The most prominent use of video imaging in today's medical community is in teleradiology—the transmission of an X-ray from one location to another. Many radiologists have this device in their home to eliminate afterhours trips to the hospital.

Ophthalmology is something of a problem area for corrections. While it typically requires only specialized intervention by a few practitioners, if an ophthalmologist is not readily available within a geographic area, a great deal of coordination and expenditure of resources is required to achieve proper coverage.

Due to the efforts of a consultant ophthalmologist in the Lexington, Kentucky, area, the Federal Correctional Institution at Lexington has participated in a pilot study of teleophthalmology. Video imaging allows an institution to transmit a live picture of an inmate's eye directly to an ophthalmologist's office. This provides for immediate consultation in what could be a sight-threatening emergency. An added advantage for the correctional setting is that the inmate doesn't leave the institution.

The unit was pilot-tested at FCI Lexington during spring 1989. In the laboratory, a standard personal computer was outfitted with a high-resolution imaging board and monitor. The Zeiss Corporation furnished a slit-lamp containing a beam splitter, to which was attached a digital camera. The computer was able to transmit images via modem over telephone lines in less than 2 minutes. West Coast Data Corporation, a major distributor of teleradiology equipment, adapted a black-and-white unit to color, adding the capability of interactive voice communication when the unit was not sending images. An arrow cursor appeared on both screens simultaneously to aid identification.

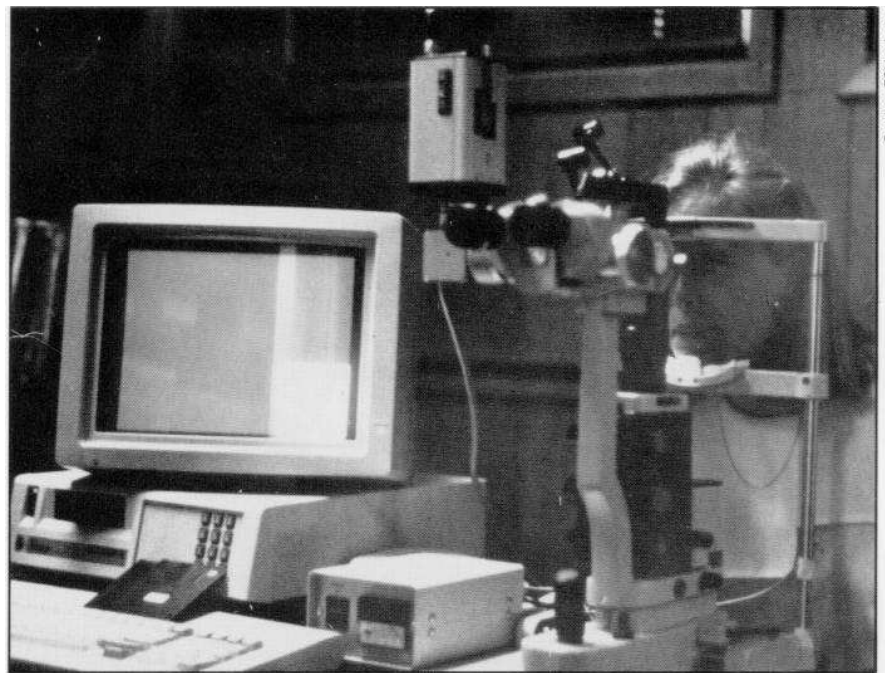
Over the 2-week test period, 18 inmates were evaluated by teleophthalmology. Initially, the patients were examined by the consulting optometrist at FCI Lexington. A text overlay containing history, refraction, visual acuity, and intraocular pressure was transferred with a color image of the pathologic lesion in question. Examination data were sent to the

centralized office in batch files to be reviewed by the consultant ophthalmologist. When further information was needed, the patient was returned to the slit-lamp; communication was established via telephone through the computer system. This allowed the consultant to instruct the sender in repositioning the specimen, magnification, focus alignment, and so on, then to transmit the images. Cursor arrows could be exchanged between screens to facilitate the process.

The clinical information was then interpreted; an independent ophthalmologist rendered a second opinion for quality assurance. Using statistical measures, it was evident that a significant correlation was achieved between the diagnoses. In addition, two images that were not felt to be adequate for diagnosis by the first examiner were randomly placed in the presentation sequence and received the same interpretation by the second examiner.

Based on the brevity of the pilot test period, it is impossible to provide a reasonable cost analysis. Obviously, all costs associated with town trip preparation, escort services, housing, potential overtime costs, examination fees, potential return visit costs, security issues and chaperon assignments, and transportation will be eliminated by the use of video imaging.

Ophthalmology is a unique specialty for computer imaging, since it is visually intensive. But the use of video imaging is possible in any medical examination that can be performed visually. The possibilities are numerous. Problems that



The patient is looking into a "slit lamp." A special camera lens is attached to the slit lamp, which is located at the Federal Correctional Institution in Lexington, Kentucky. The eye's image is then transmitted over regular telephone lines to a personal computer (such as the one shown here) at an ophthalmologist's office. The image may be viewed immediately or stored on a floppy disk for future review.

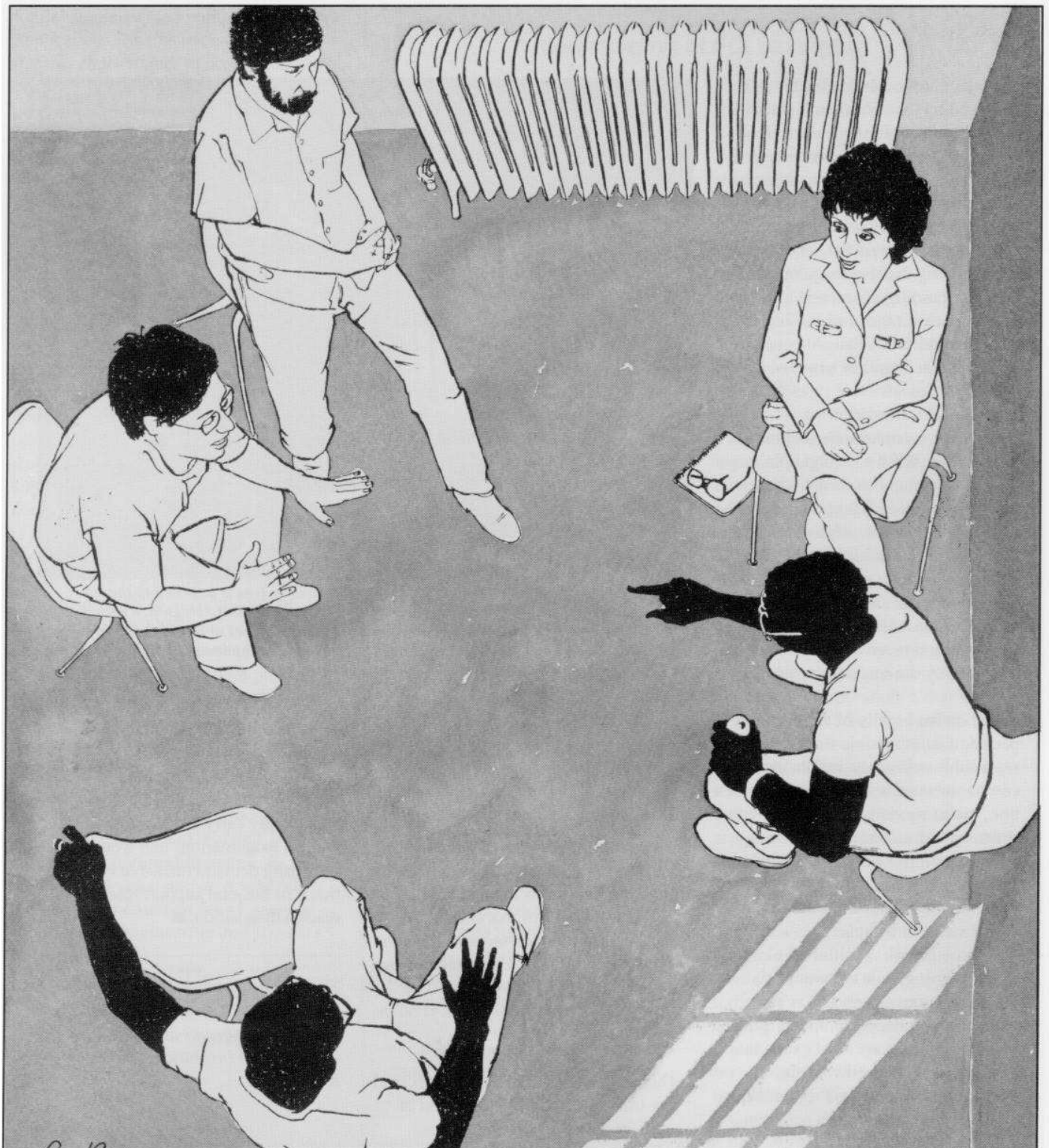
can be solved in ophthalmology can be readily applied to radiology, pathology, dermatology, and other disciplines requiring imaging.

Several institutions are experiencing significant problems in securing the services of a contract radiologist, or are paying high fees for individual film interpretations. The Bureau of Prisons might be able to locate one radiologist (or perhaps a group) who would be willing to interpret films for several institutions by use of teleradiology.

This fascinating "cutting edge" technology offers hope for the extension of

services into areas where staff shortages are sorely felt. This approach will not supplant traditional services, but offers a tool that might expediently carry out benign, routine, clinical examinations that would ordinarily demand intensive correctional or hospital support resources to reach a disposition. ■

Thomas J. Gora is Hospital Administrator and W. Travis Lawson is Chief of Health Programs at the Federal Correctional Institution, Lexington, Kentucky.



Illustrations by Sherrell Medbery

Beyond “Nothing Works”

History and current initiatives in BOP drug treatment

*Susan Wallace, Bernadette Pelissier ,
Daniel McCarthy and Donald Murray*

The number and proportion of Federal inmates convicted of drug-related offenses continues to increase steadily. In the past 2 years alone, this segment of the Bureau of Prisons' (BOP) inmate population has grown from 42.3 percent in 1998 to 49.8 percent this year. As this group of inmates grows larger, so does the number of inmates with drug abuse problems. In response to the rising number of drug-abusing offenders in its custody, the BOP is establishing residential drug treatment programs and mechanisms for evaluating them.

Programs and policies aimed at “rehabilitating” inmates have generally paralleled society's changing views toward the purpose of prisons. During the past few decades, there has been a shift from enthusiastic support to strenuous opposition with regard to rehabilitation as a goal of corrections. Now, however, armed with the knowledge gained from the various rehabilitation and treatment programs that operated during these recent decades, the Bureau of Prisons finds itself in a more moderate and informed climate for exploring and testing intervention strategies.

There is considerable controversy over the precise manner in which substance abuse may or may not directly result in criminal behavior, but research has indicated that a link does exist—and that reductions in criminal activity have followed both prison-based and non-



There is considerable controversy over the precise manner in which substance abuse may or may not directly result in criminal behavior, but research has indicated that a link does exist.

prison-based drug treatment programs. Effective intervention approaches have included residential treatment programs, therapeutic communities, self-help groups, family therapy, contingency counseling, role playing and modeling, vocational and social skills training, interpersonal cognitive problem-solving training, and peer-oriented behavioral programs.

While the BOP has made drug treatment programs available to its population in the past, recent emphasis had been on drug education and limited group therapy. The BOP's current response, however, is to expand programs for substance-abusing offenders and provide

treatment through residential treatment units, followed by prerelease community-based residential programs and an extended period of aftercare services.

Previous Federal drug treatment efforts

Prior to the enactment of the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act (NARA) of 1966, selected Federal inmates with narcotic abuse histories received assistance and supervision in one of two U.S. Public Health Service hospitals located in Lexington, Kentucky, and Fort Worth, Texas. NARA, however, mandated in-prison drug treatment for addicts who were convicted of violating Federal laws. The first such drug treatment unit was opened in March 1968, at the Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) in Danbury, Connecticut. Additional NARA units opened during 1969 and 1970 at institutions in Terminal Island, California; Alderson, West Virginia; Milan, Michigan; and La Tuna, Texas.

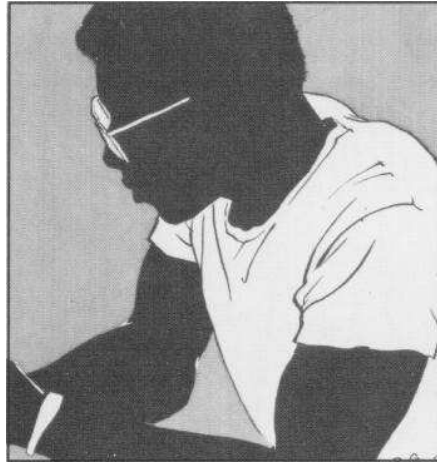
These drug treatment units were based on the therapeutic community model (a 24-hour learning environment using both peers and staff as role models), with an emphasis on group therapy. All NARA participants were required to participate in post-release aftercare, which usually consisted of frequent urinalyses and community-based counseling programs.

Several evaluations were conducted on the effectiveness of the NARA drug treatment programs in decreasing criminal behavior and drug use among releasees. Studies conducted in the early 1970's by universities, private research organizations, and the Bureau of Prisons'

Office of Research and Evaluation indicated that some groups of NARA participants used illegal drugs less frequently and had lower recidivism rates after release than groups of comparison subjects. Long-term evaluations of the NARA treatment programs, published as recently as 1988, have concluded that the programs "...worked reasonably well, or as well as any other type of intervention has worked for the narcotic addict."¹

This success indicated that a larger population of inmates could benefit from such drug treatment programs. Beginning in July 1971, drug treatment units were opened to serve inmates with a demonstrated need for such programming who were not sentenced under NARA. By 1972, all of these programs were authorized to provide aftercare services for program participants. By 1978, there were 33 drug treatment units in Federal institutions. The *Drug Abuse Incare Manual*, released by the BOP in July 1979, called for the establishment of unit-based drug treatment programs in all institutions and specified minimum operational standards for BOP drug programs.

While the publication of the *Incare Manual* led to an improvement in the BOP's drug treatment programs for several years, the quality of these programs began to decline in the early 1980's due to changes in the social and political climate regarding drug treatment and other "rehabilitative" programs. Correspondingly, drug treatment evaluation efforts during this period were less intensive than during the early and



Recent monthly participation rates show that nearly 3,800 inmates, or 7 percent of the total Federal inmate population, are currently enrolled in a substance abuse or drug education program.

middle 1970's. Evaluation techniques were not built into the design of these later programs, and researchers had difficulty in retrospectively reconstructing the data required for evaluation purposes. Thus, the possibility for a thorough evaluation of these programs was severely restricted.

By 1987, only three unit-based drug treatment programs remained, and most of the BOP's substance abuse programs were "low intensity," with an emphasis on drug education. Presently, program techniques are varied. Approximately one-third of the institutions have self-help groups, such as Alcoholics Anony-

mous (AA) and Narcotics Anonymous (NA). Other available programs include group psychotherapy and training in communication skills, personal development, values clarification, stress management, positive thinking, and assertiveness. Some programs also offer individualized counseling, vocational planning, and prerelease planning.

Many group programs are of a specific length, running from 6 to 12 weeks. However, some institutions such as FCI Tallahassee and FCI Fort Worth offer multistage programming, allowing inmate participation over a longer period of time. With the greater influx of Hispanic inmates, a few initiatives have been taken to provide programs for inmates who are not fluent in English. FCI Fort Worth and FCI Seagoville provide both a 12-week program led by Spanish-speaking staff and consultants and an AA group led by Hispanic volunteers.

In the Bureau of Prisons, inmates generally enroll in drug treatment programs at the beginning of their incarceration. Although program enrollment is voluntary, priority is given to inmates who have court orders to receive treatment as well as inmates with severe substance abuse problems. Recent monthly participation rates show that nearly 3,800 inmates, or 7 percent of the total inmate population, are currently enrolled in a substance abuse or drug education program.

Drug treatment program initiatives

In 1988, a National Drug Abuse Program Coordinator position was established to oversee the development and implementation of the new drug treatment strategies for Federal inmates. In addition to continuing the current low-intensity treatment programs, plans are underway for revising education programs and for developing new unit-based intensive treatment programs.

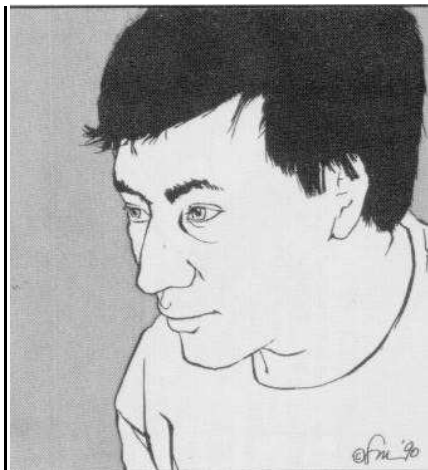
The multidimensional approach to serving the growing population of drug-abusing inmates includes five types of programs.

Drug education programs

Drug education will be the only administratively mandated program for inmates who have a substance abuse history. Participants will include:

- All inmates for whom there is evidence in the Pre-Sentence Report (PSR) that alcohol or other drug use contributed to the commission of the offense.
- Individuals whose alcohol or other drug use was one reason for a violation of parole or probation supervision for which the subject is now incarcerated.
- Inmates for whom there is a court recommendation for drug programming.

The program will also be available to volunteers; however, priority will be given to inmates with alcohol and other drug abuse histories.



Comprehensive DAP's will be located nationwide. However, specific admission procedures for some of the comprehensive DAP's will be established, enabling comparisons with the effectiveness of the pilot programs.

Drug abuse counseling services

Centralized counseling services will be available to volunteers at all institutions at any time throughout their incarceration. These services will include self-help groups such as AA and NA, group therapy sessions, stress management and personal development training, and vocational and prerelease planning. Some programs will have specific lengths and completion criteria, while others will allow inmates to participate in ongoing therapy. A psychologist or drug abuse treatment specialist will coordinate all activities, and be involved in direct

service delivery. These services will be analogous to the "low-intensity" group and individual services currently available at most facilities, but will be enhanced by additional staff and resources.

Residential drug abuse treatment programs (DAP's)

There will be two types of residential programs—pilot programs and *comprehensive* programs. The pilot DAP's will be located at three institutions within the BOP's Southeast and Mid-Atlantic regions: FCI Butner, FCI Tallahassee, and FCI Lexington. The programs at FCI Butner and FCI Tallahassee will serve male inmates and the program at FCI Lexington will serve female inmates.

Comprehensive DAP's will be located nationwide. However, specific admission procedures for some of the comprehensive DAP's will be established, enabling comparisons with the effectiveness of the pilot programs. These comprehensive programs will be known as the *comparison comprehensive* programs.

Both the pilot and comprehensive programs will accept volunteers only. The major features of the comprehensive residential programs include:

- Unit-based programs.
- Treatment staff-to-inmate ratio of 1:24.
- Program duration of 9 months or 500 treatment hours.
- Prerequisite of 40 hours drug education.
- Approximately 3 hours of programming per day.
- Up to 40 hours of comprehensive assessment.

- 280 hours of group/individual counseling.
- 100 hours of wellness lifestyle training.
- 40 hours of transitional living issues.
- Full unit team reviews every 90 days.
- Treatment reviews every 30 days.
- Increased urinalysis surveillance.
- Individualized treatment plans based on assessment.
- Preference to inmates who are within 18-24 months of release.
- A comprehensive transitional services component.

The pilot research DAP's are very similar to the comprehensive DAP's, with the following exceptions:

- Treatment staff-to-inmate ratio of 1: 12.
- Program length of 12 months.
- 1,000 hours of treatment.

Transitional services

Transitional services will be provided after release from the prison environment and will consist of two phases. The first phase, prerelease services, will consist of 6 months in a community treatment center (CTC), with specialized drug treatment programming either contracted out or provided directly by BOP staff. The second phase, aftercare services, will consist of 6 months during which community treatment services are coordinated in conjunction with the Probation



This effort takes on a special urgency as drug offenders and substance abusers swell prisons and jails across the Nation.

Division of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. Additional refinements in the transitional services programs will be forthcoming.

Program evaluation

The evaluation project involves a longitudinal, multidimensional assessment of the following groups: pilot DAP participants, comprehensive DAP participants, drug counseling program participants, drug education program participants, and several comparison groups. The research plan incorporates three basic elements:

- The "process" evaluation will document the various components of actual service delivery to determine if the program is being implemented according to established standards, and to assess its workability.
- "Outcome" evaluation will address questions about program effectiveness: to what extent did program participation

result in prosocial behavior such as decreased criminal behavior and drug use after release?

- Cost-benefit analyses will address questions about the relationship between resources expended and outcomes achieved for various programs.

Research has demonstrated a link between participation in drug treatment programs and reduced recidivism and drug use among participants. This link, combined with the valuable knowledge gained from the success of past drug treatment programs within the Federal Bureau of Prisons, makes a compelling argument for the Bureau's renewed effort to determine what drug treatment programs it can offer to facilitate change among the inmate population. This effort takes on a special urgency as drug offenders and substance abusers swell prisons and jails across the Nation. ■

Susan Wallace and Daniel McCarthy are analysts in the Office of Research and Evaluation, Federal Bureau of Prisons. Dr. Bernadette Pelissier is Chief of Research at the Federal Correctional Institution in Butner, North Carolina. Dr. Donald Murray is the National Coordinator for Drug Abuse Programs for the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

Notes

¹Anglin, M. Douglas (1988), "The Efficacy of Civil Commitment in Treating Narcotic Addiction." In: Carl G. Leukefeld and Frank M. Tims (Eds.), *Compulsory Treatment of Drug Abuse: Research and Clinical Practice*. (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health and Human Services, NIDA, p. 26.)

View From the Top

The Bureau of Prisons' five Directors discuss problems and ethics in corrections

Compiled and edited by John W. Roberts

In any society, the sanctions applied against lawbreakers can be misunderstood or misused. Not only do knowledgeable corrections professionals and scholars disagree about the effectiveness or desirability of programs or philosophies, but political leaders and society in general impose standards and demands that add further dimensions to the complicated and daunting process of devising corrections policies that are ethical, useful, and realistic.

Corrections is a field that is well-known but little understood. There is universal awareness that prisons exist, but first-hand knowledge of those prisons is so limited that what actually goes on behind the walls seems a mystery. For solutions to the mystery, it is easy to take refuge in sensationalism: mythical ideas that "pro-inmate" prison administrators maintain country clubs where criminals can enjoy themselves while their victims continue to suffer, or equally romantic notions that inmates are merely scapegoats for society's crimes and that sadistic administrators operate prisons that might be likened to concentration camps.

The reality, however, is much less dramatic. Instead of seeking methods that would either coddle criminals or terrorize them, prison administrators struggle to develop competent, workable, socially acceptable ways of carrying out what former Bureau of Prisons Director James V. Bennett called "the unhappy task of punishing people."

Since its creation in 1930, the Federal Bureau of Prisons has had five Directors. Reflected in their writings and statements are the challenges of trying to reconcile



The Bureau's headquarters—Central Office, Washington, D.C., located in the Federal Home Loan Bank Board building across from the U.S. Capitol since the 1940's. Four of the five Directors have had their offices here.

the needs of society, the rights of inmates, the dictates of common sense, and the findings of both research and experience in discharging an onerous but socially indispensable responsibility.

The following excerpts come from the Directors' memoirs, speeches, articles, and interviews. They not only show

some of the issues facing correctional administrators over the years, they also provide insights into the philosophies and personal motivations of the five individuals who have served as Director of the Bureau of Prisons.

Sanford Bates

First Director, 1930—1937



Sanford Bates on the role and nature of prisons

(from *Prisons and Beyond*, by Sanford Bates, 1936)

Many of us have an inevitably curious mixture of ideas as to the purpose of our penal institutions. Which makes the public more indignant, to be informed that prisoners are mistreated, locked in solitary cells, strung up by their thumbs, and denied contacts with the world outside, or to be told that, after all, the penitentiary is not so bad—one has his three meals a day, his moving pictures, his baseball games, his pipe and daily newspapers?

Perhaps the same people who shudder with horror at the report of “cruelty” in some of our prisons would writhe with righteous indignation at any attempt to provide “the comforts of home” at Government expense for those of their brethren who have visited the fleshpots of an American urban community.

The perplexing problem confronting the prison administrator of today is how to devise a prison so as to preserve its role of a punitive agency and still reform the individuals who have been sent there. If the prison, as was originally conceived, is to stand as the last milestone on the road to depravity, if it is to represent that ultimate of punishment which must follow a refusal to obey the rules of society, and if, as has been so generally contended, its principal object is to deter others from committing depredations which would bring them within its shadow, why must it not be made as disagreeable as may be? If punishment is effective to deter, it would seem as though the more punitive the prison was, the greater would be the effect of deterring others.

When the sole purpose of a prison was to make men miserable there was nothing particular to be gained by beautifying the architecture, by attempting to cure any loathsome disease which the men might have, by educating them, or even by improving their personalities except, of course, in so far as the will to commit crime could be terrorized out of them.

Whatever may be the cause, our ideas as to penal treatment are being challenged. We still insist on punishing people—but within limitations. We must make them unhappy but must do it in a more kindly spirit. We are confronted with the almost impossible and quite anomalous task of at once making our inmates sorry they committed the crime but glad that they went to prison for it. Now we are assailed by the horrible doubt that in mitigating the terrors of the prison commitment we may have laid our communities open to danger. We may say in Scriptural fashion, “O, Prison, where is thy sting?” but it is noticed that the inmates will walk out whenever the door is open—and sometimes when it is not. There are enough riots, escapes, intrigues, and solicitation of political pressure among the prisoners to reassure us that many of the inmates, at least, are not being coddled into a state of complete satisfaction with their surroundings. It will be some time yet before we have any considerable waiting list of persons anxious to break into even our best penitentiaries. After all, the most precious possession of a normal man is his freedom to go and come. “Give me liberty, or give me death,” said Patrick Henry, and so would many of us if we were offered the alternatives of an indefinite confinement in a small though sumptuous apartment and the liberty to choose our environment, however humble it might be.

Sanford Bates

1884-1972

- LL.B., Northeastern University, 1906.
- Served in Massachusetts State legislature, 1912-1917; Commissioner of Penal Institutions in Boston, 1917-1919.
- Commissioner of Massachusetts Department of Corrections, 1919-1929.
- Superintendent of Prisons, U.S. Department of Justice, 1929-1930; while in this post, Bates prepared the legislation that established the Bureau in 1930.
- President (Chairman) of Federal Prison Industries, Inc., 1934-1972.
- President of the American Correctional Association.
- After retiring as Director, Bates served as Executive Director of the Boys Clubs of America, Parole Commissioner for New York State, and New Jersey State Commissioner of Institutions and Industries.

Arthur Train in “Puritan’s Progress” tells of a Massachusetts prison in which in 1837 a man was discovered “confined in a dark room in a cellar where he had lived for seventeen years. He had protected himself against cold by stuffing hay through the cracks in the door, his food being passed to him through a wicket.” The daily menu of the prison of a hundred years ago would be insufficient for a stray dog to live on today.

Compare with these the simple yet sustaining menus in most of our present-day penitentiaries, the more humane system of punishments and the growing disposition to use the deprivation of privileges instead of the enervating or debasing types of punishment, the successful effort to get prisoners out of

their cells into shop or farm or into the yard each day for certain hours, and the development of the road camp system. The great increase in the use of probation and parole, the attempt to employ prisoners in industries and vocational pursuits, the introduction of carefully managed libraries, the insistence upon medical prophylaxis, the success of many States in classifying their prisoners into a variety of institutions, the recent development of new types of prison architecture, the belated discovery that prisoners are individuals and must be treated as such if any attempt at their cure is to be effected, are hopeful developments to the credit of the last two or three decades.

At this point the skeptic will again rise up to inquire what will be the result of new and more adequate buildings, decent living conditions, improved diet, better qualified prison guards, and efforts to educate the individual. Will it remove the fear of punishment? Can we improve our prisons and yet deter the potential criminal? I believe we can. If the experience of punishment makes possible an acquaintance for the first time with some of the higher things of life, it may still be very desirable disciplinary experience.

There is no wise prison man but admits that, even with all the improvements that may be instituted in the modern prison, it will still be better for the prisoner if he can safely be kept out. There comes a time, however, in the community treatment of many an offender when he becomes unmindful of precept, immune to good example, heedless of warnings and advice, and positively dangerous in his activities. The case for prison is merely this, that a strict program of prophylaxis, hard manual labor, enforced education, daily regimen, and fair discipline with a modicum of constructive recreation and opportunity for soli-

tary introspection will not induce people to commit depredations on society; the possibility exists that it may do what all else has failed to do.

Sanford Bates on the origins of the Federal Prison System

(from *Prisons and Beyond*, 1936)

“That which is past and gone is irrevocable; wise men have enough to do with things present and to come.”

These words from Bacon, engraved upon the proscenium arch of the chapel at the new Federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, may be said to be suggestive of the ideal underlying this new Federal prison program. It is not predicated on fear of a man's past so much as it is expressive of hope for his future. It suggests courage and opportunity rather than hate and vengeance.

Up to the close of the nineteenth century the Federal Government had no penal institutions of its own. In 1891 Congress passed an act establishing three penal institutions; but there was no appropriation for the purpose and nothing was done to provide for Federal housing of prisoners until July 1, 1895, when the Department of Justice took over the military prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. In the next year Congress authorized the acquisition of 1,000 acres of the military reservation adjoining Fort Leavenworth and the erection thereon of a penitentiary with a capacity of 1,200 prisoners. Work began in 1897, and with the completion of this first penitentiary of its own the Department of Justice on February 1, 1906, returned control of the old military prison at Fort Leavenworth to the War Department.

The Atlanta Penitentiary, although authorized in 1899, two years after work

began at Leavenworth, was virtually completed in January, 1902, on a 300-acre site at the southern limits of the city of Atlanta, with total accommodation for at least 1,200 prisoners.

These two penitentiaries with the small territorial jail located on Puget Sound, which was later destined to become the McNeil Island Penitentiary, constituted the entire investment of the Federal Government so far as penal institutions went until 1925.

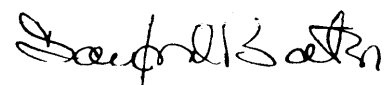
By 1925 the pressure upon the three existing institutions had become overwhelming, and with the necessity for new accommodations came the demand for different types of institutions. To meet the more modern requirements for group treatment of varying types of offenders, two reformatories, one for women at Alderson, one for men at Chillicothe, were sanctioned by Congress in 1925.

Upon the shoulders of Attorney General Harlan F. Stone and his progressively minded assistant, Mabel Walker Willebrandt, fell the responsibility of meeting this new and expanding situation. At that time the work of supervising Federal institutions, recommending the parole of inmates to the Attorney General, and inspection of jails was administered by a handful of people in the Department of Justice. The business of taking care of prisoners had never been a serious concern of the Department of Justice. Things went from bad to worse and that right quickly, so that in 1929 a committee of the House of Representatives made a thorough investigation and reported that the time had come for the establishment of a Bureau of Prisons, the construction of a group of new institutions, and the passage of such legislation as would result in the organization of an integrated Federal penal system.

Upon the revelation of shocking conditions of overcrowding, both at Atlanta and at Leavenworth, and with the explanation of the need for the development of both parole and probation systems in the Federal Government, legislation was prepared and transmitted to Congress in December, 1929, with the active support of President Hoover and Attorney General William DeWitt Mitchell. Congress passed the legislation in May and June, 1930. Every recommendation of the Department of Justice was adopted, and the Federal Bureau of Prisons became a reality.

By this legislation, the powers and duties of the Bureau were defined and the development of a complete prison system with classified institutions was envisaged. A separate Board of Parole was established. A new penitentiary and an additional reformatory were authorized. A hospital for the care of the insane and the sick became the subject of enabling legislation. The Federal Probation Law was clarified and expanded. The United States Public Health Service was instructed to furnish adequate medical and psychiatric services to Federal penal institutions; the construction of a limited number of Federal jails was provided for, and an act was passed calling for the installation of a diversified system of prison industries.

It is doubtful if any prison system in the world ever received such a plenary and liberal charter, or such abundant and understanding support. The new organization was given carte blanche to work out a modern prison system for the Federal Government.



“View From the Top” continues on page 31.

James V. Bennett

Second Director, 1937-1964

James V. Bennett on the need for meaningful programs and funding in State prisons

“Why Fear and Hate Shadow our Prisons”
(excerpt from *New York Times Magazine*, May 11, 1952)

These are tense times for prisons. Wardens pace their offices. Commissioners argue hotly with budget directors. Parole board members schedule special meetings. Orders go out constantly over intercom speakers in numberless guard towers. Prisoners in crowded prison stockades and yards seem restive and moody. “Break it up,” is the repeated command of guard captains inspecting laundries, clothing rooms, shops, each teeming with five times the number of men who can be usefully employed. In the background of even the best prison is the disturbing feeling that it can happen here. All this because the giant institution at Jackson, Mich., and the prison relic at Trenton have recently been the scenes of prison rebellion. [Editor’s note: the Jackson, Michigan, and Trenton, New Jersey, prisons were State prisons.]

In all our prisons the problem of classification and segregation of prisoners according to their character, offense, and attitudes is fraught with great difficulty. To sort out and provide individualized treatment in “big houses” and ancient relics for society’s most aggravated social misfits daunts all but the stoutest heart. When this fails, erroneously classified ringleaders easily stir pent-up feelings of bitterness, despair, and recklessness into revolt. Men seem to go mad. Furniture is wrecked, buildings are fired, cuttings are commonplace. Leadership goes to the strongest and most ruthless. To reason with such a mob is impossible. No one can say what it will do.



Most wardens bemoan as their greatest handicap to preventing riots and maintaining order the lack of constructive, stimulating, and skill-building work programs. As Warden James A. Johnston, late head of Alcatraz and formerly in charge of San Quentin said: “The one tool beyond all others that must

not be struck from our hands is work-hard, upbuilding, stimulating.”

Yet prison industry has all but become a thing of the past, save in a few institutions which would not accept defeat by shortsighted pressure groups. And so the

raw material for agitators, strongarm men, the psychopathic and the sexually aggressive now mills aimlessly about cramped prison yards or in the double-decked and overcrowded dormitories of most of the older prisons. The only wonder is that there are not more outbreaks.

The whole penal system is a series of contradictions and paradoxes. On the one hand, prisons are expected to punish; on the other, they are supposed to reform. They are expected to discipline rigorously at the same time they teach self-reliance. They are built to be operated like vast impersonal machines, yet they are expected to fit men to adjust to constantly changing community standards. They operate in accordance with a fixed, autocratic routine, yet they are expected to develop individual initiative. And so the whole paradoxical scheme continues because our ideas and views regarding the functions of correctional institutions are fuzzy.

Prison administrators, for the most part, know all too well wherein our prisons have failed. They also know generally how prisons can be made to succeed to a far greater extent than in the past. And these new goals are not to be reached, on the one hand, by severe and repressive measures or, on the other, by coddling and lax discipline.

To be sure, safe custody must be fundamental. It is the first duty of any prison to carry out faithfully and undeviatingly the sentence of the court. But when this has been established, custody should assume its place as a basic, but not the only, element in a prison program. There must also be a proper classification, religious,



RG 124-G, National Archives

The Federal Correctional Institution, Seagoville, Texas, opened in 1945, embodied the principles of a "prison community" that Bennett discusses.

educational, industrial, psychiatric, and medical program. Hit-and-run vocational training, part-time doctors, insincere preachments, and little or no planning for the prisoner's release spell more, not less, recidivism.

Such programs cannot be had without adequate financial support. Prisons are at the bottom of the list when the tax dollar is divided. Prison administrators must wait for an aroused citizenry to support them. Unlike some other public services, prisons have no boosters, no beneficiaries, no alumni who will come to their rescue and lobby for more funds. True, the public thrills to the drama of trouble in prisons and becomes acquainted then with what goes on behind the walls. It is perverse, but it is true that, following such revolts, long-sought progress is made. It is equally true that progress may be set back. Legislators may curtail even further any funds for rehabilitation activities and a disturbed public demands more of the iron-fist approach.

The danger in such incidents also lies in the fact that too many people will believe that anyone and everyone who goes to prison is a fearsome creature. They demand harsh measures and shun and discriminate against everyone who has a prison record. They ignore the fact that thousands of men leave prison each year and find a place in society never to commit crime again. Hundreds of them were released from prison to join the armed services. The record of some of these men in military service has been outstanding. The demonstrations at Jackson, Trenton, or Rahway should not—indeed, cannot change the basic philosophy of hope and rehabilitation to a regime of the tooth and the claw.

James V. Bennett on creating a humane, constructive prison environment

"If Not Prisons—What?"

(excerpt from paper delivered to the Institute of Illinois Academy of Criminology, Monticello, Illinois, April 2, 1955)

More and more reasonable people are puzzled about our prisons and wondering whether they are not failing completely in their purposes. [Prisons] are as frequently accused of being too soft as they are of being too severe and of turning out hostile, embittered individuals unfit to live with self-respecting, law-abiding citizens. Gambling, favoritism, and perverted sex practices are said to be commonplace in these so-called correctional institutions. Overage and underpaid prison personnel are still accepted complacently; and idleness, overcrowding, and regimentation are assumed to be insoluble problems.

Moreover, penal institutions have few articulate, organized voices who will

champion the need for modernized plants and facilities. It is frequently pointed out, with some degree of accuracy, that prisons do not reform or rehabilitate and that two out of every three men who leave prison will return within less than 3 or 5 years. It is no wonder therefore that thoughtful citizens characterize the prison as self-defeating and that others urge us to break down the walls, to abandon the idea of punishment as a deterrent to crime, and to find some new approach.

There is no severer critic of the prison than the professional prison administrator and correctional worker himself. He, above all, wants to abolish the old scheme which our predecessors found so praiseworthy a substitute for hanging, mutilation, and banishment.

But, if not prisons, what? Certainly, society must have some devices, procedures, symbols, or techniques to insure orderly control and to deter crime. Certainly, there are persons in the community who are a threat to the safety and security of life and property. And, of course, everyone will admit that something must be done to keep out of circulation as effectively as possible the dangerously perverted and psychopathic...who will not voluntarily accept any responsibility for himself or anyone else.

Perhaps, some of our difficulties in viewing this problem are semantic in origin. The word "prison," for example, creates a stereotyped image of towers and walls, steel cells and armed guards. In many cases, unfortunately, prison is just that, but surely it need not be that and we have prisons today which have gone far beyond that type of stereotype. I wish we could find some other name that would describe this modern kind of prison. I

James V. Bennett

1894-1978

- B.A., Brown University, 1918; LL.B., George Washington University, 1926.
- Veteran of U.S. Army Air Corps.
- Investigator, U.S. Bureau of Efficiency, 1924-1930.
- Author of *The Federal Penal and Correctional Problem*, a Bureau of Efficiency report that paved the way for the creation of the Bureau of Prisons.
- Assistant Director, Bureau of Prisons, 1930-1937. Helped draft much of the legislation that affected Federal corrections, including the laws that established the Bureau and Federal Prison Industries, as well as the Federal Youth Corrections Act.
- Member of numerous U.S. delegations to the International Penal and Penitentiary Congress and the United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime.
- President, National Association for Better Broadcasting; President, Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training; President, American Correctional Association; Chairman, American Bar Association Section on Criminal Law.
- Recipient of the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service, the War Department's Exceptional Civilian Service Medal, and the E.R. Cass Award of the American Correctional Association.

like the phrase "the prison community," with all of the connotations that the word "community" implies.

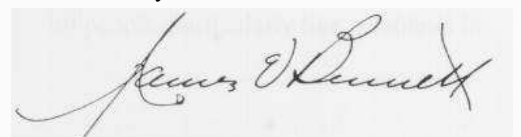
Another word I would like to see dropped from our vocabulary is "penology." It seems naive to believe we can reduce to a science the unhappy task of punishing people.

But we continue to use the old words with new shadings. We speak of the "new prison" and the "new penology."

These terms are used to describe the efforts being made to achieve some reconciliation of the conflicting demands of social protection on the one hand and the individual's reconstruction on the other.

The new type of institution I have in mind is the one such as the Federal Government has at Seagoville, that California has at Chino, and the one that New York has at Wallkill. If you were to visit our Seagoville institution, you would find none of the features that characterize the usual concept of a prison. It has no walls, no guard towers, no long lines of men marching off to work or to meals under the watchful eyes of a guard. About half the population live in small dormitories, the others in simply furnished rooms, unlocked and without steel bars or grilles. The men go to their assigned jobs at the appointed time on their own initiative. On visiting days a man can take his family to church services or they can have their lunch together in the dining hall. A full program of employment, education, and vocational training, religious counseling, casework services, a wide range of recreational and leisure time activities and medical care comprise the day-to-day operations. The emphasis throughout is on self-reliance, self-respect, and trustworthiness.

What I am really trying to describe is not an institutional program but an atmosphere, a climate in which failure, self-defeat, apprehension, and tensions can be dissipated; an atmosphere in which that suspicion and hostility between officer and prisoner so characteristic of the traditional prison cannot exist. In short, Seagoville, and the other similar types of institutions are the closest approximations we have to that "prison community" idea.



Myrl E. Alexander

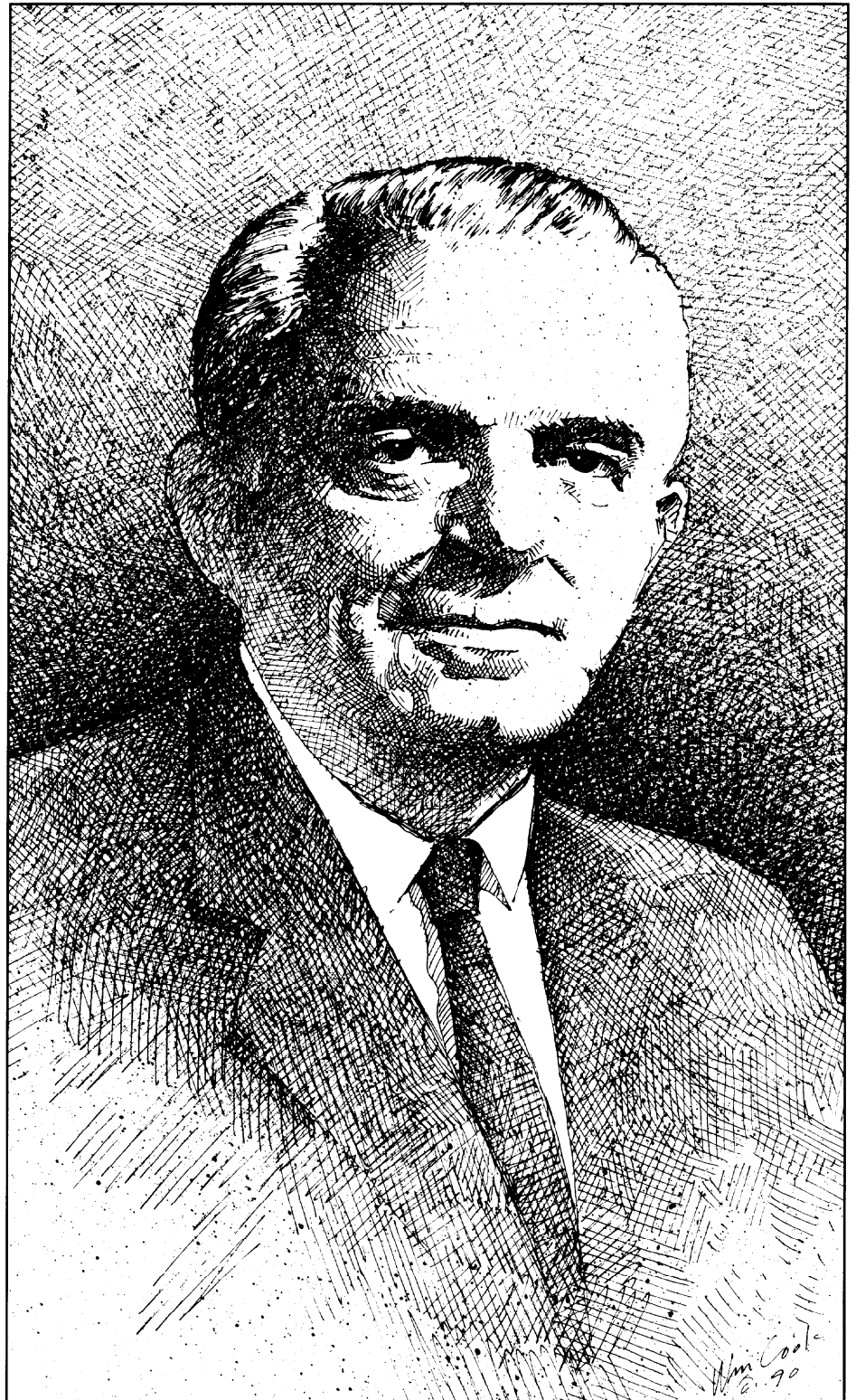
Third Director, 1964-1970

Myrl E. Alexander on correctional change and social reform

"Corrections and the Future"
(excerpt from speech given to the
City Club of Portland, Oregon,
April 23, 1965)

The need for accelerated change in corrections is the challenge facing us today. It is a part of the larger effort to reduce or eliminate our major social problems of overpopulation, hunger, mental illness, alcoholism, poverty—all of which produce crime and delinquency. And so we need to take inventory of the role of corrections in the emerging social order. Early in that reevaluation several critical facts will become abundantly clear.

First, the causes of crime and delinquency lie deep within the community. Behavioral problems are usually symptoms of grave problems in early life. Therefore, we in corrections need to have far greater insights into the causes of delinquency and criminal behavior if we are to successfully treat and train offenders. Secondly, corrections is a continuous and closely interwoven process, no one element of which can be successfully isolated from the others. Juvenile detention, the jail, the court, probation, halfway houses, juvenile institutions, penitentiaries, parole, work release and pre-release programs, academic education, vocational training, group therapy, are inseparable in their total impact on delinquent and criminal behavior. Yet, in practice, these correctional processes are all too often separate and disparate: only the client as he passes from one process to another senses the discordant and uncoordinated procedures involved in correctional practice.



Critical self-examination also will reveal that all too often a correctional institution operates on the implied principle that the institution is managed and exists for its own sake. If our correctional institutions were to serve as a guide and a model to the automobile industry, the Ford Motor Company today would be struggling to move from production of the Model T to the Model A Ford. Honest research and development—in the same sense that it is used in industry or the defense establishment—would produce phenomenal results in corrections. We must face the fact that our work today is grossly inefficient.

We will also discover that our standards for personnel recruitment, training and development are grossly inadequate to meet the challenge of tomorrow. A correctional institution, like a school or a hospital or an industry, simply can't be any better and more efficient than the people who operate it. This year 25,000 jobs in the correctional field are unfilled or filled with people with inferior qualifications—simply because the trained manpower isn't immediately available.

Finally, we will discover that even as the roots of criminal and delinquent behavior lie deep within the community, so must we look to the community for broadened use of its resources. Much of corrections stands withdrawn and isolated from the normal resources of community life. We must prepare and guide...our clientele for *community* adjustment rather than adjustment to probation or to the correctional institution.

These are five critical and important discoveries which will emerge from an honest appraisal of our correctional processes. And when these recognitions

Myrl E. Alexander
born 1909

- A.B., Manchester College, 1930.
- Served in various capacities at USP Atlanta, USP Leavenworth, USP Lewisburg, and U.S. Parole Board, 1931-1940.
- Associate Warden, USP Lewisburg, 1940-43.
- Warden, FCI Danbury, 1943-1945; 1946-1947.
- Chief of Prisons, Military Government for Germany, 1945-1946.
- Assistant Director, Bureau of Prisons, 1947-1961.
- Founder and professor, Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections, Southern Illinois University; professor, University of Florida.
- President, American Correctional Association.
- Served on Executive Board of the Illinois Synod of the Lutheran Church in America.
- Recipient of the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Service and the E.R. Cass Award of the American Correctional Association.

occur, then we will be ready to begin the most difficult task ever faced in corrections: directing realistic planned change to eliminate and overcome these long-standing and deep-rooted problems which thwart and confuse us.

What is the real significance of these discoveries about corrections? What changes can be produced?

I believe that we must have some clear understanding of the causes of crime and delinquency. It is no longer sufficient... to assume that a convicted offender stole a car and therefore we must "rehabilitate" him. If *rehabilitate* means to restore to a state of former usefulness, ability, or performance, we're kidding ourselves

about rehabilitation. As a matter of fact, the job of corrections is almost inevitably one of reestablishing and accelerating the development, the education, the training, and the emotional maturation of people who have been socially, educationally, and emotionally retarded.

The current discussions about school dropouts, unemployed youth, deteriorated slum areas of large cities, aid to dependent children and public welfare have a familiar ring to those of us in corrections. This is because we have spent our lives dealing with the behavior of the products of these social problems, which have now been discovered anew and publicized.

The modern correctional worker must keep current with new facts, new insights, and new theories of delinquency causation as they develop and are proven or disproven. We do not treat the car thief, we treat the undeveloped and deprived youth. We do not treat the check forger, we treat the alcoholic, the unemployed, the uneducated. We cannot work from the limited perspective of symptomatic behavior. We cannot meet emotion with emotion. We can no longer afford to treat symptoms.

The advice I give to my colleagues in corrections can be summed up in these few points:

We must be dedicated to the development of a truly continuous correctional process based on thorough insights and understandings of the causes of crime and delinquency. We must use research and development as a basic and indispensable tool of administration. We must devote our time and energy and faith to the development of a higher level of personnel training and development for all people, particularly line personnel in

our correctional process. We must recognize that even as the roots of crime and delinquency are in the community, so the roots of correctional success lie in the community and its tremendously rich but unused resources.

Above all we must be realistic, bring corrections out of isolation, and recognize that we must deal with the policy makers and lawmakers who have this important voice in corrections.

Finally, we must tap the rich wells of public understanding and acceptance which we have thus far underestimated.

Myrl E. Alexander on his reasons for entering the corrections field

"My Four Heroes"
(by Myrl E. Alexander, 1990)

One wintry night in 1944, a small circle of inmates and I sat talking in the cellhouse dayroom at the Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Connecticut.

One of the inmates, a one-time union organizer, asked, "Warden, is it correct that you're a graduate of a college run by the Church of the Brethren in Indiana?" "Right."

"And that church is one of the historic peace churches. True?"

"Yes, along with the Mennonites and the Quakers."

"Then how in hell can you be the warden of this prison, the keeper of us who have been sentenced because we are war objectors?"



Alexander with Attorney General Ramsey Clark, at the U.S. Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

"I didn't come here just to keep you incarcerated." I motioned toward the main cellhouse and said, "I'm in this work to help those young men out there—men that you, with all your education, could be helping, too."

But the inmate's question was relevant. World War II was at its height. Nearly a third of the 600 inmates in the institution had violated the Selective Service Act. This small group had persisted in their war resistance to the extreme of non-cooperation with all activities within the institution. They were assigned to a small 15-room cellhouse. The cells were unlocked. They could pursue their interests of reading, discussions, artwork, preparing their meals, laundering clothing. Otherwise they maintained their daily lives isolated from and without the support services of the main population.

I met with the group once or twice a week. They were serious, intelligent. Most had been university students.

We pursued the question of my work in corrections. "My career began to develop back in 1930, long before the War. I graduated from college that year. It was the beginning of the Depression. Jobs were scarce. I volunteered to work in the Juvenile Court in my home town. As I worked with delinquent kids, I learned much about their frustrations and deprivation."

"But how does that explain your being warden of this joint?" queried a young artist.

I explained how my first chance for a salaried job was as a caseworker at the Atlanta Penitentiary. It was a chance to study further the causes of crime and delinquency.

A young pre-law student interrupted. "We're sitting here making judgments about each other. How do we make such decisions? What criteria are to be used?"

An animated discussion followed. Then a young seminarian whose studies had been interrupted by his sentence suggested that "if we know who a person's gods are, then we have a real clue as to who and what the guy is all about." The group agreed this was a valid criterion for judging others.

Suddenly, the aggressive union organizer challenged, "Okay, Warden. Will you tell us who your gods are in this prison business?"

"Of course. But let me begin by telling you that prisons have a long history of repression, conflict, and, from time to



Alexander with his “four heroes” in his office as Director. Clockwise from upper left: Elizabeth Fox, John Howard, Benjamin Rush, Thomas Mott Osborne.

time, remarkable change with new concepts precipitated by memorable personalities. Those persons are my heroes—gods, if you please.

“First, Dr. Benjamin Rush, a Philadelphia physician and psychiatrist, who pioneered the Philadelphia Prison concept of individual confinement with religious guidance.

“Then, in the mid-1700’s, John Howard, a former sheriff in England who exposed the widespread misuse of prisoners and led a reform movement that swept across Europe.

“A phenomenal Quaker lady, Elizabeth Fry, was appalled in 1830 at the conditions under which women were held in

English jails and devoted her life to prison reform. To this day Elizabeth Fry Societies are influential in Britain and Canada.

“Finally, in the early years of this century, a New York lawyer, Thomas Mott Osborne, became convinced that imprisoned men could develop self-government and learn responsible living. He became warden at Sing Sing and a nationally recognized prison reformer.”

The group proposed that they study my “gods.” A few days later I lent them biographies of each of the four from my personal library.

Some weeks later when I met the group again I was surprised to see four paintings arrayed in the dayroom where our discussions were held.

“A bill of rights for the person under restraint in a free, democratic society.”

—presented by Myrl E. Alexander as part of his presidential address to the American Correctional Association. 1956

- “1. The *right* to clean, decent surroundings with competent attention to his physical and mental well-being.
2. The *right* to maintain and reinforce the strengthening ties which bind him to his family and to his community.
3. The *right* to develop and maintain skills as a productive worker in our economic system.
4. The *right* to fair, impartial, and intelligent treatment without special privilege or license for any man.
5. The *right* to positive guidance and counsel from correctional personnel possessed of understanding and skill.”

“Mr. Alexander,” one of them said, “we have read the lives of your gods. Now we know who you are and why you’re a warden. We now present to you these paintings of your four heroes.” They had used the materials available to them: Elizabeth Fry was done in pastel crayons; Benjamin Rush in charcoal; Thomas Mott Osborne in dry brush; and John Howard in crayon and charcoal. They had been rendered from illustrations in the biographies.

For over forty years those four pictures have hung in every office I have occupied. Today they are displayed in my home study—and will be there so long as I live.

Norman A. Carlson Fourth Director, 1970-1987

Norman A. Carlson on the evolution of the “medical model”

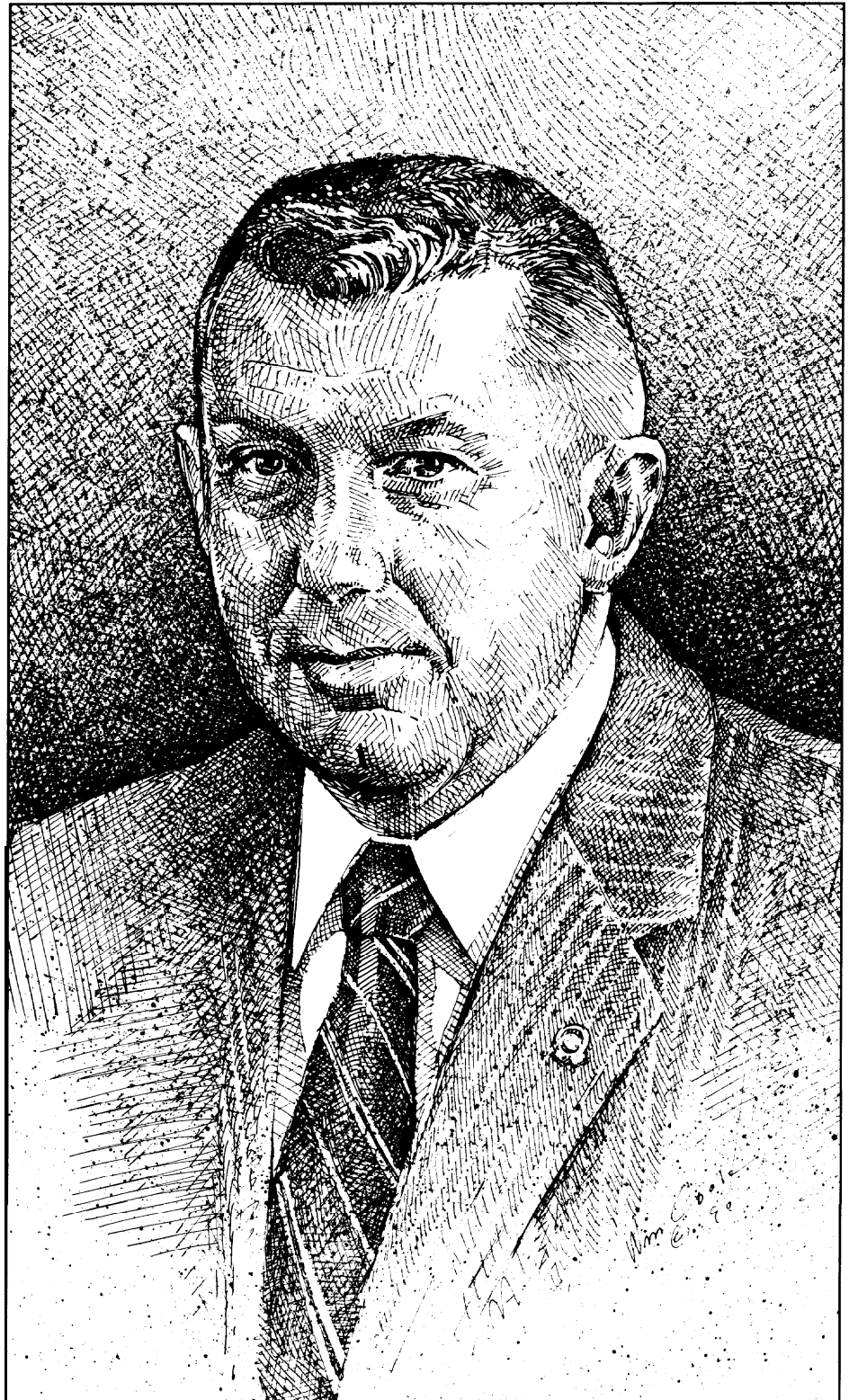
(excerpt from interview conducted as part of the BOP Oral History Project, Springfield, Missouri, November 30, 1989)

As one looks back in history, the field of corrections has been marked by a series of shifts or swings in philosophy. When prisons were initially established, they were seen as places of punishment where change hopefully would occur through introspection and penitence. Later, specific programs were added to prison discipline as a means of helping offenders overcome their problems and deficiencies.

During the 1960's, we entered an era where it was widely believed that government could successfully intervene in a host of social problems, including criminality. We began a “war on poverty,” based on the assumption that government had the knowledge, resources, and political will to eliminate the problems of illiteracy, joblessness, racism, and poverty.

A similar phenomenon occurred in corrections. Many believed that given sufficient resources—psychiatrists, psychologists, teachers, and social workers—we could diagnose and treat criminal behavior much like a doctor treats a patient who has a physical ailment. When I was in graduate school, this was clearly the theoretical framework underlying the social sciences.

An example of this shift in philosophy was the adoption of intermediate sentencing by virtually all the States as well as the Federal Government. The notion was



accepted that corrections had the ability to successfully treat convicted offenders and that parole boards could accurately determine the optimum time to return them back to the community, where they would become law-abiding, productive citizens. In the Federal system, the Congress enacted the Youth Corrections Act, which was based explicitly on the concepts of diagnosis, treatment, and release once the objectives had been achieved.

Most involved in corrections today would agree that experience failed to bear out our optimism. Research conducted in the United States as well as in other countries demonstrated the great difficulty of changing human behavior, particularly in individuals who have little or no desire to help themselves. What we had failed to recognize was the impact of motivation on the part of offenders to change their patterns of behavior. Studies demonstrated that there are limitations to what government can do to intervene in people's lives when there is no desire to change.

As a result of the research and evaluation efforts, as well as the first-hand experience of many of us, the Bureau adopted a new model during the early 1970's, which emphasized our obligation to provide *opportunities* for inmates to assist themselves—if they so desired. Contrary to the views expressed by some, we did not adopt the “nothing works” approach that has been attributed to sociologist Robert Martinson. Rather, the Bureau emphasized a fundamental obligation to encourage offenders and to provide quality programs that could assist them. What we did, in effect, was

Norman A. Carlson
born 1933

- B.A., Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, MN, 1955; M.A., University of Iowa, 1957; Mid-Career Fellow, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1965.
- Correctional Officer, Iowa State Penitentiary, 1956.
- Staff member at USP Leavenworth and FCI Ashland, 1957-1960.
- Served in various capacities in the Bureau's Central Office from 1960 to 1970, including Executive Assistant to Director Myrl Alexander.
- Member of U.S. delegations to four United Nations conferences on crime prevention.
- President, American Correctional Association.
- Recipient of the Presidential Rank Award as Meritorious Executive in the Senior Executive Service, E.R. Cass Award of the American Correctional Association, Arthur S. Flemming Award, and the Attorney General's Award for Exceptional Service.
- Upon retirement from the Bureau, joined the faculty of the University of Minnesota's Department of Sociology.

acknowledge that we could not diagnose or forcibly treat offenders and that change in anyone—including ourselves—must come from within, if it is to have any lasting impact. The Bureau articulated a position that correctional institutions serve multiple objectives—retribution, incapacitation, and deterrence, as well as rehabilitation. We attempted to develop a balanced approach that recognizes corrections as an integral part of the criminal justice system.

At the time that the Bureau of Prisons was clarifying its mission, the then Dean of the University of Chicago Law

School, Norval Morris, wrote a book entitled *The Future of Imprisonment*. In his book, Professor Morris argued that the proper role of corrections was to facilitate change—not attempt to coerce it as the Medical Model had implied. Professor Morris also outlined what he thought an effective and just correctional institution should look like. We took the theoretical model he outlined and attempted to apply it to the new institution being constructed at Butner, North Carolina. That model subsequently served as a “blueprint” for many of the developments that occurred during the decades of the '70's and '80's.

Norman A. Carlson on the role of the courts in Federal corrections

(excerpt from interview, November 30, 1989)

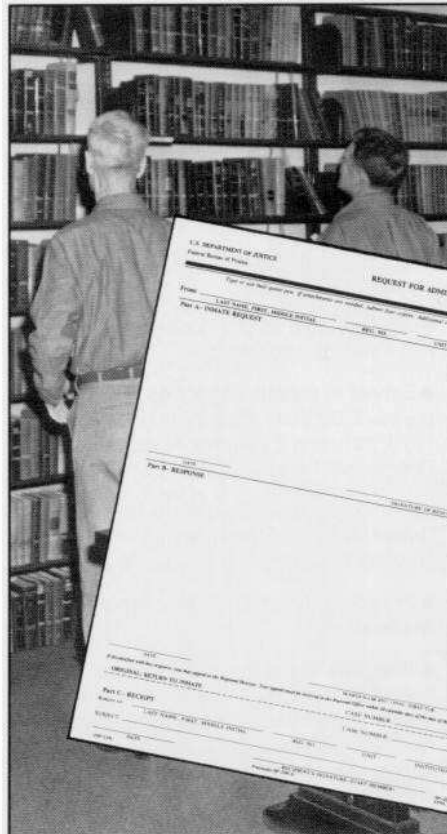
Without question, the Federal courts have played a significant role in bringing about many of the changes in corrections. While none of us would agree with every decision, I believe that on balance we recognize that the courts have been a dominant force in improving the manner in which prisons and jails are operated in the United States.

Historically, the Bureau of Prisons has attempted to anticipate the direction in which the courts were moving and to modify its programs and operations accordingly. This enabled the organization to be proactive in many areas, such as inmate discipline, rather than waiting for the courts to tell us what to do and how to do it. Unlike some other correctional organizations, the Bureau was not forced to become defensive and reactive after the Courts had intervened.

One example that comes to mind concerns the development of the Inmate Grievance System, a program that was one of the first of its kind in the United States. That system had its origins in a meeting I attended during the early 1970's with judges on the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. The judges asked me to attend the meeting, as they were discussing the tremendous number of lawsuits being filed by inmates from the Federal Medical Center in Springfield, Missouri. Court dockets were overwhelmed with inmate complaints, many of which concerned such trivial matters as ill-fitting shoes and breakfast cereal that was cold. The judges asked if there was some way that we in the Bureau of Prisons could resolve these and similar issues before they reached the court and further clogged the dockets.

When I returned to Washington, I met with Gene Barkin, Clair Cripe, and Ira Kirschbaum of our legal staff to see if we could devise a mechanism that would assist the courts in resolving inmate complaints. They came up with the notion of developing an Administrative Remedy process, which we first piloted at Springfield. Based on the success of that endeavor, the system was soon expanded to all institutions. Today, virtually every correctional agency in the United States has implemented a grievance mechanism modeled on the Bureau's program.

In my opinion, what made the grievance mechanism a success is the fact that it has credibility with the courts as well as with most inmates. Judges and inmates recognize that when there are legitimate complaints, the Bureau will take steps to



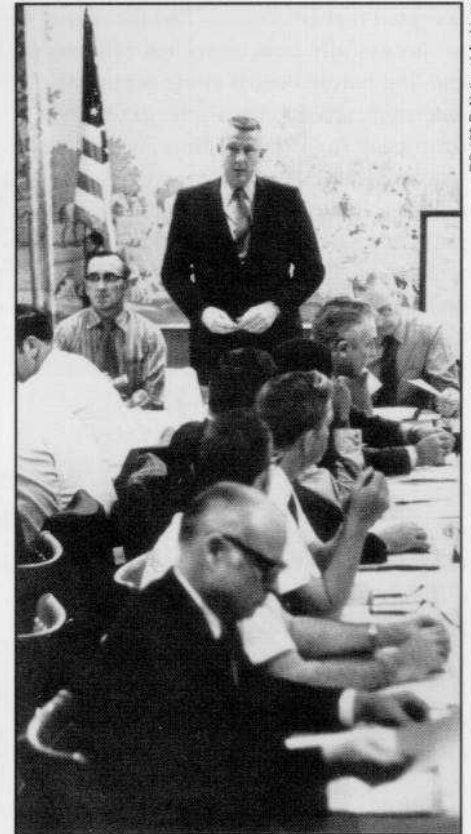
A formal grievance mechanism for inmates was instituted during Carlson's tenure.

correct the problems before they become issues for the courts.

Norman A. Carlson on overcrowding and alternatives to incarceration

(excerpt from "Corrections in the United States Today: A Balance Has Been Struck," by Norman A. Carlson, *American Criminal Law Review*, vol. 13, Spring 1976)

There are several ways to ease the growing problem [of overcrowding in prisons]. The burden on jail and prison facilities could be lightened to some extent by an increased use of community-based correctional programs, such as



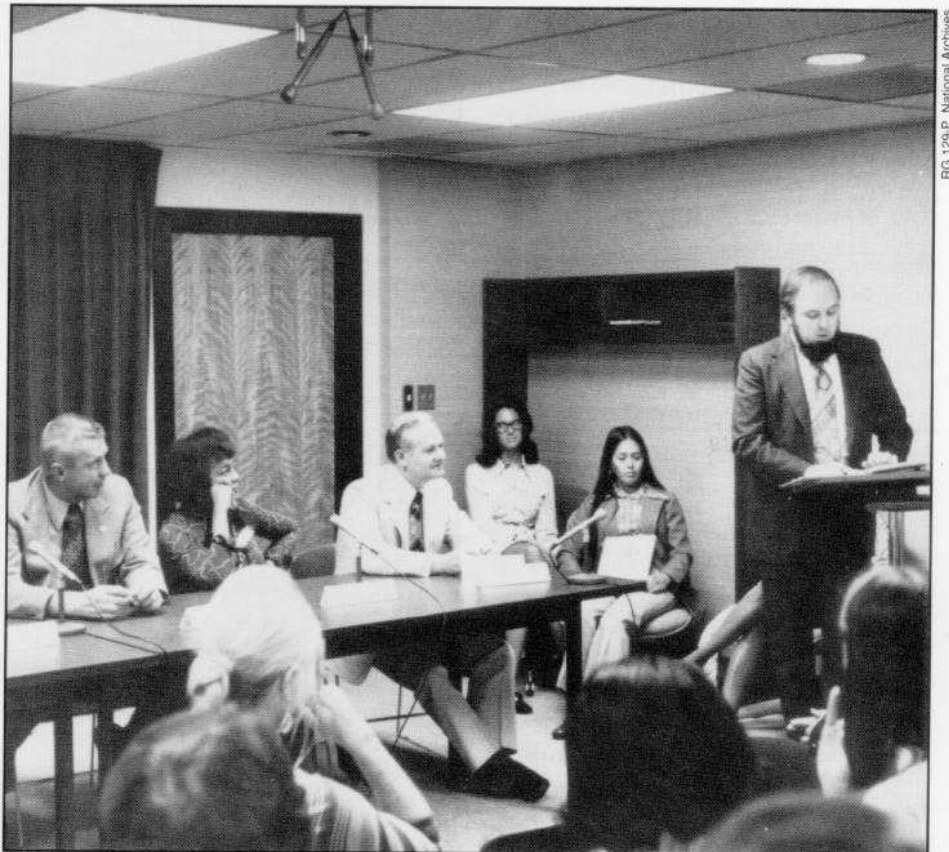
At 6 feet 4 inches, Carlson literally towered over his staff.

probation, parole, halfway houses, and other programs designed to keep offenders under supervision without incarcerating them in traditional institutions. Thus, the first step is to separate those offenders who should be confined in institutions from those who can be released with reasonable safety under community supervision.

Despite much unfounded opinion to the contrary, community-based programs are not a panacea for all the ills of the criminal justice system. There are no panaceas. Unfortunately, there is a hard core group of offenders who are dangerous to the lives and property of other people.

They will not respond to supervision, and they pose a threat to the safety of the community. Until a more successful alternative is developed, they must be incarcerated to protect society. A second reason why alternatives to incarceration are not a panacea is that they can be effective only if institutionalization remains available as a sanction for offenders who violate the terms of alternative programs. Accordingly, even the large-scale diversion of offenders from incarceration to community-based programs will not remove the need for jails and prisons. In the long run, new correctional facilities will be required, first to house the growing number of inmates and second to replace the obsolete institutions in such widespread use today.

These new institutions will have to be quite different from their predecessors. Humane standards advocated by the United Nations, the American Correctional Association, the National Clearinghouse on Correctional Planning and Architecture, and the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals would provide each prison inmate with a private room or cell, or 75 to 80 square feet of space, or both. In fact, many prisons currently in use are fortress-style institutions built in the 19th century with inmates housed eight and ten to a cell in tier on tier of iron cages with concrete floors. Creating and carrying out safe and humane correctional programs is virtually impossible in such a corrosive atmosphere. These old-style prisons housing 2,000 or more inmates must be torn down and replaced by modern, more humane, and more open institutions. Because privacy is essential



Former General Counsel Clair A. Cripe, at right, speaks to legal staff in the mid-1970's; Carlson is at left.

to maintenance of human dignity, each inmate should have a private room or cell. As Attorney General Edward H. Levy states, "humane incarceration is, by itself, a form of rehabilitation."

Corrections has a long history that illustrates the deleterious effects of continued overcrowding. The Walnut Street Jail during its first ten years stood as a model of humaneness and reform; it represented one of the most important advances in history in the art of corrections. Its success was destroyed mainly by overcrowding. Overcrowding was also a major factor in the degeneration of the Auburn system into one of harsh punishment and incredibly strict discipline. Similarly, the drastic increase in

prison population between 1904 and 1935 led to the abandonment in most prisons of offender classification systems and of educational and other services and to an emphasis on punishment, discipline, profitable inmate labor. Although a recurrence of such practices is extremely unlikely, continued overcrowding is certain to have deleterious consequences.

Norman A. Carlson

J. Michael Quinlan

Fifth Director, 1987-present

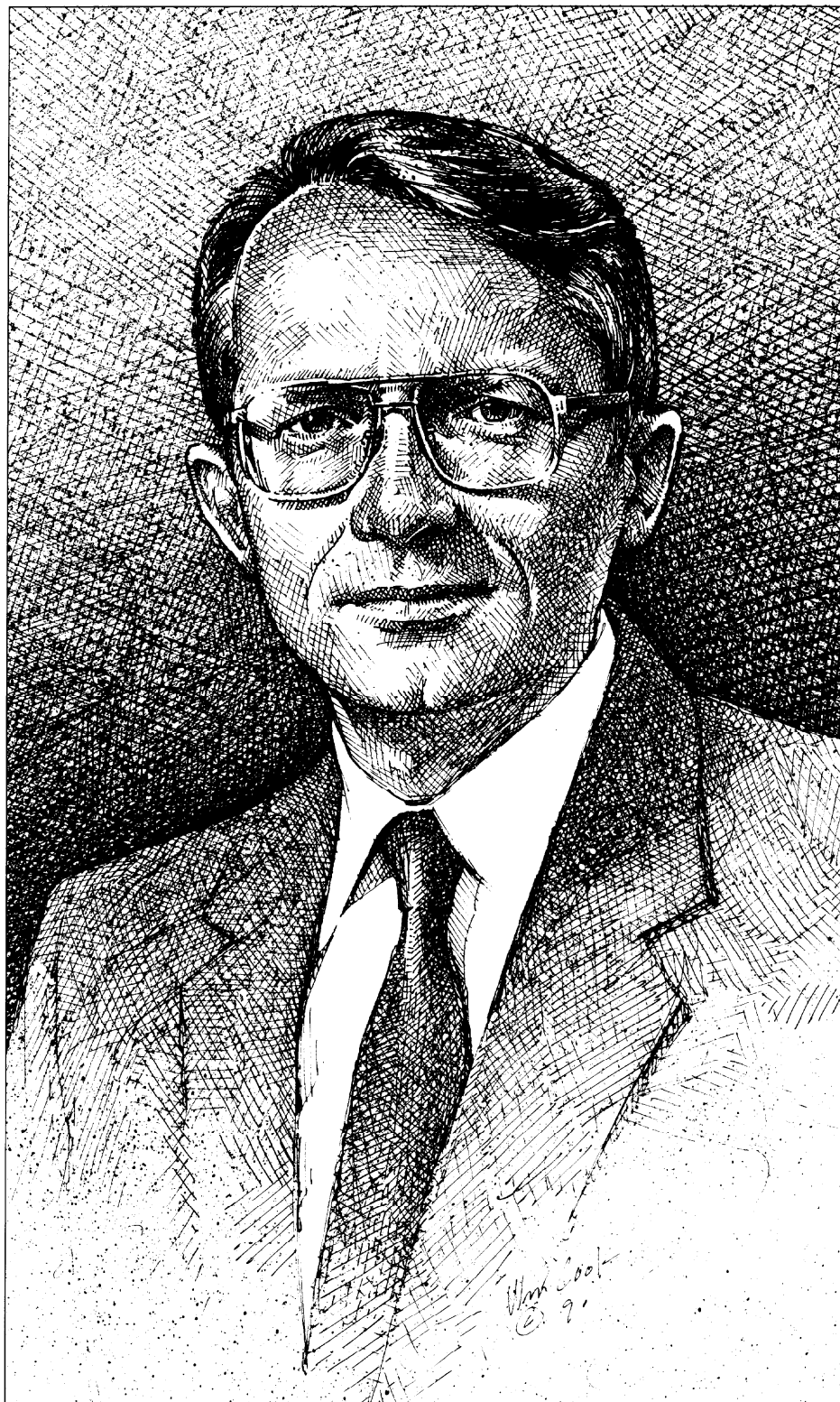
J. Michael Quinlan on his expectations upon joining the Bureau of Prisons... and on his disappointments

(excerpt from interview conducted on May 24, 1990)

I became involved in corrections through a course I took on Post-Conviction Dispositions while studying for my Masters in Law at George Washington University, a course that was taught by Eugene Barkin. At that time Gene was the General Counsel of the Bureau of Prisons. When I got out of the Air Force about 2 years after the course was completed, the Bureau was one of the places that I applied to. At my initial interview, I was asked why I wanted to work in corrections, and I simply said that I thought I could make a meaningful contribution.

I had the perception at the time that the Bureau of Prisons was much like the media portrayals of prisons I was familiar with; hence there was a need for people who had a sense of fairness and a sense of providing people in trouble with a better opportunity.

My original misimpressions dissolved quickly. When I started, I was not fully knowledgeable about what was really happening in the Bureau of Prisons and in corrections generally; I hadn't realized that there was already a strong orientation to caring for our charges, in the sense that we wanted them to be better off when they left than when they arrived in prison. Furthermore, the Bureau had policies in place to protect inmates from abuses of authority and inconsistencies of that nature. When I developed a better understanding of what the Bureau was really about, I established new and more



informed expectations. Not all of those have been met, but we continue to strive in the direction of meeting them.

My greatest disappointment—which is probably one that my predecessors would share—is the total misunderstanding by the public of what we do. Society is schizophrenic about whether prisoners should only be punished or whether they should also be sent away and given an opportunity to change through rehabilitative programs. TV and movie portrayals of prison workers, professional though we are, are usually in a sadistic or incompetent vein, which reinforces the well-ingrained, negative public view.

In fact, we have a very difficult clientele to deal with, and I don't think the general public fully understands the complexity of our work. They assume that everyone can be treated and educated, get out of prison, and get a steady job and work in middle-class America. And certainly, on the one hand, there are many, many offenders who confirm that expectation. When they come to us they are remorseful about their crimes, they have family support networks, they seek out our education programs, our vocational training programs, our job experiences, and they truly benefit. When they leave us, they are what society expects.

On the other hand, we have a significant portion of inmates who are aggressive or assaultive, who have never held a steady job, who dropped out of school and got into trouble in their neighborhoods, who were abused or abusive in their families, who developed at an early age an orientation toward immediate gratification—with no appreciation of the greater benefits of family and community—and who have no meaningful personal rela-

J. Michael Quinlan
born 1941

- B.S.S., Fairfield University, 1963; law degree, Fordham Law School, 1966; Master of Law degree, George Washington University, 1970.
- Joined Bureau of Prisons in 1971 as Attorney in General Counsel's Office; went on to serve as Executive Assistant to the Warden, USP Leavenworth, Northeast Regional Counsel, and Executive Assistant to the Director.
- Superintendent, FPC Eglin, 1978-80.
- Warden, FCI Otisville, 1980-85.
- Deputy Assistant Director, Medical and Services Division, 1985-86.
- Deputy Director, 1986-87.
- Recipient of the Presidential Distinguished Rank Award, the Surgeon General's Medallion, and the Justice Department's Edmund D. Randolph Award.
- Member of the American Bar Association and the District of Columbia and New York Bar Associations; member of the Board of Directors of the American Correctional Association.

tionships of any long-lasting nature. These people have grown up committing crimes and have adopted crime as their vocation. The frustration is that society expects us to rehabilitate them, without any understanding of the dilemmas and the complexity and the difficulty of doing so. While we clearly provide prisoners with opportunities for bettering themselves, their own self-motivation is the keystone of "rehabilitation." I have tried for 3 years as Director to have a more aggressive public relations program, but I'll be darned if I can point to any major successes in that regard. I don't see any significant change.

But we now have a golden opportunity to create a more accurate public perception. In the 1990's, the public is going to

become more sensitized to the tremendous cost of incarceration, and they are going to become more interested in our problems. In the '60's, '70's, and '80's, we were not very proactive in getting the public involved in our business. We had high walls that kept our prisoners in and effectively kept the community out. One of the things we can do in the 90's is to get the community involved with community relations boards and through volunteer work or education programs, visiting programs, chaplaincy programs, self-help groups, drug abuse programs, and other self-betterment programs that we can put together for the inmates. I think that the assistance of volunteers and the community will be instrumental in bringing about change, and will make positive inroads on some of the age-old prison image problems.

J. Michael Quinlan on his administration's long-term goals

(excerpt from interview, May 24, 1990)

One of my long-term goals is to see the Bureau continue to receive the type of resources it needs to meet the challenges it faces, particularly in the next decade of unprecedented growth that is confidently predicted. That has to be our first priority, and to achieve this it is essential to increase the efficiency of the agency. The idea of increased efficiency for a corrections agency may sound almost unique or not even necessary, but in the 1990's and certainly in the 21st Century, the agencies that are the most efficient—and, therefore, credible with the administration and Congress—will get the resources they need to carry out their missions.

The Bureau will, I am confident, become more efficient through some of the

programs that I have begun to institute—such as strategic planning, prison climate surveys, our “key indicators” automated executive information system—all mechanisms that bring information to the attention of managers and leaders so that they can make more informed judgments, more analytical judgments, about the issues they are facing.

I also hope, through more efficient use of our agency’s resources, to reduce the Federal recidivism rate. I am convinced that the Bureau can do a more effective job in channeling its resources to serve those offenders who are in the best position to take advantage of them. We tended in the past to offer everything to everyone and not be selective about program involvement. However, in the future, through stratification of program resources, we will provide a more focused approach; and, by targeting those who will benefit most, we can reduce recidivism.

More active involvement of the community can help us in this regard. We have always had volunteers involved in our institutions, but have never marshaled the talents of our volunteers in a unified and cohesive way. We can help reduce recidivism and bring mainstream social values to inmates on the most regular basis, in addition to staff doing it, through the use of dedicated members of the public on a volunteer basis.

I also hope during my tenure as Director to create a more positive public awareness of corrections. The general public do not hold us in high esteem, and we as a profession do a disservice to our employees when we do not work feverishly to try to educate the public as to the professional nature of our work and our workforce.



“...The amount of money being invested in prison construction and in the management of prisoners is overwhelming the taxpayers.” The Federal Correctional Institution at Minersville, Pennsylvania, currently under construction.

Finally, I would like to achieve, during this period of major growth in the Bureau, a continued sense of the Bureau as family. I think it’s one of our strongest characteristics, and it allows us to accomplish a great deal more than other agencies might accomplish with similar resources.

In fact, there is a critical connection between the Bureau’s family concept and its ability to carry out its mission. When top-level management demonstrates a sense of professional caring in its relations with line staff, then line staff will not only reciprocate this attitude toward management but will also emulate it in their treatment of inmates. Through empowerment of staff at all levels—primarily through involving them in strategic planning—many good and innovative ideas are brought to the attention of the Bureau’s leaders, and the job satisfaction and productivity of all employees are enhanced. By emphasizing training and mentoring during this period of rapid change, we are able to counteract deficiencies in the level of on-the-job experience staff currently

acquire, as compared to the past, when the inmate population was more stable. Thus, the Bureau’s family orientation creates a climate for better human relations, greater professional competence, and higher efficiency.

I want to maintain our heavy emphasis on the principle of career service by continuing to stress the Bureau as family and by leaving the agency in the hands of top management who have demonstrated that they are the most highly qualified through their achievements within the Bureau.

J. Michael Quinlan on issues raised by his predecessors

(excerpt from interview, May 24, 1990)

■ Alternative sanctions (see Norman Carlson section)

We are on the verge of some major breakthroughs in the whole area of alternative or intermediate punishments. The Bureau has been an innovator in this

area, being one of the first to get involved in community treatment centers in the early '60's. In the American public information environment today, we are getting much more visibility for intermediate punishments because the amount of money being invested in prison construction and in the management of prisoners is overwhelming the taxpayers. The budget deficits we face will force us to take hard looks at meaningful sanctions that do not necessarily include incarceration. I expect the Bureau in the '90's to make major advances in the area of home confinement, to establish day prisons, and to make greater use of community programs for work training or drug treatment, as well as such programs as restitution centers, community service, fines, weekend sentences, and day sentences.

Because of the issue of taxes and resources, I think there will be a receptive public attitude toward intermediate punishments. We can see that in some State corrections systems, with the concept of boot camps, and we will find in the next few years more and more innovative approaches to the typical 8- or 10- or 20-year sentence to reintegrate people into the community more quickly—to show very directly that the debt to society is being paid, but that for some individuals some or all of the sentence will not necessarily be spent in institutions.

■ Research

(see Myrl Alexander section)

I think that things have changed dramatically [since Alexander identified research as a neglected field in corrections]. Research has become part of the mainstream in the Bureau of Prisons. Particularly with the development of the



"A healthy environment is very much what we are after." Federal Correctional Institution, Memphis, Tennessee.

"key indicators" program, the focus has become one of doing management-related research that helps managers make decisions and tying research into every program initiative where there potentially is significant investment of resources or significant benefit to inmates or staff, and initiating it at the earliest stages so it can be most informative. The Bureau of Prisons really stands out in this country in the area of research. No State correctional system and not even the American Correctional Association has the talents and resources invested in the quality of research that the BOP has. It's an important part of our ability to carry on our mission in a way that is responsive to the needs of our constituents and also reflective of the positions of academia and other experts in the field.

■ Creating healthy prison communities

(see James Bennett and Sanford Bates sections)

A healthy environment is very much what we are after. As Dostoyevsky suggested, a civilization should be measured by the way it treats its prison-

ers. It is a responsibility of correctims in general—and it is certainly a responsibility for the Bureau of Prisons in particular—to provide a decent, safe, and humane environment and offer opportunities that society may not have provided before then to help some of its misfits improve their prospects for future success in the community.

■ Achieving a balance between the different objectives of corrections

(see Sanford Bates and Norman Carlson sections)

The Bureau has made tremendous progress in pursuing the dual mission of corrections. There may occasionally be friction between the program area and the custody area, but, in my view, that problem has been largely resolved. I would attribute that primarily to the effectiveness of the unit management concept, which is based on our long-standing philosophy of keeping inmates and staff in direct interaction in an architectural environment characterized by barrier-free design. I think that unit management and the policy of cross-

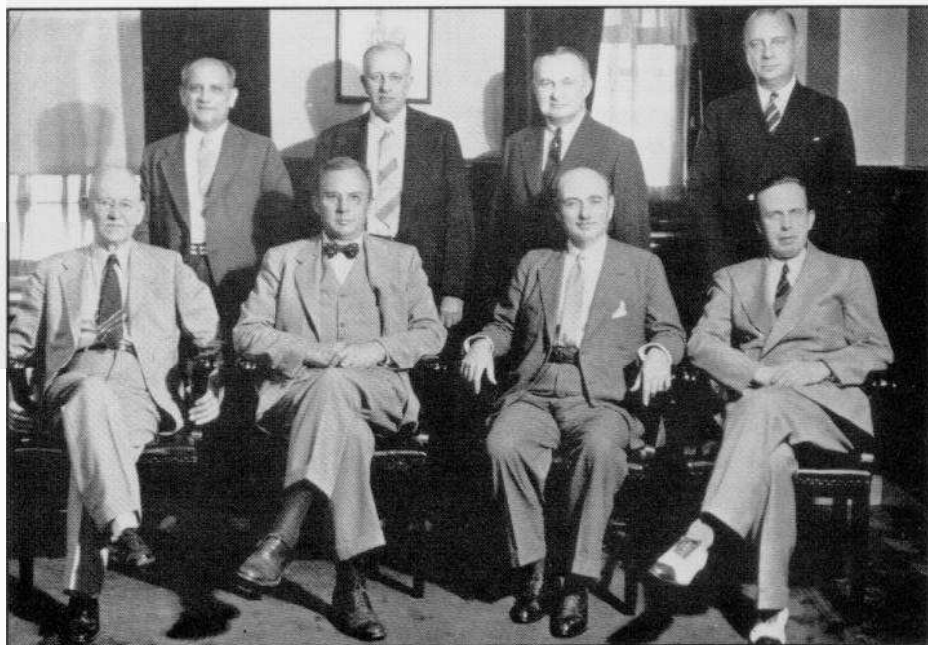
training staff in different disciplines have sensitized staff throughout the Bureau to the fact that the agency must provide security but that it also must provide humane care and good opportunities for the inmates to better themselves. ■

John Michael Zimlan

The “other” directors

The Federal Prison System existed for more than 30 years before the establishment of the Bureau of Prisons. Although its wardens functioned almost autonomously, a Justice Department official in Washington was nominally in charge of Federal prisons, starting with the passage of the Three Prisons Act in 1891, which authorized the Federal Government’s first three penitentiaries.

Until 1907, prison matters were handled by the Justice Department’s General Agent. The General Agent was responsible for Justice Department accounts, oversight of internal operations, and certain criminal investigations, as well as prison operations. In 1907, the General Agent’s office was abolished, and its functions were distributed among three new offices: the Division of Accounts (which evolved into the Justice Management Division); the Office of the Chief Examiner (which evolved into the Federal Bureau of Investigation); and the Office of the Superintendent of Prisons and Prisoners, later called the Superintendent of Prisons (which evolved into the Bureau of Prisons).



The officers and directors of Federal Prison Industries, Inc., in 1939. Sanford Bates, President of FPI and first Director of the Bureau, is second from left, front row. Then-Director James V. Bennett is on the right, front row. Second from left, back row, is Captain A.H. Conner, Superintendent of Prisons from 1927 to 1929, who later became an Assistant Director under Bennett.

Thus, the first chiefs of the Federal Prison System were:

- Frank Strong (General Agent, 1889-1903).
- Cecil Clay (General Agent, 1904-1907).
- R.V. Ladow (Superintendent of Prisons and Prisoners, 1907-1915).
- Francis H. Duehay (Superintendent of Prisons, 1915-1920).
- Denver S. Dickerson (Superintendent of Prisons, 1920-1921).
- Heber H. Votaw (Superintendent of Prisons, 1921-1925).
- Luther C. White (Superintendent of Prisons, 1925-1926).
- A.H. Conner (Superintendent of Prisons, 1927-1929).

- Sanford Bates (Superintendent of Prisons, 1929-1930).

Until Sanford Bates became Superintendent, with the mandate to establish a new, centralized Bureau of Prisons, the functions of the office were largely routine or ceremonial. The General Agents and Superintendents exerted little actual authority over the wardens. Still, they were the predecessors to the Directors of the modern Bureau. ■

—John W. Roberts

“My Dear Warden”

A brief documentary history of the administration of James V. Bennett, 1937-1964

Compiled and edited by John W. Roberts

James V. Bennett was Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons from February 1, 1937 to August 28, 1964. When Bennett assumed office, the Bureau was less than 7 years old, and it had scarcely begun to carry out its mandate of upgrading Federal penal administration. The next 27 years brought great change, as

the Bureau, under Bennett, established itself firmly as

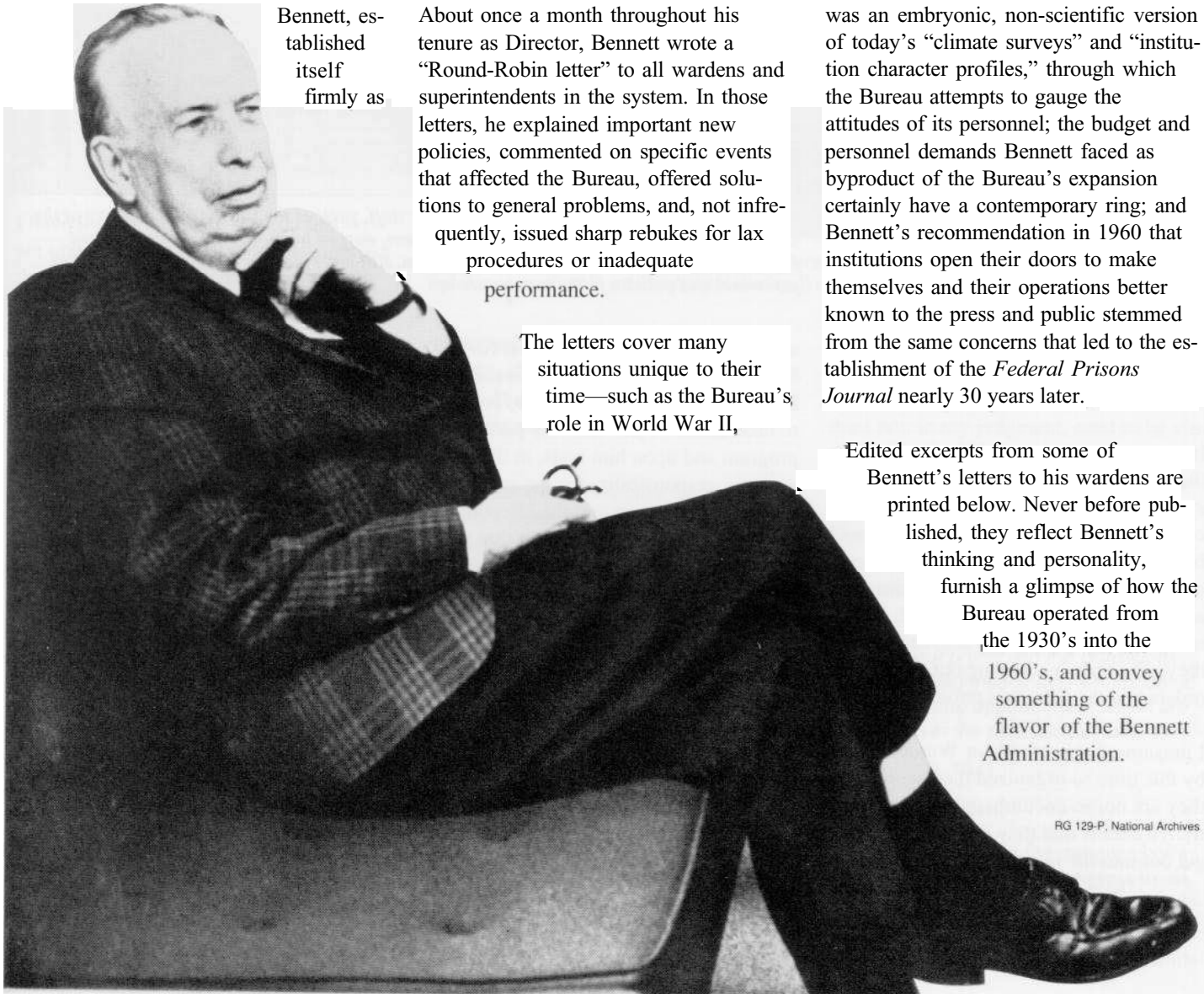
an ongoing Federal agency, expanded from 19 institutions to 33, codified a Bureau-wide policy system, withstood political pressures, responded to social change, became involved in international corrections activities through the United Nations, and pioneered in the implementation of new corrections concepts, such as individualized treatment programs, special programs for youth, and community corrections.

About once a month throughout his tenure as Director, Bennett wrote a “Round-Robin letter” to all wardens and superintendents in the system. In those letters, he explained important new policies, commented on specific events that affected the Bureau, offered solutions to general problems, and, not infrequently, issued sharp rebukes for lax procedures or inadequate performance.

The letters cover many situations unique to their time—such as the Bureau’s role in World War II,

which Bennett discussed in a letter dictated in his office on a cold December morning in 1941, only a few blocks away from the Capitol, where at that very moment President Franklin D. Roosevelt was preparing to ask Congress for a Declaration of War. Yet the letters also illustrate how common themes have emerged to link various eras in the Bureau’s history: Bennett’s insistence that Wardens meet regularly with staff to determine their needs, problems, and ideas was an embryonic, non-scientific version of today’s “climate surveys” and “institution character profiles,” through which the Bureau attempts to gauge the attitudes of its personnel; the budget and personnel demands Bennett faced as byproduct of the Bureau’s expansion certainly have a contemporary ring; and Bennett’s recommendation in 1960 that institutions open their doors to make themselves and their operations better known to the press and public stemmed from the same concerns that led to the establishment of the *Federal Prisons Journal* nearly 30 years later.

Edited excerpts from some of Bennett’s letters to his wardens are printed below. Never before published, they reflect Bennett’s thinking and personality, furnish a glimpse of how the Bureau operated from the 1930’s into the 1960’s, and convey something of the flavor of the Bennett Administration.



On his very first day as Director, Bennett expressed his pride and confidence in the new Bureau, and urged wardens to stay in close personal touch with institution programs and with staff. Two years later, in the document of February 15, 1939, he stressed the importance of staff morale and promotion from within, and continued to insist that wardens be familiar with the needs and problems of their officers.

February 1, 1937

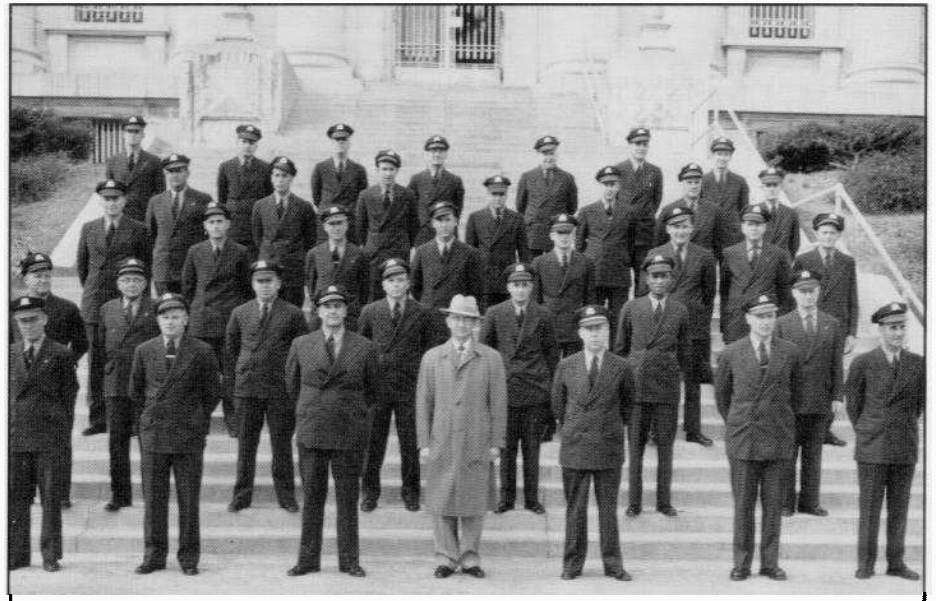
Warden T.B. White, U.S. Detention Farm, La Tuna

My Dear Warden White:

When the Attorney General, with the President's approval, selected me to head the work of the Bureau, it was, I believe, an expression of confidence in the work we are doing and a general approval of the broad policies now in effect. I shall, therefore, with your help do my utmost to carry on prevailing plans and methods. This does not mean, however, that we can be content with the extent to which present policies and standards have been developed.

It is a source of great satisfaction to know that the establishment of the entire prison system on a civil service basis is about completed. This places a new responsibility upon all of us to make sure that officers and employees of all grades advance solely in accordance with their merit, efficiency, and the degree to which they cooperate in carrying out your orders and the Bureau's policies.

I presume that most of our Wardens have by this time so organized their work that they are not so encumbered by administrative details that they cannot regularly get out into the institution and become



Bennett was immensely proud of the Bureau's staff, such as the staff members above at the U.S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth; he praised them, worked to improve their morale, and fostered the principle of promotion from within. But he could also come down hard when personnel and policies failed to measure up.

acquainted with the problems, at first hand, of the inmates. We, of course, look to the head of each institution to lead and to take an active part in every part of our program and upon him rests, in the last analysis, responsibility for the safekeeping of the institution and the effectuation of our program. I presume too that there are regular periods when the head of the institution meets with all of his officers and employees and that from time to time also staff conferences are held when the problems of the institution can be frankly discussed.

February 15, 1939

My Dear Warden:

The maintenance of a high morale among your officers and employees is one of the most important tasks of any executive officer. I have lately gained the feeling that it is a subject worthy of more study and attention.

This general and somewhat vague feeling on my part is not to be construed as any lack of faith in the officer personnel, as the great bulk of our men have given unstintingly and cheerfully of their time and energy. But, on the other hand, I think you and all of our other Wardens will admit that there are a few officers in almost every institution whose spirit and morale could be raised.

I also have a notion that there is something about the prison atmosphere which breeds an attitude of what I shall call "lack of mutual confidence and respect" for want of a better phrase. An officer somehow involuntarily absorbs some of the inmate disrespect for "the law" as represented by Government officers, and he applies prisoners' standards all too frequently to his fellow officers.

My own feeling is that each Warden, busy though he is with his administrative tasks, ought to meet as frequently as possible with the officers and the employees of the institution, listen to their problems, and discuss ways and means of correcting situations which may make for friction, discord, suspicion, and jealousy. Taking the initiative in discussing the problems of individual officers ought to be of some help.

Bennett sought to loosen traditional restrictions on inmates wherever possible and to avoid unnecessary intrusions into their lives.

March 7, 1939

My Dear Warden:

I have long been of the opinion that we are unnecessarily strict when we approve the list of correspondents for an inmate and that we go too far in our attempts to censor the mail.

A prisoner should not, of course, be permitted to correspond with ex-prisoners or with anyone who might be attempting to promote any unlawful activities. Nor should he be permitted to correspond with anyone where there is an illegitimate relationship involved. On the other hand, I think he ought to be permitted to correspond with any person who would have a really sincere and honest interest in him.

Another important consideration is the extent to which we ought to attempt to censor the correspondence of our inmates. It seems to me that we sometimes go too far in trying to impose upon the inmates our own views on current political and governmental problems. [S]o long as the inmate does not attempt to carry on any unlawful activity though



The Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Connecticut. Many Selective Service violators served their sentences here during World War II.

his correspondence and does not use profane, abusive, or slanderous language, we ought not to restrict him in presenting his views on almost any matter.

Recognizing that Selective Service violators were not "criminals in the generally accepted sense," Bennett recommended that special tact and sensitivity be exercised in incarcerating them.

April 4, 1941

My Dear Warden:

In [recent Congressional] hearings I discussed the policy with respect to the treatment of Selective Service violators. I believe we can give more than usual attention to the problems presented by this group of inmates. While no special or unusual privileges should be granted them by way of relieving them from any of the responsibility they must assume as prisoners and they can be given no special privileges in the way of work assignments or cell assignments, still the

utmost tact and patience ought to be used when considering their political or religious views. A democratic country does not, in my judgment, need to be vindictive in its attitude towards these men or consider them as criminals in the generally accepted sense of that term. Our wardens will be expected to give personal attention to the problems presented by this group.

World War II presented the Bureau, its staff, and even the inmates with unusual challenges and opportunities, which are elaborated in the next two documents.

December 8, 1941

My Dear Warden:

I am writing to you a few minutes before the President appears in Congress to ask for a declaration of war against Japan. Undoubtedly we shall soon be at war with Germany and Italy also. Meanwhile

I have been trying to think of the ways in which this new emergency will affect our institutions. I think our plans are pretty well laid.

I know of no new instructions specifically to give. You have doubtless already canvassed the entire situation and are putting into operation such changes in your routine as you think necessary. Take no chances of sabotage in the institution or its industries. In case of doubt, the inmate ought to be segregated until the situation is well in hand.

I think it is wise also to check over the situation with respect to our personnel. We have already asked you for a statement on the number of employees at your institution who are likely to be called shortly into the military service. We will do everything we can, of course, to see that these vacancies are promptly filled.

Moreover, our officers, I think, will have to anticipate the possibility that they may have to work longer hours. I hope there are no officers in our service whose loyalty to the Government can be questioned and who cannot be called upon for emergency service.

It is of the utmost importance that all concerned keep calm and carry on the usual routine of the institution effectively and energetically. Gossip and speculation ought to be kept to a minimum. Perhaps it would be helpful if you spoke a word or two to your officers telling them of your confidence in them and reassuring them of my conviction that they will carry forward calmly and intelligently.



The Bureau was part of the war effort during World War II. Prison Industries produced war materials, and a new law permitted offenders to join the military upon release.

September 24, 1942

My Dear Warden:

Since the attack on Pearl Harbor I have received thousands of letters from the men in our institutions, offering their services in the prosecution of the war. These expressions of patriotism have been most heartening and encouraging and have demonstrated that we have not been in error in our efforts to have every man considered on his merits, both with respect to induction into the military forces and employment in war industries.

Hundreds of men released from our institutions have already entered the armed forces and are justifying our faith and the faith of the nation in them. Hundreds more are employed in war industries and are also making an admirable contribution to the war effort. Those who are still in the institutions can make vital contributions by preparing themselves by education and occupational training for essential jobs after release, by increasing the output of the industries, the shops and the farms, by doing a full day's work on

maintenance jobs so that others may be assigned to the industries and the farms, by the conservation of materials and food, and by the purchase of war bonds and stamps.

I wish you would assure the inmates of your institution that we shall keep them advised of our progress and of any changes in policies or procedures affecting induction or enlistment in the armed forces.

When Bennett criticized poor performance, he also offered specific and practical advice on how to make improvements—as the following letter on escapes illustrates.

February 7, 1947

My Dear Warden:

I have been reexamining some of the reports on the escapes we have been having from several of our institutions and want to call your attention to two or

three points which I think need strengthening and action on the part of all of our Wardens. There seems to be an apparent weakness in supervising the officers who are detailed to guard the inmates. In one case a notoriously weak officer had been left on duty in a tower for over a year, notwithstanding the fact that the reports we now receive indicate he was not really suited for that form of service. In another instance the officer on duty had apparently merely been patrolling the room in which the inmates were working without periodically counting the men or checking on the window, grilles or other possible escape avenues.

In all of these cases there was not only a lack of alertness on the part of the particular officer involved but also there was apparently a breakdown in seeing that each of them was performing fully his duties. Whenever an escape occurs it cannot usually be attributed to but one officer. Some of our Lieutenants and Captains, I am afraid, are not getting around to the different posts and "seeing and being seen." One of the ways also that we might keep officers who have monotonous assignments alert to their responsibilities is to shorten the time they are on duty to say a four-hour shift and assigning them to other duties.

Farms, which remain today at only a few Bureau facilities, were a major component in the 1940's and offered badly needed budget relief.

March 13, 1947

Dear Warden:

Now that the spring planting season is at hand I wish to urge each of you having agricultural facilities to do everything possible to step up your production of farm products which you will need



Throughout Bennett's administration, nearly every Bureau institution, such as U. S. Penitentiary Leavenworth, had a farm. Back in the days when small-scale farming was cost-effective, they were an important resource.

during the next year. The rising price level is going to make it difficult for us to keep within our appropriation for food and everything that you can raise on your farm will make the task easier.

Any institution having climate, land or facilities peculiarly adapted to raising some product that would be useful to the other institutions should do so. We are all one service and if you can aid a neighboring institution with some farm product, it will help you and everybody else.

Bennett's first great achievement in the field of corrections was to study and report on the neglect and unsanitary conditions in Federal prisons in the 1920's, before the establishment of the Bureau. He was adamant that such conditions never be allowed to reappear.

July 29, 1948

My Dear Warden:

I have been surprised and at times chagrined at the appearance of some of

our institutions. The maintenance of buildings, equipment, clothing and Government property has been sadly neglected in certain places. Housekeeping has been allowed to deteriorate in some places to the point where it is a disgrace.

I have, as many of you know, hammered away at this but apparently unless I personally call the matter to the attention of the Warden or other appropriate official things are neglected. I say to you quite frankly that I rather resent having to be an inspector to see that lockers are in order, that beds are clean and sanitary and in proper order, that a proper level of sanitation is maintained in mess halls and kitchens, and that clothing is reasonably clean and respectable. The officers on duty ought to be able to keep control of this situation and should be held responsible for results.

The Bureau was not exempt from the wave of riots that hit U.S. prisons in 1952. After disturbances at two Bureau institutions and a major escape from a third, Bennett was quick to pinpoint deficiencies and castigate "lid-sitters."

October 9, 1952

My Dear Warden:

I am writing to all of our Wardens at this time to advise them of some of the things that have come to our attention as a result of the preliminary investigations we have made into the riots at Chillicothe and El Reno and the escape from Lewisburg. Needless to say, these were a severe blow to all of us and, of course, cannot be glossed over or taken as something that was inevitable. Also, unfortunately, they showed some weaknesses which need correction.

We thought the morale of the inmates and personnel where the disturbances occurred was excellent and we had no reason to suspect that anything of the kind was brewing. That, of course, naturally leads to the question of whether we know how to appraise an explosive or dangerous institutional situation when it actually exists. Perhaps some of the ways we have used to measure the institutional climate have been erroneous and based on too small a sampling or perhaps we have been fooling ourselves with a feeling of complacency. It seems clear also that there has been a relaxation of some regulations and failures in inspection which should have been more rigorous. Obviously, if complaints about food or about clothing or about those items which are so important in determining the atmosphere of the institution are neglected or passed over without action they are bound to grow and be blown into major incidents.

There is no institution or department in the entire system that doesn't have problems springing from lack of funds. Our appropriations are very carefully guarded and there is no "fat" anywhere. But this doesn't mean that we can excuse every weakness or breakdown on the basis of shortage of appropriations and personnel.

The Federal Prison Service is judged on its entire record. There is no room in our service for "lid-sitters," or for indecision or carelessness.

Bennett cautioned against questionable behavior by staff even during their leisure hours.

November 18, 1952

Dear Warden:

I have been receiving recently some reports about the personal conduct of



Bennett insisted that staff should be personally acquainted with the inmates and their problems. He is shown here meeting inmates at the U.S. Penitentiary in Atlanta with Attorney General Tom Clark.

some of our officers that are somewhat disturbing. They indicate that in several of our institutions there is a group who tend to use alcohol to excess.

We have no inclination to want to be "Pecksniffian" about such matters and no desire to criticize anyone who takes an occasional drink, but there are limits of good taste which we expect people assigned to our service to observe. Any officer who spends all of his evenings and off time hanging around some joint, who becomes loud and boisterous in public places, or who attends or gives brawls is not the fellow who is going to progress in our service. Moreover, no club or tavern ought to be frequented by groups of our officers so that it gets to be known as a hangout for members of our service or that people look upon it as a sort of prison officers' club.

During the Cold War, several Communists convicted of perjury or espionage

were held by the Bureau. One of them, William Remington, was killed by inmates in 1954. In his memoirs, Bennett described the Remington murder as "one of the most tragic incidents of my administration." Maintaining safe custody for the Communists while at the same time resisting political pressure to treat them harshly was a difficult challenge for the Bureau, as can be seen in the next two documents. The second document also indicates the severe budget constraints under which the Bureau had to operate.

October 30, 1953

Memorandum to All Wardens and Superintendents:

The recent attack upon a Communist in New York Detention Headquarters prompts me to call your attention to the hazards that the presence of such prisoners create. To some of the [inmates] in our institutions, particularly former soldiers, they are probably hated men because they belong to a class or group who brought on, in part at least, the situation which caused their present predicament. It is not difficult therefore to understand how many of our prisoners would project responsibility for their own sufferings on them.

Being aware of this, we must take care to see that the responsibility we have to protect all prisoners from attack or assault is exercised fully in these cases. To make certain that they are not subjected to any unnecessary hazards or placed in a situation where they might be attacked because of their views or attitudes, you are requested to recheck their present work and cell assignments. For their own well-being and to avoid any charge that they are being discriminated against by being placed in isolation, it is suggested that they not be held in administrative segregation unless they so request.

It might be well to have some member of the staff call each of them in and consult them as to whether they have been threatened or have any fears requiring special protective measures.

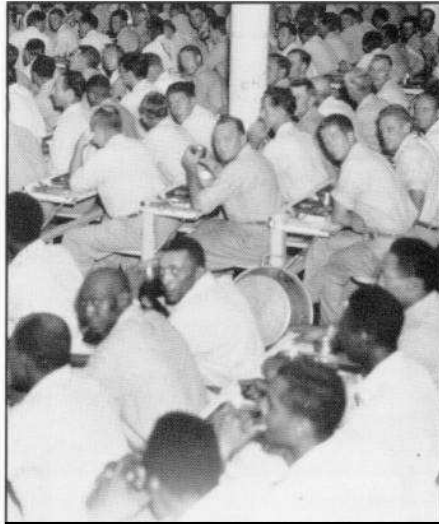
March 9, 1954

To All Wardens and Superintendents:

I would like to comment on...the speech of Congressman Pat Sutton of Tennessee and Congressman Broyhill of Virginia containing certain criticisms of this Bureau and urging an investigation. Many of you have seen the text of these remarks. They are pretty largely a rehash of charges that were given publicity by columnist Westbrook Pegler to the effect that we had granted certain favors to Communists John Gates and Carl Marzani. Those of you who know the facts realize that we moved Gates to Danbury at the urgent request of the Subversive Activities Control Board and made him available to the attorneys for the Communists because the Board felt this was vital to the successful prosecution of the case of McGrath versus the Communist party.

[Bennett goes on to answer the charge with respect to Marzani.] It seems to be the fashion now to charge people who have any responsibilities with respect to Communists of being soft on them if they are treated precisely like others similarly situated. It's our duty however to treat all those committed to us alike and on the basis of their individual merits. We cannot operate a penal or correctional institution on any other basis or we will lose not only the respect of those with whom we deal but of ourselves as well.

The increasing number of prisoners and the curtailed appropriations have thrown considerable burdens on our personnel.



In the 1940's, racial segregation was still widespread in Bureau institutions, as shown in the dining hall at the U.S. Penitentiary in Atlanta. By the 1950's, a policy of desegregating the prisons was already underway, although it would not be complete until the 1960's.

We have recommended the construction of several new penal institutions and the upgrading of all of our custodial officers. Several heads and associate heads of our institutions will be retiring [and] there is little chance that we will bring anyone in from outside the service to fill these positions. Attorney General Brownell [is] fully in accord with a program of making promotions on the basis of merit and experience in our service.

After the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision that "separate but equal" public schools were unconstitutional, the Bureau moved to eliminate the racial segregation that still existed in many of its institutions.

June 10, 1954

Memorandum to All Wardens and Superintendents:

I presume that you like myself have been giving a good deal of thought to the effect of the recent decision of the

Supreme Court with respect to racial segregation in the schools.

We have made considerable progress in the last few years in breaking down the distinctions that formerly existed in our institutions between the various races, but we cannot be content until integration has been completed. In giving me your views and an appraisal of the existing situation, I wish you would comment specifically along the following lines:

(1) To what extent are all work assignments, recreational activities, sports programs, visiting room seating, educational activities and hospital care being integrated?

...(5) When do you think it will be possible to serve meals in the dining room without regard to race or color?

...(6) How do you go about winning the full and whole-hearted cooperation of all of the personnel, seeing that they do not in little ways thwart and frustrate the program?

...(8) Will you try also to give me generally the attitude of your personnel with respect to these matters? Naturally some will be opposed to racial integration and others will half-heartedly comply. What do you think can be done with officers who prove to be uncooperative?

One important area of tension would be removed if we could eliminate any distinction solely on account of race or color. I realize on the other hand that there are some deep-seated prejudices which are going to be difficult to overcome, but if the Army and Navy can break down these time-honored distinctions so can we.

Bennett believed strongly in the concept of "individualized treatment" to rehabilitate offenders, and he argued that for the concept to work, top staff needed to know the inmates firsthand.

May 15, 1959

Dear Warden:

In this letter I want to express some concern about a tendency I have noticed to relieve the top institutional staff of administrative and management details to the point where they are losing personal and firsthand contact with the inmates and I suspect also the personnel.

I don't need to tell you that if we are to have a program of "individualized treatment" it means, among other things, the top staff of the institution have to be personally acquainted to the maximum extent possible with the inmates and their problems. This means that they should participate whenever possible in the orientation and admission program.

The time of these officials, of course, is valuable and there are many important things to do, but it seems to me that each one of them could take a few minutes at least to make himself known to the inmates so that they will recognize him and be able to catch some idea of what sort of person he is like.

I hope, too, that the wardens and associate wardens will participate personally and actively in the classification procedures. Moreover, I think they should make note at that time of cases which they believe require personal attention.



Bennett encouraged institutions to open their doors to civic organizations, educational groups, and the press, so the public could be better informed about BOP operations.

What I am saying in all the foregoing is that there is no substitute for seeing and being seen and at the same time letting those who see you know who you are and what kinds of things you believe in and what sort of policies you will follow.

The key to public support was public knowledge of the prison system, and Bennett favored opening Bureau facilities for inspection by reporters.

April 28, 1960

Memorandum to All Wardens and Superintendents:

I recently participated in the Northwestern University short course in Crime News Analysis and Reporting, and I have written the many reporters around the country who were in attendance inviting them to visit our institutions whenever they find it convenient.

As a general practice, I think we should be as permissive as possible in allowing reporters, magazine writers, and repre-

sentatives of responsible civic and educational groups to visit our institutions, as long as the anonymity of the individual inmate is preserved. If we are to continue to make progress in our field of work, we must have an informed public, and we should not overlook any opportunities to get our story told objectively.

Bennett took a keen interest in training and rehabilitation programs, which he believed were responsible for a decline in recidivism during his tenure as Director, and he insisted that those programs adapt to changing times.

January 5, 1961

To All Wardens and Superintendents:

A matter which has been given considerable emphasis here in the Bureau recently is our educational-vocational training program. Approximately \$1,750,000 of Bureau and Industries funds go into this program and we must assure ourselves that the best use is being made of this expenditure and that training is making the strongest possible contribution to our program.

As I have said previously, one of the findings of the Ford Foundation project has been that most of the inmates committed to our institutions who expect to get anything constructive out of imprisonment name training as the constructive element. We must be sure that we get the right man in the right training program, provide motivation if possible when it is lacking and provide a vital realistic program.

I have asked our education staff to give special attention to two questions during the coming year. The first concerns the criteria for the selection of inmates to take part in school programs and in

training activities. I have the feeling that we can do a better job, on the whole, of pointing up the specific training needs of the individual offender.

A second question which needs study is how we can assure maximum use of all available personnel in teaching skills which have a practical market value. If we are not alert to the need for such changes and fail to modify programs accordingly, we will find ourselves in the position of some state institutions which not too long ago were still turning out blacksmiths.

Just as Bennett advocated constructive rehabilitation programs for inmates, he opposed what he considered to be frivolous ones.

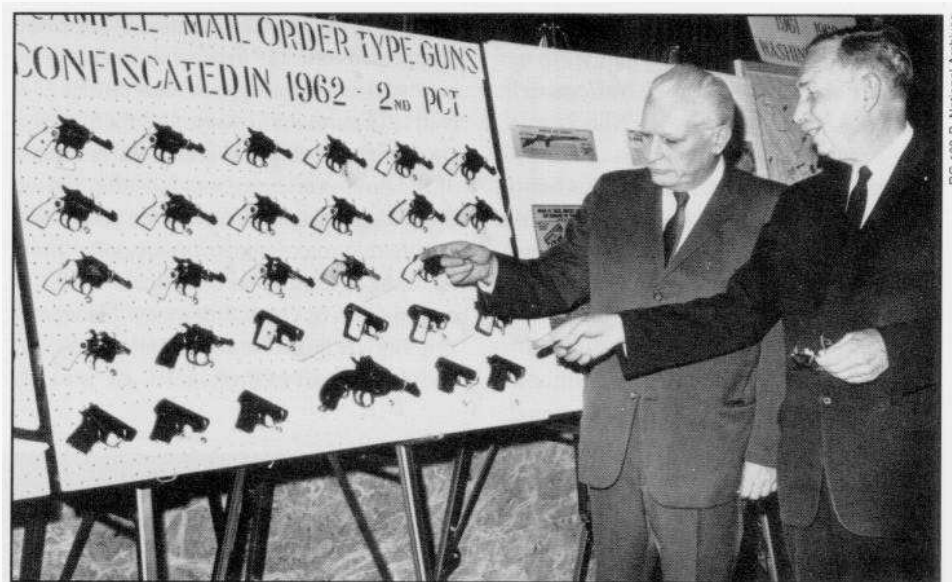
August 1, 1961

**Warden Preston G. Smith,
FCI Terminal Island**

My Dear Warden Smith:

I am ambivalent about your request to increase the number of television sets at your institution. My doubts spring from the fact that television is really not serving the purposes in some of our institutions which we envisioned when they were authorized.

Instead of being used as an incentive for good sanitation, high morale, and so on, it is I am afraid being used as a soporific, time waster and an escape hatch from worthwhile activities. Most of the junk on television is trash and the time of the inmates could better be used reading or participating in worthwhile sports, and for accomplishing assigned tasks. It is difficult I know to control what should be viewed but some effort to select constructive programs should be made.



Towards the end of his administration, Bennett became an influential advocate of stricter gun controls. He is shown here with Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut.

Moreover I am afraid the personnel are permitting television to become a kind of "babysitter" and thus relieve them of their responsibilities for pushing the educational, hobby shop, group counseling and other desirable leisure time activities.

The final letter demonstrates Bennett's keen interest in gun control, as well as the sometimes ad hoc nature of BOP research during his tenure.

June 15, 1964

Memorandum to all Institutions:

I am much interested in legislation looking to stricter control of the sale and possession of firearms, particularly handguns. It would help my argument very much indeed if I can show how easily criminals obtain firearms and where and how they secure them.

I may send you a questionnaire for each prisoner to fill out who has been convicted of bank robbery or some other crime [to determine] information about

the acquisition of the gun and ammunition which would be useful in sustaining this argument as to the need for some sort of control.

When James V. Bennett retired in 1964, the Bureau of Prisons was on the threshold of several major advances the opening of pathbreaking new facilities at Morgantown, West Virginia, and Butner, North Carolina, the expansion of prerelease and community services through the Rehabilitation Act of 1965, and the implementation of unit management. But most of the innovations of the late 1960's and early 1970's were built on foundations that were laid during the Bennett years. His administration, then, bridged the gap between the small, fledgling Bureau of the 1930's and the far-flung, complex Bureau of today. In the day-to-day operational matters handled in Bennett's letters to his wardens is evidence of how Bennett guided the agency during a lengthy and critical era of growth and development. ■

Alcatraz

Where the past meets the future

Brian O'Neill

"America's Devil's Island! Hellcatraz! The Rock!"

Popular images of the Federal Penitentiary years on Alcatraz Island burned fear of maximum security imprisonment and the island's infamous inhabitants into the imagination of the American public. People were fascinated by the myth of the "escape-proof" prison on Alcatraz. During the 1950's and 60's, they peered at Alcatraz through telescopes and circled the island in tour boats hoping to catch a glimpse of the desperate men and horrendous conditions they had heard about. They never imagined a time would come when Alcatraz hosted nearly one million visitors a year as a national park.

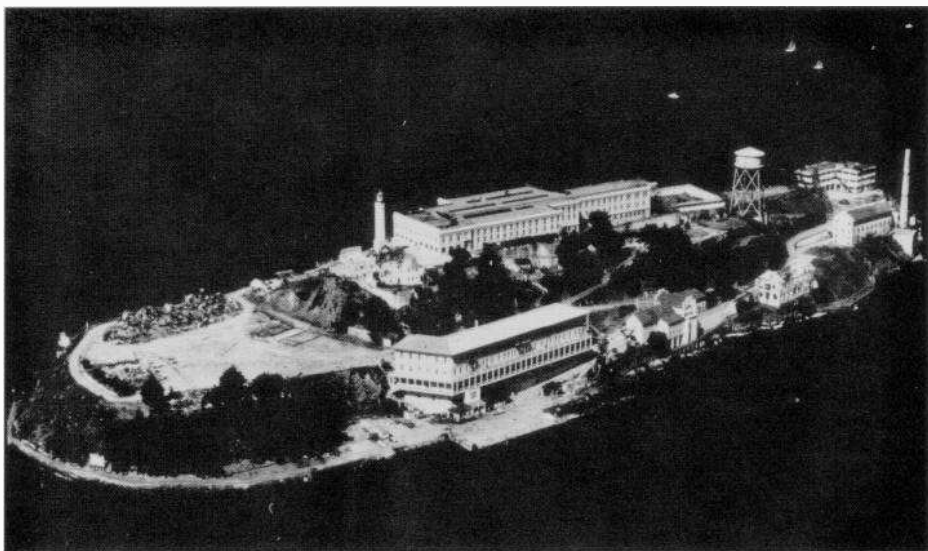
Today, the public, still as curious as ever about Alcatraz prison, can visit the cellhouse and learn about its history during visits to the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Although the Federal prison years were only a brief part of the human history of Alcatraz, the significance and impact of those years reach across time and have brought together two unlikely partners working on public education projects—the National Park Service (NPS) and the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP). The unique and exciting interagency projects now underway will enhance Alcatraz as a place where national and international visitors can learn about the island and U.S. prison history.

The importance of the events that have taken place there have made Alcatraz a powerful symbol for an island that is

only 12 acres in size. Alcatraz stories encompass themes as diverse as military history, prison history, contemporary Native American history, and the rapidly evolving role of the island as an indicator of the environmental health of the San Francisco Bay Area. Given the scope of events that make up the history of Alcatraz Island, what combination of circumstances created this new partnership between the National Park Service and the Bureau of Prisons?

Ayala became the first European to sail through the Golden Gate. He named many obvious landmarks, including the small, barren island in the middle of the bay. This island became known as La Isla De Los Alcatrazes, or "The Island of the Pelicans." The name was eventually Anglicized to "Alcatraz."

Its location in the center of the bay made Alcatraz Island well suited for several uses. The first west coast lighthouse to be



Alcatraz Island sits 3 miles east of the Golden Gate, the entrance to San Francisco Bay. For centuries, the island served as a roosting and nesting site for numerous birds, including gulls, cormorants, and pelicans. A nearly barren sandstone rock, the island was uninviting to the original inhabitants of the Bay Area, the Ohlone Indians, who probably only paid short visits for fishing or to collect eggs. For hundreds of years, European explorers apparently missed the narrow passage leading into the bay. In 1775 Spanish explorer Juan Manuel De

built by the U.S. started operation on the island in 1854. A fort or citadel was completed in 1859 to act as part of a defensive triangle to protect the entrance to San Francisco Bay and the gold of central California. Almost immediately after the fortress was completed, Alcatraz began to function as a temporary military prison. Its first prisoners included insubordinate soldiers, army deserters, and Confederate sympathizers. Thus began Alcatraz's 100-year history as a place of incarceration.

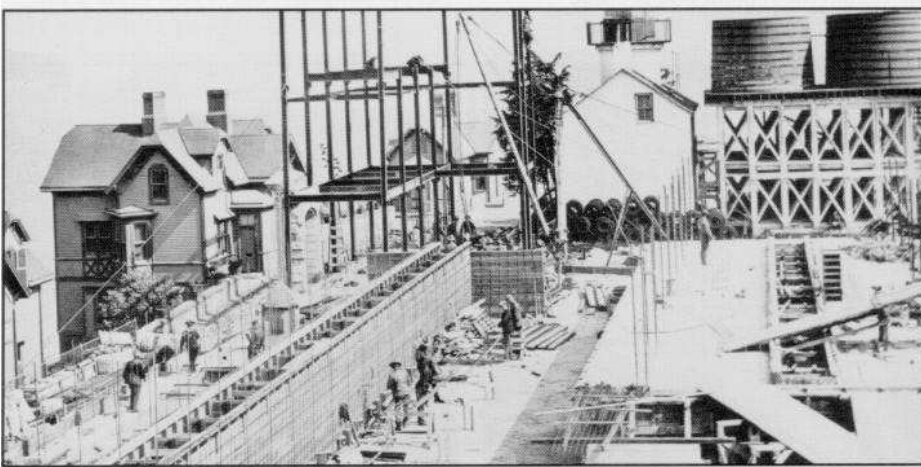
By 1868, Alcatraz had become the first long-term military prison in the United States. This experiment in rehabilitation of military inmates became the foundation for Fort Leavenworth Military Prison 6 years later. Improvements in the facilities were gradually made to allow for the detention of increasing numbers of military prisoners, and civilian prisoners as well. Though an unofficial prison at the time, the convict population peaked at 441 in 1900 during the

construct the new permanent military prison, completed in 1912. At that time it was said to have been one of the largest concrete structures in the world. This structure later became the main prison building for the civilian penitentiary. It still stands as one of the most identifiable features on Alcatraz.

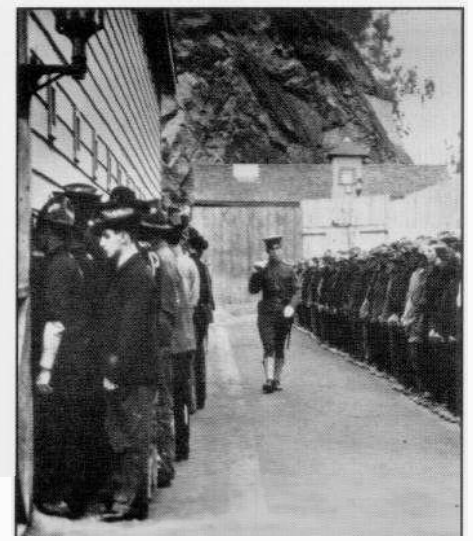
The War Department decided to abandon Alcatraz because it was costly to operate. On June 25, 1934, Army officials turned

penitentiary, the first of its kind. Inmates had only the rights to food, shelter, clothing, and medical care; family visits, correspondence, reading materials, recreation, and work were privileges earned only by carefully following the rules. Nevertheless, inmates were safe from each other, the penitentiary was kept clean, and the food was good.

Although training, education, work, and other rehabilitative programs were not



Top: The modern cellhouse at Alcatraz under construction before World War I. Right: Military prisoners "on parade." Left: Alcatraz today. Housing for Bureau of Prisons staff and their families formerly stood on the cleared area to the left of the picture.



Spanish-American War. Finally, in 1907, Alcatraz received the title, Pacific Branch, United States Military Prison.

Through this period, the importance of Alcatraz as a defensive post was diminishing. The troops were removed, and in 1909 the citadel was demolished to make room for a modern cellhouse, which still stands. The incarcerated soldiers did hard labor. They built walls, constructed roadways, brought soil to Alcatraz, and planted vegetation. They also helped

Alcatraz over to the recently created Federal Bureau of Prisons, as a maximum security Federal penitentiary for civilian inmates. The facilities were remodeled using the newest technology available. Tool-resistant steel bars, metal detectors, and bulletproof glass were installed.

The men sent to Alcatraz were considered the most troublesome inmates from other Federal institutions. Escape artists, gang leaders, and agitators were sent to Alcatraz to learn how to follow prison rules. Alcatraz operated as a maximum security/minimum privilege Federal

the primary emphasis at Alcatraz, the penitentiary did play a three-tiered role in the overall process of inmate rehabilitation. First, although Alcatraz was by far the most regimented institution in the Federal Prison System, paid employment and certain education courses—especially correspondence courses—were available to inmates who demonstrated good behavior. Second, as the prison within the prison system, Alcatraz

enhanced rehabilitation programs elsewhere by housing those inmates who were so unruly that they would have disrupted the rehabilitation programs at other prison that were less restrictive than Alcatraz. Finally, the stern regimentation at Alcatraz encouraged greater self-discipline in the inmates, so that they eventually could take part in rehabilitation programs at the less restrictive prisons; in fact, nearly all the inmates who were sent to Alcatraz ultimately transferred back to less restrictive institutions that had full rehabilitation programs.

During 39 years as a Federal penitentiary, Alcatraz held more than 1,500 inmates and averaged about 265 prisoners at a given time. Well-known inmates include Al Capone, Roy Gardner, “Machine Gun” Kelly, “Doc” Barker, Robert Stroud (“the birdman of Alcatraz,”) Alvin “Creepy” Karpis, and Frank Lee Morris. Most inmates were transferred back to other prisons. Some finished their sentences at Alcatraz. Thirty-six inmates were desperate enough to try the impossible—escape. Ten paid with their lives, while most were recaptured. Five of these men are still listed as unaccounted for and “missing.”

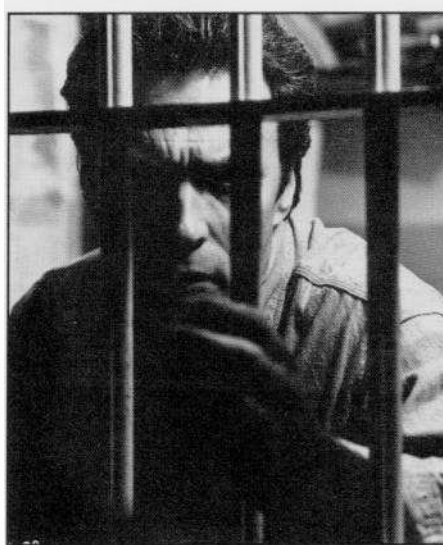
Alcatraz’s use of the 19th-century concept of “doing penance” or self-rehabilitation appears to have been remarkably successful: Only 23 of the more than 1,500 inmates ever returned for a second time. In spite of this, a growing emphasis on the active rehabili-

tation of criminals, combined with the deterioration of the aging prison, led to its closure in 1963.

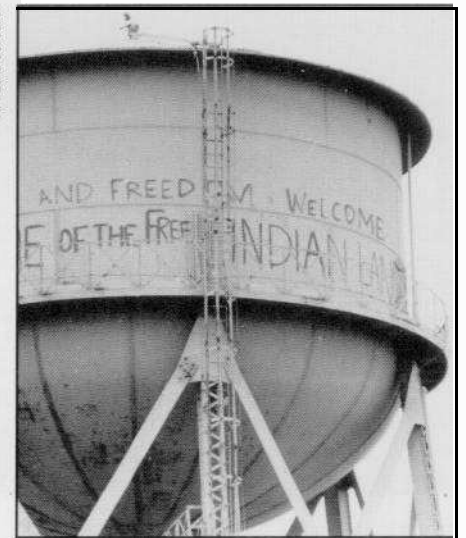
The island remained unused for the next 6 years. In November 1969, 85 Native Americans claimed Alcatraz in the hope of establishing a cultural center for the heritage of all Indians. They occupied the island until June 1971. Although their goal of a cultural center was not achieved on Alcatraz, the occupation became a symbol of resistance, unity, and hope to the Indian movement and focused

In 1973, Alcatraz island was opened to the public. In the first several years of operation, the National Park Service provided closely supervised tours of the cellhouse and solicited public input about the future of the island as a part of the planning process for GGNRA. The overwhelming consensus was to retain the cellhouse and interpret its history.

Alcatraz quickly became one of the top tourist attractions in San Francisco. Initial visitation was limited to 500,000 people annually, but is now more than



AP/Wide World



Left: Clint Eastwood prepares to “Escape From Alcatraz.” Public images of the prison were shaped by movies such as this. Right: Graffiti left behind by the Native American occupation, 1969-1971.

national attention on the concerns of the American Indian.

When the Native American occupation ended, many uses for the island were proposed—privately operated casinos, resort, condos, a peace memorial, a “statue of liberty,” and a park. In 1972, Alcatraz was included in the newly established Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA), the largest urban park in the world (74,000 acres and 20 million visitors annually).

850,000 people each year—and the demand is still growing.

To accommodate public interest, from 1973 until 1984 the NPS managed Alcatraz as a “closed” island. Due primarily to safety considerations, visitor experience was limited to ranger-guided tours of the prisons and a small museum.

This interpretive approach is analogous to the “maximum security/minimum privilege” days of the penitentiary. However, as the other historical themes of the island became increasingly interesting to visitors, the NPS developed the concept of an “open island” visit for the public.

The turning point in this new approach to managing the island came with the development of a self-guiding audio tour for the cellhouse. The audio tour premiered in 1987 and was a phenomenal

average daily rental rate for the tour of the cellhouse runs close to 80 percent! In 1989, the audio tour was translated into French, Spanish, German, Italian, and Japanese. This resulted in Alcatraz becoming the top international tourist spot in San Francisco, as nearly 10 percent of the audio tour rentals were by non-English-speaking visitors.

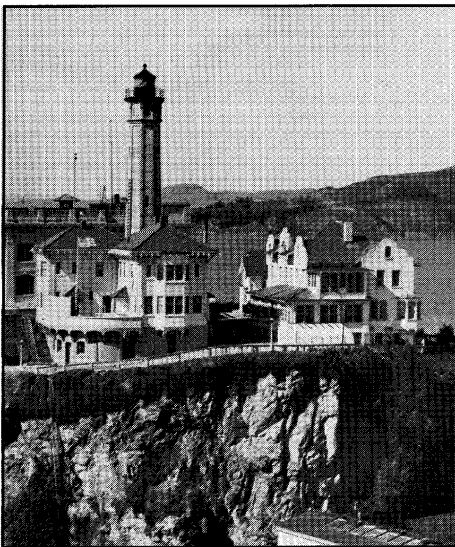
The advantage of the audio tour from the NPS point of view was that it freed the ranger staff to develop programs and exhibits about the rest of the island and

The first was an offer by an internationally famous landscape architect, Lawrence Halprin, to facilitate a series of workshops for a wide cross-section of community opinion leaders and develop a design plan that could guide the NPS as it developed the island “from prison to park.”

The public workshops resulted in a beautiful series of drawings and plans that defined all aspects of future facility and landscape design. Included in the design plan were a perimeter trail around the entire island, new uses for the existing buildings, and plans for improving the access to the natural beauty of the island as well. The plans are ambitious, but the NPS is confident that community support for the new concept plan will lead to private-sector funding.

A second unusual program was developed in 1988. Called “Artists on the Rock,” it brought together 14 coming artists who contributed their time to create an exhibition of original sculptures interpreting their impressions of Alcatraz Island. Evocative, moving, and (as art can be) at times controversial, this exhibition spoke of the beauty, the sadness, the harshness, and the controversial qualities of Alcatraz and its history. Public interest in and media coverage heightened public awareness of Alcatraz yet another notch.

At this point, the Bureau of Prisons became interested in the potential of Alcatraz for public education programs about the history of prisons. The BOP proposed to the NPS that the agencies develop an Interagency Agreement to carry out cooperative projects. The resulting agreement signalled a new chapter in the history of Alcatraz.



Left: The warden's house and lighthouse, which guides ships through San Francisco Bay. Alcatraz is now the second-most-visited National Park in the U.S.

success from the first day. Developed by the Golden Gate National Park Association, a nonprofit organization established to support park education programs, and technically produced by a local contractor, the audio tour incorporates the voices of former correctional officers and inmates talking about their experiences on “the Rock.” Normally, these types of self-guiding programs enjoy about a 35 percent use rate. The

for other themes in the island's history. Museum exhibits, interpretive panels, slide shows, publications, and new programs were created. Visitors could now learn about all aspects of Alcatraz history, but the central interest remains the cellhouse and the penitentiary years.

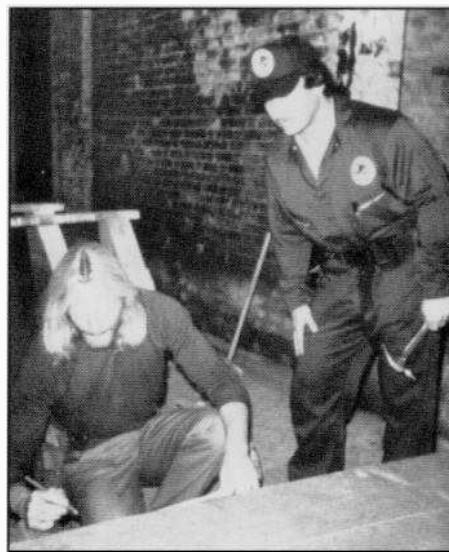
As the educational and interpretive programs about the island increased, community interest in Alcatraz also increased. This resulted in two unusual programs.

The first cooperative activity was initiating an interagency cross-training and research program. BOP staff are available to participate in NPS staff training to provide current information regarding the BOP and its programs. NPS staff have visited the U.S. Penitentiaries at Marion and Lompoc and the Federal Correctional Institution at Pleasanton, and conducted research in the BOP archives in Washington, D.C. NPS provides BOP with statistical information about visitors and feedback from NPS interpretive programs, including the most common questions asked by visitors about the BOP and suggestions for further improvements in displays, interpretive materials, and other areas of mutual concern and interest.

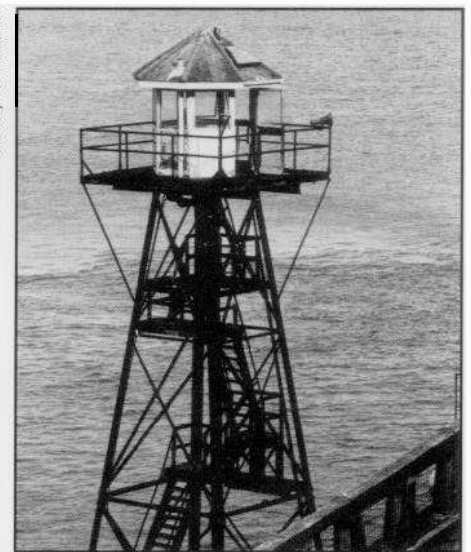
The first public education project now underway is a cooperatively produced exhibit that will interpret the penal history of Alcatraz and its role in the broader sweep of U.S. prison history. The exhibit will be installed in two historic Civil War-era casemates in the area called "China Alley," and will be dedicated in January 1991, the centennial of the Three Prisons Act that led to the founding of the first Federal prisons. The exhibit themes include: the historical development of prisons in the United States, from colonial times to the present; myths and realities about Alcatraz; the evolution of the Federal Prison System, 1891-1991; and trends and issues in Federal corrections in the 21st century.

Another program that has resulted from the Interagency Agreement may signal the return of the BOP to a former tradition of inmate involvement in public works projects. At the end of March of this year, a select crew of six BOP

inmates began a work program on Alcatraz. Since its opening in 1973, the NPS has been unable to provide full-time maintenance support for the island. In several months, the work of the inmate crew has already matched, and will soon surpass, the total maintenance efforts put into the island for the past 17 years! The difference this crew is making in day-to-day operations, improved preservation of historic buildings, and generally improved facilities for park visitors has been hailed as "phenomenal" by park staff.



Courtesy FCI Pleasanton



Left: The Bureau has provided an inmate crew to help restore Alcatraz. Right: The dilapidated observation tower will be airlifted to the Federal Correctional Institution at Pleasanton to be restored. Below: The island's original inhabitants.

For their first project, the inmate crew completed the renovation of a curatorial storage area for historic artifacts. The next project will be the renovation of the area that will house the interagency exhibit. Perhaps most exciting of all are the plans now under discussion for the BOP to completely restore the original guard tower that stood sentinel over the island during the prison years.

enhanced vision of improved public service. ■

Brian O'Neill is Superintendent of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.



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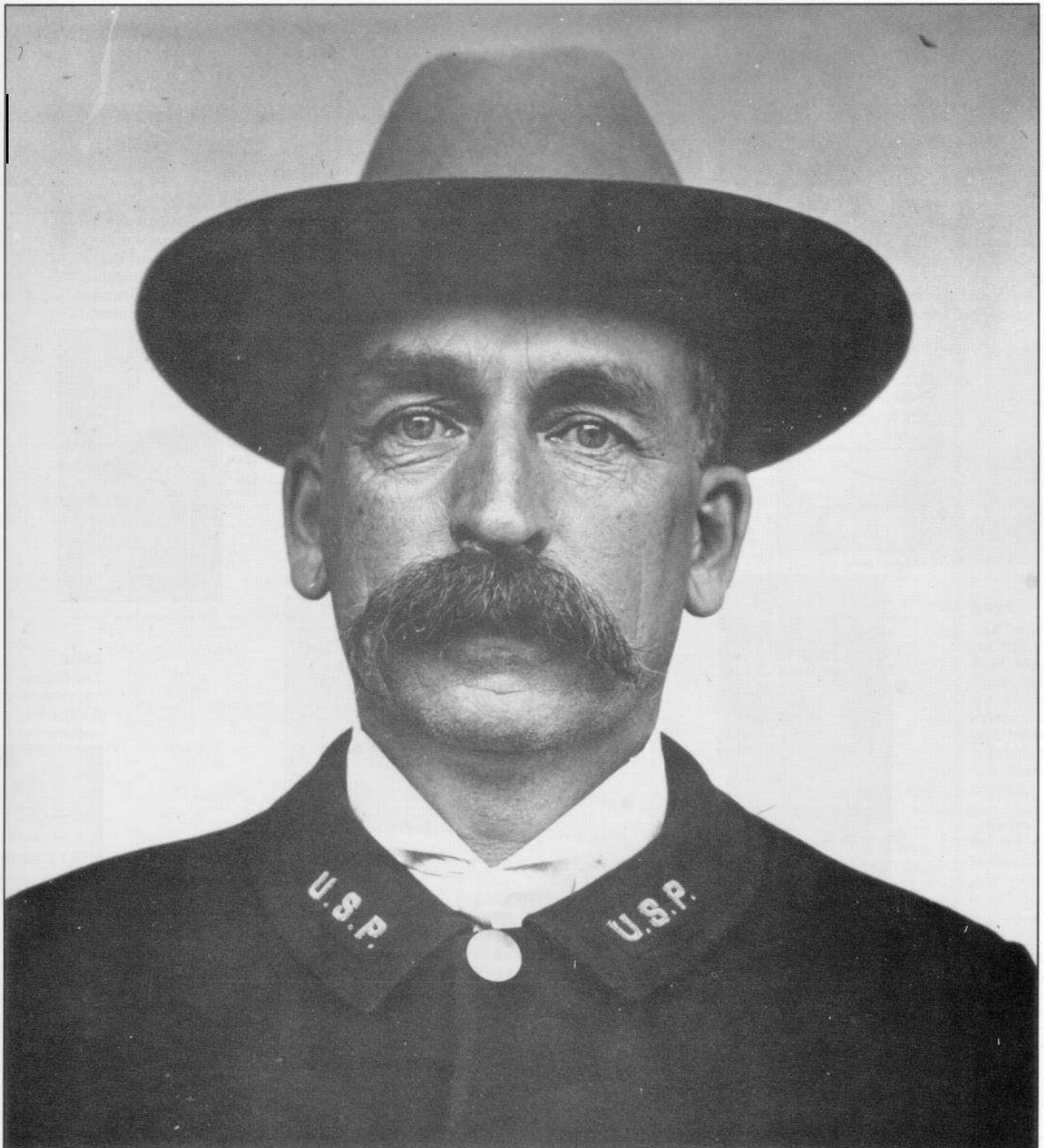
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60 Years of a Proud Tradition

An historical perspective of the Federal Bureau of Prisons



Gilbert L. Palmer, Warden, McNeil Island, 1893-1901 (at that time McNeil Island was a Marshals Service jail; it officially became a Federal penitentiary in 1907).

The Bureau Today

The Bureau begins its seventh decade of operation with a focus on managing a dramatically increased inmate population. Throughout the 1980's, the corrections sector of the U.S. criminal justice system grew to historic, unprecedented proportions—the Federal inmate population more than doubled since 1980. The Bureau's population at the middle of 1990 was 56,999—170 percent of rated capacity. This growth occurred largely as a result of new enforcement emphases at the Federal level, the enactment of new drug laws, the continuing impact of Federal sentencing guidelines, and changes in the Nation's demographics.

To deal with its expanding population, the Bureau has proceeded with expedited facility expansion, surplus site acquisition, and new construction programs. The activation of new facilities in six locations in the last year alone was accompanied by adding minimum

security camps and new housing units at existing facilities. In addition, the Bureau is developing innovative alternatives to traditional confinement and inmate programs.

Classification and programs

Inmates and facilities are classified in a security level system reaching from the least secure, camp-type settings through maximum security penitentiaries, including specialized institutions such as detention and medical centers.

The inmate classification system assists staff in making rational assignments for inmates in a time of increasing overcrowding. It places inmates in the least restrictive institution that meets their specific security and custody needs, and is closest to their homes. The system considers factors such as offense severity, history of escape or violence, expected length of incarceration, and type of prior commitments.

A broad range of programs and services is offered at each location, including education, vocational training, recreation, medical, religious, and other services. Inmates are permitted in-person visitation, correspondence, phone calls, and media access in all locations.

Currently, about 50 percent of all Federal inmates are incarcerated for drug-related offenses. As law enforcement agencies at all levels dedicate increasing resources to control drugs, it is certain the percentage of drug offenders in BOP custody will increase. Each Bureau facility has a chemical abuse program that includes screening all inmates upon admission and identifying the level of drug problem they have, if any. In-house treatment programs are available, including several pilot programs that provide up to 1,000 hours of "social learning" therapy. The Bureau also has an aggressive program, based on inmate urinalysis, to control illicit drug use in its institutions.



Federal Prison Industries (trade name UNICOR) is a wholly owned Federal Government corporation that employs and trains inmates through the operation of factories that produce high-quality products and services for the Federal Government market, and is also responsible for inmate education and training programs. These industrial jobs are a critical factor in avoiding inmate idleness and unrest, and in instilling useful skills and work habits.

Community corrections programs are vital in managing overcrowding. Most BOP community-based residential programs are provided in contract Community Corrections Centers (CCC's) near the offender's home community. Innovative nonresidential programs such as home confinement and electronic monitoring also have been developed in a number of Federal jurisdictions for lower security, nonviolent offenders.

Literacy programs are a major emphasis of the Bureau; the mandatory literacy standard, which, among other things, governs work assignments, has been increased from the 6th grade level in 1982, to the 8th grade level in 1986, to high school equivalency in 1990.

Human resources

Improved programs and services for inmates have been matched by initiatives in human resource development. With the expansion of the coming decade, the development of new managerial talent is a vital activity. The steps now being taken to recruit, train, and develop staff will be the foundation of an even more professional Bureau for the 1990's. More than one-third of all staff have college backgrounds. All new employees are required to undergo 4 weeks of formal training during their first 45 days with the Bureau, with specialty and refresher training offered regularly. Currently, the BOP employs

more than 16,000 staff in 64 institutions and other offices.

The near-doubling of the agency's size in the 1990's will also require even more sophisticated approaches to planning and management. For that reason, a strategic planning approach to managing scarce Bureau resources is essential.

Interagency cooperation is also vital to the effective functioning of the Nation's criminal justice system. The Bureau will maintain its productive relationships with the many other agencies that make up the Federal criminal justice system and the Department of Justice's constituent agencies and organizations.

Over the years, as this timeline shows, tens of thousands of employees have served as the foundation of a highly professional Bureau of Prisons. The Bureau's staff are justifiably proud of the public service they provide. ■

Current operating institutions are shown as solid dots on the map. Institutions that were formerly operated by the Bureau and were either closed or converted to State operation are represented by numbers, keyed to the following list:

1. Alaska. See box at left of map. The Bureau operated facilities in the territory (later the State) from 1952-1964: Anchorage jail, Fairbanks jail, Juneau jail, Ketchikan jail, Nome jail, and Elmendorf Prison Camp.
2. U.S. Penitentiary, Alcatraz.
3. Federal Prison Camp, Avon Park, Florida.
4. Federal Prison Camp, Benton City, Washington.
5. Camp Bragg, North Carolina.
6. Camp Dix, New Jersey.
7. Camp Eustis, Virginia.
8. Camp Meade, Maryland.
9. Camp Riley, Kansas.
10. Reformatory, Chillicothe, Ohio.
11. Federal Detention Center, El Paso, Texas.
12. Federal Detention Center, Florence, Arizona.
13. Federal Prison Camp Dupont, Fort Lewis, Washington.
14. Fort Wadsworth, New York.
15. Federal Prison Camp, Greenville, South Carolina.
16. Federal Prison Camp, Kooskia, Idaho.
17. Leavenworth Annex (U.S. Disciplinary Barracks), Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.
18. U.S. Penitentiary, McNeil Island, Washington.
19. Federal Detention Center, Miami, Florida.
20. Federal Prison Camp, Mill Point, West Virginia.
21. National Training School for Boys, Washington, DC.
22. Natural Bridge Camp, Greenlee, Virginia.
23. New Orleans Jail.
24. Federal Detention Headquarters, New York City ("West Street Jail").
25. Federal Prison Camp, Sewart, Tennessee.
26. Federal Prison Camp, Tucson, Arizona.
27. Federal Prison Camp, Tuile Lake, California.
28. Federal Prison Camp, Wickenburg, Arizona.

Inmate Population Growth

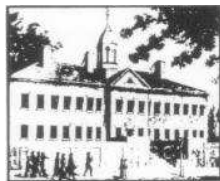




1779-1930—Early history of Federal corrections

1779-1891

Virtually no Federal prisons; Federal Government pays State prisons to incarcerate most of those convicted of violating Federal laws.



Walnut Street Jail, Philadelphia, 1790—America's first true correctional institution.

1831-1882

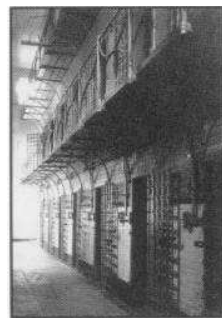
Some Federal offenders are held at a Federal penitentiary in Washington, DC, operated by the Department of the Interior.

1891

Three Prisons Act passed by Congress, authorizing the establishment of three Federal penitentiaries.

1895

USP Leavenworth is opened; fully activated in 1906.



1902

USP Atlanta is opened.



1907

Territorial jail at McNeil Island, which began operations in 1875, is designated the 3rd Federal penitentiary.



1928

Federal reformatory for young men is opened in Chillicothe, Ohio.

1927

Federal reformatory for women is opened in Alderson, West Virginia.



May 14, 1930

Federal Bureau of Prisons established.



'32

'34



1929

West Street Jail opens in New York City, to house those awaiting trial and sentencing.

1929-1930

Assistant Attorney General Mabel Walker Willebrandt hires leading prison reformer Sanford Bates to organize and operate a new, centralized Federal Bureau of Prisons. Bates is named Director of the new Bureau in 1930.



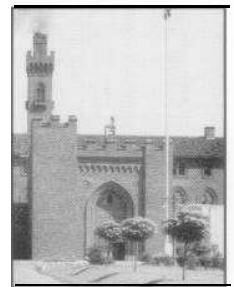
1930

Officers' Training School opens at West Street Jail; later moved to USP Lewisburg.

Bureau begins to open prison camps to provide minimum security housing and work assignments in forestry and road building.

1932

USP Lewisburg opens; incorporating many innovations, it is intended to be the model for future Federal prisons.



1933

BOP establishes medical center in Springfield, Missouri. The Springfield staff includes physicians, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, and psychiatrists from the U.S. Public Health Service.

Officers' Training School is closed due to budget cuts.

1934

Alcatraz is opened.

Act of Congress establishes Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated, to provide training and paid work for inmates.

60 Years of a

An historical perspective of



'38 1940 '42 '44 '46 '48 1950 '52 '54



1937
James V. Bennett
succeeds
Sanford Bates
as Director.

1938-1940
Nine new "Federal
Jails" (later called
"Federal Correctional
Institutions")
are built.



FCI Terminal Island.

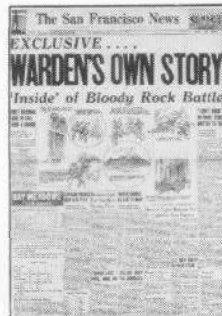
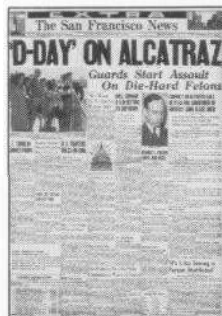
1941-45
The Prison System
contributes to the war
effort as Prison Industries
produces a
multitude of goods
for the Army and
Navy. Enlistment
regulations are
changed to permit
released offenders to
enter the military.



1939
BOP acquires
National Training
School for Boys in
Washington, DC.



1946
The Alcatraz
"Blastout" leaves 2
officers and 3 inmates
dead.



1950
The Youth Corrections
Act enhances the
special treatment
already accorded to
younger offenders.



FPC Mill Point, West Virginia.

1952
The Bureau institutes
a system of jails in
Alaska, which
operates until 1964.



Federal Building, Ketchikan,
Alaska.

ing
d due

Proud Tradition

the Federal Bureau of Prisons



'56 '58 1960 '62 '68 '74

Late 1950's
Early unit management program is initiated at FCI Ashland. The unit management concept concentrates programs and services for inmates into more easily manageable residential units and is based on the philosophy of promoting direct interaction between staff and inmates.

1958
Legislation extends diagnostic services and indeterminate sentencing, previously available primarily to youth under the Youth Corrections Act, to adult offenders.

The so-called "Medical Model" or "Rehabilitation Model," is given its widest application in the Bureau. Under this model, counseling, education programs, and classification based on an inmate's individual needs are pursued as if crime were a disease that could be cured by prescribing a particular program of activity and study.



1961
The Bureau pioneers in the development of community corrections by opening three experimental "pre-release centers," or halfway houses, for youth.

1964
Myrl E. Alexander succeeds James V. Bennett as Director.

1963
Alcatraz is closed.



1965
Prisoner Rehabilitation Act is passed, making halfway houses, furloughs, and work/study release available to adult offenders.



1968
Robert F. Kennedy Center for Youth opens in Morgantown, West Virginia, replacing the National Training School.

Morgantown adopts the unit management concept pioneered at Ashland in the 1950's. In the 1970's, unit management is implemented throughout the Bureau.

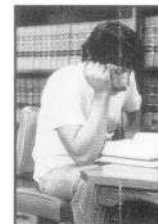


Senator Edward Kennedy speaks at Morgantown; Director Myrl Alexander is at right.

1969
Uniform staff training standards adopted by BOP; training centers opened at El Reno in 1971 and Atlanta in 1972.

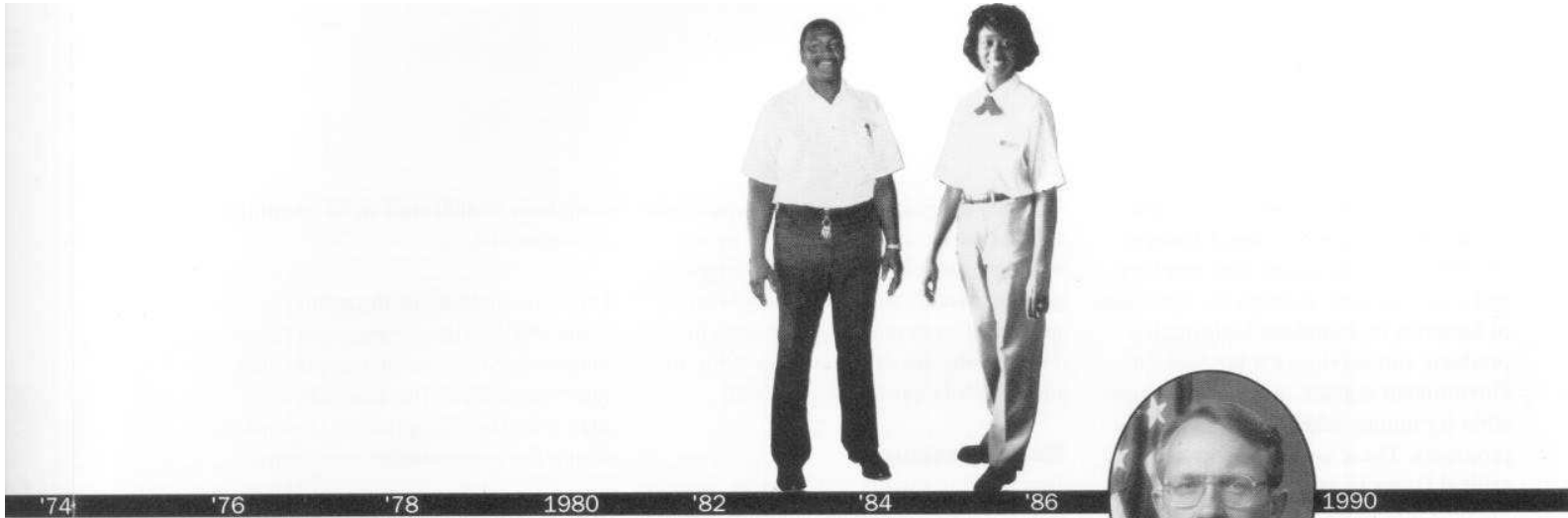
1970
Norman A. Carlson succeeds Myrl E. Alexander as Director.

1973
The Bureau introduces the Inmate Grievance Process, giving inmates a formal process through which they can voice complaints and seek redress without fear of retribution.

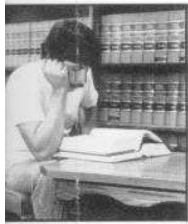


1974
BOP opens regional offices, modernizes communication system.

National Correctional Institute



Bureau introduces the Inmate Grievance Procedure, giving inmates a formal process through which they can voice complaints and seek redress without fear of retribution.



1974
BOP operations are regionalized; 5 regional offices are established; modern executive staff system established.

National Institute of Corrections founded.

1978
A more highly structured, uniform classification system is implemented in the Bureau, to ensure better security and a safe and humane environment for each inmate.

1980
BOP accepts responsibility for housing excludable Mariel Cuban refugees.

1981
Bureau opens Staff Training Center at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center in Glynco, Georgia. All new employees receive 3 weeks of intensive training.



1982
6th grade mandatory literacy standard introduced.

1984
Medical Center is opened in Rochester, Minnesota, in close partnership with the Mayo Clinic. Programs include medical staff training; medical care is offered here to both male and female inmates.



1986
Mandatory literacy standard increased to 8th grade.

1987
J. Michael Quinlan succeeds Norman A. Carlson as Director.

1987
Mariel detainees riot in Atlanta and Oakdale. Negotiations result in peaceful conclusion.



1988
Program Review and Human Resource Management divisions formed to improve management and facilitate the major expansion of the Bureau.

1989
BOP inmate population soars above 50,000 for the first time; projections indicate population of 100,000 by the year 1995; an ambitious program to build new institutions and recruit new staff is initiated.



1990
6th regional office established.

Mandatory literacy standard increased to high school equivalent.

State-of-the-art drug treatment initiative begins; Bureau enters partnership with NIDA.

BOP Firsts and Mosts

First Federal warden

William Jewell, keeper of the United States Jail, Philadelphia, 1775.

First Federal warden under the Three Prisons Act

James W. French, Leavenworth, 1895.

First Federal warden of a newly constructed Federal prison

Samuel H. Hawk, Atlanta, 1902.

First woman to serve as a Federal warden

Mary B. Harris, Alderson, 1927.

First black Federal warden

Lee Jett, Englewood, 1971.

First Hispanic Federal warden

Enrique M. Lucero, Safford, 1980.

First (and only) Federal warden to be taken hostage

Thomas B. White, Leavenworth, 1931 (he was shot, but survived).



*First BOP Seal
1930-1970*

First (and only) Federal warden to be arrested for corruption and held in his own prison

Albert E. Sartain, Atlanta, 1924.

First Attorney General to direct the Federal Bureau of Prisons

William D. Mitchell, 1930.

First warden to become Director of the Bureau

Myrl Alexander (Danbury).

First Federal inmate after the Three Prisons Act

John Grindstone, Leavenworth, 1895.

First correctional officer to be killed in the line of duty

J.B. Waldrup, Leavenworth, 1901.

First Federal prison to house females

Leavenworth, 1896.

Longest sentence served

Robert Stroud ("The Birdman of Alcatraz"), 1909-1963.

Last Federal inmate to be executed

Victor H. Feguer, 1963, for kidnapping.



*Second BOP Seal
1970-1978*

Only Federal prisoners to be executed in a

Federal prison

Carl Panzran, Leavenworth, 1930; Anthony Chebatoris, Milan, 1938; and partners Robert J. Suhay and Glen J. Applegate, Leavenworth, 1938.

First youth reformatory

National Training School for Boys, Washington, D.C. (incorporated 1866; opened as the Reform School for Boys in 1870; acquired by the BOP in 1939).

First youth reformatory after the Three Prisons Act

Chillicothe, 1926.

First prison camp

Maxwell, 1930.

First Federal detention jail

Federal Detention Headquarters, New York City (West Street Jail), 1929.

First Bureau medical director

Dr. Justin K. Fuller, 1937-1941.

First meeting of the board of directors of Federal Prison Industries, Inc.

December 27, 1934.



*Third BOP Seal
1978-1982*

First new factories authorized by

Federal Prison Industries

Lewisburg and Chillicothe, 1934 (in addition to building new factories, FPI assumed control of all existing factories).

First President of FPI

Sanford Bates.

First mass escape

Leavenworth, June 1, 1898 (17 prisoners working at the construction site; all were recaptured).

First facility located on a military base

Leavenworth (it was originally in the military prison at Ft. Leavenworth).

First military property to be turned over to the Bureau

Chillicothe, formerly Camp Sherman in Ohio.

First Federal institution to be placed permanently within an operating military base

Maxwell, 1930.

First training facility

Officers' Training School, West Street Jail, New York City, 1929.



*Current BOP Seal
1982-Present*

First director of training

Dr. Jesse O. Stutsman.

First executive staff for the Bureau

Sanford Bates, Director; James V. Bennett, Assistant Director for Industries; William T. Hammack, Assistant Director for Fiscal Affairs and Personnel; Austin H. McCormick, Assistant Director for Inmate Training and Discipline.

Longest tenure as a warden

Thomas B. White, at Atlanta, Leavenworth, and La Tuna, 1924-1951.

Longest tenure as a camp superintendent

James B. Gaffney, at Maxwell and Tucson, 1930-1961.