



**MANAGING LONG-TERM INMATES:  
A GUIDE FOR THE CORRECTIONAL ADMINISTRATOR**

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unobtrusively and very gradually waste away.<1>

## Foreword

It has only been in the last five years that long-term confinement and long-term inmates have come to the forefront of corrections in the United States. The first and only American study was published in 1979. Since that time the mood of the country has grown more punitive and harsh sentencing laws have been enacted that are resulting in the confinement of disproportionate numbers of inmates who will serve long sentences. This phenomenon is occurring in many states, focusing national attention on the management of long-term inmates.

Traditionally, long-term inmates have comprised only a small segment of most states' inmate populations. As a result, correctional programming and management strategies have evolved to meet the needs of the short-term majority. As Toch so aptly put it:

Short-term inmates can get more help than long-term inmates because there are so many of them; if we did not address their illiteracy or their lack of vocational skills, our computers would complain loudly or would flash red lights. If we did not keep short-termers occupied, hundreds of them would noisily mill around prison yards looking unhappy. We have no choice, either, about helping our more visible minorities, the most vociferous psychotics, the helplessly and blatantly feebleminded, the persistently and severely disruptive.... We cannot run prisons in which men need help getting dressed, proclaim themselves kings or attack fellow inmates. But we can run prisons in which inmates

The consensus of experts is that as the proportion of long-term inmates within states' prison populations continues to grow, the long-term inmate population will coalesce into a discernible inmate grouping characterized by special management needs that are not being currently addressed. Many correctional managers expect long-termers to become more vocal in their demands as their proportion of the inmate population increases.

Another trend that is disturbing to correctional managers is the changing characteristics of the long-term population. Many managers are genuinely concerned about the numbers of young, violent men and women who are being sentenced to prison for extended periods. Without a better understanding of the long-term inmate phenomenon and responsive management plans, the correctional field will find itself ill-equipped to manage a large, disgruntled segment of its population for what to both parties will seem under such conditions, to be forever. Due to the often heinous nature of their crimes, their lengthy criminal histories, and past imprisonment, long-termers have the potential for exerting a degree of influence and power over their fellow inmates that exceeds their actual numbers. The energy and potential of this growing population must be channeled into activities that are productive for the inmates and at the least not harmful to the agency.

This 16-month study was conducted by Correctional Services Group, Incorporated, through a grant provided by the National Institute of Corrections. It resulted in the publication of this report, *Managing Long-Term Inmates: A Guide for the Correctional Administrator*, which offers prison managers a new perspective on long-

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<1> H. Toch, "The Long-Term Prisoner as a Long-Term Problem," in *Long-Term Imprisonment: An International Seminar*, S. Rizkalla, R. Levy, and R. Zauberman, eds. (Montreal, Canada: University of Montreal, 1977), p. 288.

term confinement grounded in the experience of state and federal correctional agencies. The Guide is dedicated to an improved understanding of long-term confinement, the nation's long-term inmate population, and to an exploration of management options available to correctional administrators. The Guide is intended for correctional administrators and those correctional staff who implement agency policy and for those decisionmakers outside of corrections whose decisions impact the correctional field.

# How To Use The Guide

This Guide was prepared as a resource for correctional administrators who perceive the management of long-term inmates as problematic or as potentially problematic. Its primary purpose is to describe the nation's experience with long-term confinement and to build upon this common experience to create improved methods for managing this segment of the inmate population. It was not designed to be read "cover to cover." The organization of the report facilitates its use as a resource document. It is clearly divided into five chapters that address different facets of the greater long-term inmate issue. A "Management Issues Index" has been included to help the reader quickly identify and locate those issues of particular interest. It may be found immediately following the Table of Contents. In addition, a brief synopsis of each chapter will aid the reader in using the Guide.

Chapter One, "Survey Findings: An Executive Summary," begins with a detailed profile of the nation's long-term inmate population, including perceptions of how these characteristics will change over the next five years. It concludes with a discussion of 13 issues impacting the management of long-term prisoners relating the states' current management responses.

Chapter Two of the Guide draws upon the survey findings, the expertise of the project Task Force, and the experience of the project staff in formulating more than 80 recommendations, for consideration by correctional administrators, to improve the management of long-term inmates. These recommendations are grouped according to the management issue areas covered in the surveys of state correctional agencies. Each recommendation is followed by a statement that articulates the underlying rationale.

Chapter Three considers promising new programs for long-term inmates and the pragmatic obstacles to their implementation. While the surveys of state correctional agencies uncovered little in the way of new or innovative programs designed for long-term inmates, a review of the isolated programs currently in operation suggests that something constructive can be done for long-term inmates. In addition, these efforts can often be initiated at minimal cost. Key elements to be considered in the development and implementation of programs for long-term prisoners are also presented.

Chapter Four of the management guide presents a different perspective on the issue: that of a knowledgeable long-term inmate. This essay helps to personalize the issue of long-term confinement, to raise it above the mundane consideration of survey findings and policy recommendations. The essay frames the most important questions that bear on long-term inmates themselves and discusses problems and solutions in areas such as maintenance of family and community relationships, housing for long-term inmates, institutional rules and regulations, and progression through a lengthy prison term. The importance of meaningful and productive work for long-term prisoners is emphasized, as are expanded roles for long-term inmates both within and outside of the prison, and the need for public education on correctional matters.

Chapter Five of the Guide, "The Development of a Management-oriented Data Base on Long-term Prisoners," is intended to assist correctional decision-makers in addressing a primary obstacle to rational policy development for long-term confinement: the dearth of useful data on the scope of the issue, the characteristics and growth of long-term inmate populations, and program and policy needs. This chapter explores methods of generating policy-relevant information on basic questions surrounding long-term incarceration and discusses the collaborative relationship of agency administrators and researchers in developing useful management-oriented information systems to provide a foundation for policy development.

**The appendices contain the survey instruments, the survey data in tabular form, and additional information in support of selected information.**

**Taken as a whole, the Guide may be used by correctional administrators and their staff in a number of ways. Chapter One serves as the foundation for the Guide by describing the nation's long-term inmate population and current and proposed strategies for managing this segment of the population. Chapter Two is the focal**

**point of the Guide, drawing as it does upon the survey findings and the expertise of project and consultant staff in proposing recommendations for each of 12 management areas. Chapter Three describes existing and potential long-term inmate programs. Chapter Four describes long-term confinement from a unique perspective, that of a long-term inmate. Chapter Five outlines basic procedures for developing a data base on long-term prisoners to support agency planning and management functions.**

# Survey Findings: An Executive Summary

## Introduction

In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of long-term confinement in the United States, two extensive survey instruments<1> were sent to every state correctional agency in the nation, as well as the Federal Prison System. The first of these instruments was designed to capture data on the nature and experience of male long-term prisoners; the second focused on the female long-term population. To ensure the collection of comparable data, a long-term inmate was defined as one who has or will be continuously confined for a period of seven years. Forty-one agencies completed all or part of these surveys. Their responses are summarized below.<2>

## Long-Term Inmate Profile

**Population:** Nationwide, the long-term male inmate population averaged 24.8% of the total male prisoner population in 1984, with responses across the states ranging from 9.0 to 55.0%. Long-termers, on the average, comprised 18.9% of the female inmate population for that year; figures provided ranged from 0.3 to 68.0%. On the whole, these figures reflect a modest increase in the average proportion of long-term inmates in the prison population. The 23 agencies reporting data for males in 1979 and 1984 experienced an average net growth of 1.8%. For females, the growth rates reported by 20 agencies averaged 2.3%.

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<1> Copies of the survey instruments used in the conduct of this project are available from the NIC Information Center, 1790 - 30th Street, Boulder, Colorado 80301.

<2> Appendices A through L contain the states' responses to the most important survey questions.

**Age:** The age distribution for both male and female long-termers is relatively normal, with the largest mean percentage of both groups falling within the 26 to 30-year-old category. Just slightly over half of both groups of inmates were reported to be over 30 years of age.

**Race:** Whites comprised a majority of the long-term inmate population. On the average, 55.2% of the males and 53.0% of the female long-term inmates were white. When compared with their share of the U.S. prison population, whites were slightly overrepresented among male and female long-termers.

**Marital Status:** The greatest proportion of long-term males and females were reported to be single both at the time of admission and at the time of the survey. Agencies reported an average of 50.6% of male long-termers were single at admission and 47.5% were single when the survey was completed. The corresponding figures for long-term females were 33.1% and 32.5%. Interestingly, more males, on the average, were married at the time of the survey than at the time of admission. However, since many agencies were not able to provide data for both periods, it is difficult to reach any definitive conclusion regarding this finding.

**Education:** In general, female long-termers were reported to be better educated than males. While an average of 53.5% of the females had received a high school diploma or its equivalent, only 30.2% of the males had reached this level of achievement. Respondents indicated that 2.6% of the males and 1.5% of the females could be characterized as mentally retarded or illiterate.

**Vocational Training:** A significant proportion of long-term inmates were perceived as lacking the skills and experience needed to support themselves in the community--an average of 56.3% of the males and 51.6% of the females. 17.2% of the males and 29.2% of the females were thought to be suited only for low-skilled jobs. As the level of vocational training rose, male long-termers began to predominate; 17.9% of the males and 9.9% of the females were reported at the



highest level (described as possessing demonstrable skills in an occupation and two years of steady employment in a skilled area).

**Security Designation:** At the time of the survey, the largest mean percentage of long-term inmates were classified as medium security; 45.0% of the males and 41.8% of the females fell into this classification. For males, the next largest category was maximum security. Slightly over 30% of the long-term population had received this designation, nearly double the percentage for females. This finding contrasts sharply, but not unexpectedly, with that for female long-termers, for whom the second largest classification was minimum security--28.0% compared to 11.8% for the males.

**Special Management Needs:** The data indicate that the special management needs of long-term inmates, on the average, did not differ significantly from those of the general prisoner population. Respondents stated that 6.2% of the male long-termers and 1.2% of the female long-termers had protective custody needs. Slightly over 4% of the male population and approximately 2% of the female population were placed in administrative segregation, while just under 6% of the males and 1.6% of the females were in disciplinary segregation. Two percent of male long-termers and 1.2% of female long-termers in states having death sentences were housed on death row. Chronic health problems were attributed to 9.8% of the long-term male population and 22.1% of the long-term female population. Approximately 5% of the male and 8% of the female long-termers were reported to be mentally ill. Respondents classified 3.8% of the males and 1.3% of the females as mentally retarded. Slightly under 2% of the long-term males and just over 3% of the long-term females were designated geriatric. Finally, a substantial proportion of long-termers (46.2% of the males, 44.7% of the females) were categorized as substance abusers.

**Disciplinary History:** Over half of the male and female long-term populations, on the average, had committed fewer than two serious disciplinary violations during

their current confinement. Less than 20% of both populations were reported as having committed five or more major infractions.

## Perceived Changes in the Long-Term Population

Response rates for this section of the survey were lower than average due to the unavailability or inaccessibility of data on which agencies could base their observations. Department policy also prohibited some agencies from speculating about the future characteristics of the long-term population. Nevertheless, the responses that were received (18 for male long-termers and 20 for female long-termers) are useful not only in highlighting the experienced views of corrections practitioners but also in identifying trends relevant to management issues.

Respondents generally believed that the age range among long-term males and females had not changed over the past five years. Most respondents indicated that they expected age to remain unchanged or to rise for males during the next five years, while age among females was foreseen as the same or declining.

Almost a third of the agencies noted no change in their current long-term male population in regard to propensity for violence; however, a nearly equal proportion indicated that this group had grown more violent in the last five years. The largest percentage of respondents to the male survey did not anticipate any changes in long-termers' propensity for violence in the immediate future. Although a plurality of agencies did not think that female long-termers had become more violent in recent years, the largest percentage of respondents expected females to be more violence-prone in the next five years.

On the whole, respondents neither perceived nor anticipated a change in the incidence of mental and physical health problems in the long-term male population. In contrast, equal percentages of

respondents thought that these problems had either increased or remained the same among females; a plurality, however, did not expect further differences to emerge in the immediate future.

Respondents were evenly divided on whether long-term males were more difficult to manage or presented about the same management difficulties today as five years ago, but more expected these difficulties to remain stabilized throughout the rest of the decade. Interestingly, the greatest percentage of respondents viewed females as increasingly difficult to manage--both in terms of the recent past and the near future.

## Correctional Administration Issues

Eighty percent of the responding agencies reported that they were subject to laws influencing the number of long-term inmates they managed (e.g., sentence enhancement, determinate sentencing, and parole eligibility requirements). All but four of the respondents said that they used good time credits to reduce sentences or time served. Approximately 70% also stated they were subject to laws affecting the management of long-termers (e.g., statutes related to work release and furloughs). Over half of the respondents reported that they had been involved in litigation--usually regarding conditions of confinement, classification, or parole eligibility--that impacted upon management of their long-term populations.

Such legislative and legal factors have influenced correctional administration in a variety of ways. As the proportion of long-termers in both the male and female prisoner populations has risen in most reporting jurisdictions, agencies noted that bed space, particularly in maximum security, was tied up for longer periods, thwarting appropriate housing assignments for all inmates. Respondents also indicated that stress and disruptive behavior tended to increase.

Overcrowded conditions were perceived as having specific effects on long-termers by

84.6% of the respondents to the male survey and 62.1% of those completing the female survey. Among the effects cited were fewer opportunities for program participation, double celling, and generally strained resources.

A large majority of respondents to the male and female surveys (89.7 and 75.9%, respectively) noted differences in security and programming needs for long-termers as the proportion of these inmates increased within their institutions.

In what seems to be an effort to better manage their growing long-term populations, 76.9% of the male survey respondents and 55.2% of the female survey respondents reported that they considered long-termers in current agency planning. Areas of consideration included physical plant construction or renovation, bed space projections, staffing, and budgeting.

## Financial Issues

On the whole, the data suggest that the costs of managing long-term inmates did not differ appreciably from those of managing other inmates. Assessing management expenses for three periods--admission, confinement, and pre-release--over 80% of the respondents to both the male and female surveys stated that costs for all inmates were similar during admission and pre-release. The same finding held true for females during the confinement period. Long-term males, however, were reported by 29.0% of the respondents to cost more than other prisoners to manage during confinement. The greater cost for long-termers, usually 10 to 20% higher, was most often attributed to additional security personnel. Still, over half of the responding agencies said there was no difference in expenses for long-term males during the confinement period.

The average per diem cost for long-term males was \$44.88; for short-term males, the figure was \$35.85. Long-term female inmates averaged \$43.28 per diem; the

corresponding cost for short-term females was \$43.64.

## Environment and Design Issues

The survey results indicate that more agencies were dissatisfied than were satisfied with their existing facilities. Half of the respondents to the male survey and nearly two thirds of those for the female survey stated that their facilities were not optimal in number and type for managing their long-term populations.

Respondents expressed a wide variety of opinions regarding housing for long-termers. They were almost evenly split on whether the housing environment for long-term inmates should differ from that provided short-termers. Nearly two thirds of the respondents thought long-termers should be mixed in with the general population--to provide a stabilizing influence--rather than housed in a single institution or special unit within an institution. Approximately 80% also indicated a preference for single cell housing for long-termers.

Nearly 90% of the agencies reported that they had one or more facilities where long-term males were likely to be housed, and 77.4% stated they had specific areas or units for housing these inmates. For females, the findings were 50.0% and 86.2%, respectively.

Management issues associated with long-termers, such as security, housing and programming, were considered in planning new or renovated facilities by almost 75% of the respondents to the male survey and 50% of those responding to the female survey.

## Classification Issues

A large majority of agencies stated that they had policies that influenced or controlled classification decisions relating to long-term inmates. These

policies generally impacted upon such areas as housing assignment, programming, and work assignments.

Approximately 75% of the responding agencies indicated that they employed an objective (or model) classification system. Slightly more than 90% also reported that sentence length was one of the factors considered in assigning males to specific institutions; only 46.4% used this factor for females, probably because most states have only a single female facility. Long-term confinement was equated with the need for maximum security by 66.7% of those responding to the male survey, but only 32.1% of those completing the female survey. Moreover, an overwhelming majority of respondents to both surveys indicated that long-termers would not be assigned to a minimum security facility until after reclassification had occurred.

No substantial differences were reported in regard to initial classification for long-term inmates and other prisoners. Neither was reclassification dissimilar for long-term females and other female inmates. For males, however, over two thirds of the respondents said that reclassification schedules differed for long-termers and short-termers, usually because the timetables were dependent on time left to serve.

Slightly more than half of the respondents to both surveys reported that their agencies did not develop individualized incarceration plans for long-term inmates.

## Security and Custody Issues

In general, the survey results suggested that long-term inmates did not present extreme custody or security demands. Long-termers were usually reported to be proportionately represented or under-represented in administrative lockdown, disciplinary status, and protective custody. Additionally, 45.2% of the respondents to the male survey said that

long-termers tended to commit violations that were less serious than those committed by other inmates, with another 16.1% indicating no difference in the infractions associated with each group. Almost 80% of the responding agencies also stated that the violations committed by female long-termers were either similar to or less serious than those perpetrated by other female prisoners.

A large majority of respondents thought it was easier to manage long-term inmates when they were dispersed throughout a facility rather than concentrated in special housing areas or units.

Most of the respondents to the male survey and nearly all of the respondents to the female survey reported that they did not make any special arrangements to address the protective custody needs of long-termers. Those agencies that had such arrangements-- 38.7% for the males, 17.2% for the females--generally relied on interstate transfers, special housing and/or programming schedules, or voluntary segregation.

## Academic and Vocational Training Issues

A plurality of respondents to both the male and female surveys indicated that long-termers tended to be proportionately represented in academic, vocational, and on-the-job training programs. However, substantial percentages (ranging between 17.8 and 39.3%) also thought that these inmates were underrepresented in such programs, primarily due either to eligibility requirements based on release date or to lack of motivation. Some 10% of the respondents, on the average, reported that these academic and vocational programs were not available; this finding was especially true for vocational programming geared toward females.

A large majority of respondents stated that no unique incentives were offered to either long-term or short-term inmates to stimulate program participation. Special incentives, when available, were more

likely to be directed at short-termers. Nearly one fourth of the respondents said that they offered more good time credits and/or special programming to short-term prisoners. The responding agencies did suggest some incentives to combat the tendency toward apathy in the long-term population; these included increased privileges, choice of job assignment, higher wages, consideration for custody decrease, and special recognition via awards or notations in inmates' files.

Most agencies indicated that they were satisfied with their existing vocational programming sequence. Typically, the sequence followed this order: institutional job, institution-relevant on-the-job training, institution-relevant vocational training, community-relevant vocational training, and community-relevant on-the-job training.

## Prison Industries and Institutional Maintenance Issues

Survey results relating to institutional work assignments varied considerably, depending on the type of assignment and the sex of the inmates. Approximately half of the respondents to the long-term male survey and 46.2% of the respondents to the long-term female survey stated that long-term inmates were proportionately represented in prison industries. The remainder of the respondents were almost equally divided between overrepresentation and underrepresentation of long-termers in these assignments. It should also be noted that 15.4% of the respondents to the long-term female survey said they had no prison industries.

In regard to institutional maintenance, the largest percentage of respondents to the long-term female survey (42.3) again indicated that long-term inmates were proportionately represented. Those responding for males, however, were evenly split in viewing long-termers as overrepresented and proportionately represented.

Approximately one third of the respondents stated that the average male

long-term inmate spent between 20 and 50% of his confinement working in prison industries, and nearly half indicated that a male long-term averages between 20 and 50% of his confinement doing institutional maintenance. In comparison, approximately one half of the agencies responded that the typical short-term worked this same proportion of time in both prison industries and institutional maintenance assignments.

Twenty-three percent of the respondents to the female survey reported that long-termers spent an average of 20-50% of their confinement working in prison industries, a finding that also held true for short-termers. Similarly, equal proportions of respondents stated that long-termers and short-termers typically worked in institutional maintenance for 20 to 50% of their confinement.

Most respondents regarded long-term inmates as good workers. They noted that long-termers constituted a stable work force, tended to be more highly trained, and were generally more productive. In addition, 62.5% of the respondents to the male survey and 57.7% of the respondents to the female survey thought that long-term inmates were more motivated than other prisoners.

Approximately 70% of the respondents said that male long-termers were regularly employed in supervisory positions; a similar response for females was received from 57.7% of the agencies.

Nearly 70% of the respondents also reported that long-term males had access to career ladders, but only 30.8% said long-term females had this opportunity.

Relatively few agencies stated that they provided long-term inmates with continuity in programming between academic, vocational, and on-the-job training and various institutional work assignments-- 37.5% of the respondents to the male survey and 38.5% of the respondents to the female survey.

## Health Care Issues

Approximately 75% of the survey respondents indicated that the medical and dental problems experienced by long-term inmates of either sex did not differ appreciably from those encountered by other inmates. Similarly, about half of the respondents reported that long-termers used services such as sick call, external hospitalization, and medication in the same proportions as did short-termers. The next largest percentage of respondents to both the male and female surveys generally thought long-termers were underrepresented in the use of these medical services.

Slightly over half of the respondents said that less than five percent of their long-term male populations were age 55 or older, while 80% of the respondents to the female survey indicated that less than five percent of the populations fell into this age range. Nearly two thirds of the respondents to the male survey and over three fourths of the respondents to the female survey stated that they did not have any special facilities, units, or programs for geriatric long-term inmates. However, over two thirds responded that their agencies conducted annual physical examinations on inmates age 55 or older or on all inmates under their jurisdictions.

## Mental Health Issues

In comparison to the short-term prisoner population, long-term inmates typically were not perceived as experiencing a greater incidence of mental health problems. Some exceptions to this finding, however, were reported. Male long-termers, for instance, were often characterized as having higher rates of psychosis, personality disorders, and neurosis. They were also frequently reported as having a lower incidence of suicide. Female long-termers were perceived by a substantial number of respondents as experiencing lower

incidences of psychosis, suicide, and substance abuse, as well as higher rates of personality disorders and neurosis.

Slightly more than one half of the respondents to the male survey thought that the incidence of mental health problems among long-term inmates remained the same throughout their confinement. In contrast, the largest percentage of respondents to the female survey (42.3) indicated that the incidence of these problems decreased over time as long-termers tended to adjust to imprisonment.

While most data did not suggest a linear pattern of increases or decreases in mental health problems, a majority of the respondents said there were times when long-termers' mental health suffered--principally during the initial stages of incarceration, following unsuccessful appearances before the parole board, and after five years of confinement, when family ties for many had dissolved or were beginning to disintegrate.

## Family and Community Ties Issues

Slightly over half of the respondents to the male and female surveys thought that long-term inmates tended to receive fewer visits from family and friends as their terms of confinement lengthened. One of the more likely reasons for this decrease in visits, according to respondents, was lack of transportation to facilities that were frequently located some distance from the inmates' hometowns. Approximately one half of the respondents to both surveys reported that their agencies did not subsidize or provide transportation services to visitors. When transportation was available, it was usually furnished by volunteer or church-related organizations.

Most agencies offered programs designed to promote visiting; for example, supervised and unsupervised furloughs, extended family visiting, or conjugal visiting. Survey respondents indicated that supervised furloughs were equally available to long-termers and short-termers. For unsupervised furloughs,

however, only about 26% of the respondents said long-term male inmates were eligible while nearly 46% reported these programs open to short-term inmates. Corresponding percentages for respondents to the female survey were 26.5% and 36.0%. Very few states indicated that they offered extended family or conjugal visiting programs; three agencies operated such programs for male prisoners; only one had developed such programs for females.

## Leisure-Time Activities Issues

Survey respondents generally did not perceive a difference between long-term inmates and other inmates in regard to leisure-time activities. Approximately two thirds of the respondents to the male and female surveys indicated that long-termers did not have unique leisure needs or spend their leisure time differently from short-termers. Most respondents, for instance, stated that long-term and short-term inmates spent about the same amount of time in their cells.

In regard to specific leisure-time activities--such as athletics, inmate clubs, arts and crafts, and entertainment--most respondents reported that long-termers were neither underrepresented nor overrepresented. However, a substantial number of respondents to the male survey said that long-termers were overrepresented in inmate clubs (43.8%) and arts and crafts (37.5%) and that they were underrepresented in athletics (21.9%). Female long-termers were also thought to be underrepresented in athletics (38.7% of the respondents) as well as in entertainment (25.8%). They were perceived by about one fourth of the respondents as overrepresented in inmate clubs and arts and crafts.

About a third of the responding agencies reported that they had developed special leisure-time activities for long-term inmates or programs adaptable for use by long-termers.

## Release Preparation Issues

Most respondents seemed to recognize the unique effects of long-term confinement in regard to reintegration into society. Nearly 90% of those responding to the male survey and just over 60% of those returning the female survey thought that long-term inmates had special pre-release needs. Furthermore, 64.7% of the respondents to the male survey and 75.0% of the respondents to the female survey stated that they had established programs to prepare long-termers for release. Among the efforts to help long-term inmates succeed in the community were prison industries and maintenance programs, which, according to nearly two thirds of the respondents, helped prepare long-termers for release by developing job skills and good work habits.

Post-release programming was not as widespread or effective as pre-release programming. Only 32.4% of the respondents indicated that post-release programs were available to males, just 30% of these respondents thought their programming was adequate. Twenty-five percent reported the use of such programs with females, but less than half characterized their post-release programs as adequate. Most agencies without post-release programming indicated they did not plan to develop such programs. Nearly half of the respondents to the male survey and three fourths of the respondents to the female survey indicated that their parole staff received no training in the supervision or management of long-term inmates.

# Long-Term Inmates - A New Management Perspective

## Introduction

The research for this study identified two themes that are consistent throughout the literature and in the experiences of the correctional practitioners who provided the data supporting the study findings and recommendations. The first theme reflects the perception that confinement in prison for seven, ten, or more years is an experience profoundly different from that of inmates serving shorter sentences. This perception is shared by short- and long-term inmates and by correctional staff. The essence of this position is that long-term inmates are not tourists in prison; that is, they are not "just passing through." The traditional management method of virtually ignoring their program needs until they are within a certain timeframe of release or assigning them to programs developed to meet the needs and resources of inmates with short "I can do it standing on my head" time simply will not continue to work, if indeed it ever has. What is needed is a long-term perspective on what must be realistically viewed as a long-term problem. Long-range planning--corrections' proverbial "Achilles Heel"--is the foundation upon which long-term inmate management must stand. For example, it is time to start thinking about inmate careers for long-termers as a mutually beneficial management strategy.

A second general issue serves to confuse and complicate the development of programs specifically for long-term inmates and the setting of appropriate correctional management policy. This second theme is the diversity that characterizes the long-term inmate group. Their crimes cover the spectrum from the most heinous mass murders to repeated convictions for forgery; their criminal histories run the gamut from a lifetime of criminal activity to the first-time offense. Moreover, demographic characteristics of long-term

inmates do not differ appreciably from those of other inmates. In short, the characteristic that most definitively sets long-term inmates apart from their short-term counterparts is the length of time they will be incarcerated. The deprivations experienced by long-term inmates are those experienced by short-term inmates; it is the amount of time that these deprivations must be endured that separates the two experiences and places that of the long-termer into a class by itself.

To a field that is accustomed to taking a broad-brush or "one-size-fits-all" approach to managing inmate subpopulations, the diversity in characteristics and needs among this special management group may be disconcerting. The creation of a single response or the development of one or two programs for long-term inmates simply will not work. Long-term inmates are but a microcosm of the larger inmate population. What will be needed is the creation of a number of programs devised specifically for small groups of long-term inmates who share characteristics other than long-term confinement.

Specific proposals for changes in laws, policies, and practices are described below. For the most part, these proposals are not unique strategies for addressing the management of long-term inmates. In some form or another, nearly all are programs and/or services currently available to inmates at the adult correctional institutional level. What is unique about these strategies is that collectively they support the need for correctional administrators to view long-term inmates as an emerging special management group.

The following recommendations, developed by Correctional Services Group staff, are organized by the 12 management areas studied and are numbered consecutively for reference purposes. A rationale citing pertinent survey findings, prior research, and any further background information available, has been developed in support of each recommendation provided. The recommendations are based upon research findings, the survey results, the professional experience of project staff,



and the perceptions of long-term inmates themselves.

## Correctional Administration

Correctional administration is a complex issue encompassing all aspects of corrections. For purposes of this study, major management issues concerning inmate programs, services, and housing were analyzed as separate topics while others such as planning, training, and inmate programming were examined under the broader heading of correctional administration. As a result, many of the following recommendations address similar aspects of correctional administration. These recommendations have been grouped together under appropriate subheadings. As in other sections of this chapter, however, each recommendation or series of similar recommendations is followed by a rationale.

### PLANNING

- # 1 Correctional administrators should ensure that their agencies maintain management information data bases on long-term inmates sufficient to support short- and long-range facility, operations, and planning--including the development of population projections.

Sound correctional management is based upon planning. Realistic planning is impossible without adequate management information systems. Correctional agencies need the capacity to plan for the short and long range. Planning is particularly important when it appears that an appreciable change in the composition of the prisoner population is at hand that may indicate the need for associated changes in facility design, staff training and supervision, inmate program delivery, etc.

Over three fourths of the states reported considering long-term male inmates in agency planning. In contrast, only 55.2% indicated they considered long-

term females in agency planning. The probable explanation for this disparity lies partly in the small numbers of long-term females confined by most jurisdictions and partly in the tendency toward benign neglect that has characterized the administration of female corrections in many states. Recent legislative and litigation trends portend increasing pressure on correctional agencies to provide parity in programs and services for female inmates despite their small numbers.

Three fourths of the agencies also reported considering the needs and characteristics of long-term male inmates in planning new or renovated facilities. However, only half took female long-termers into account in this type of planning. The need for such planning is supported by the findings that over half of the agencies did not believe their facilities were optimal for managing either long-term males or females.

Numerous studies cited in this report support the position that long-term inmates have needs that differ from or are more severe than those of other inmates. The management of long-termers would undoubtedly be enhanced if the available facilities, programs, and services were designed to meet the greatest of these needs; for example, privacy, stability, maintenance of family ties.

The survey findings indicated that only 65.7% of the agencies responding had developed population projections for long-term inmates. In addition, several of the responding agencies could only estimate the size of their long-term populations. In a few cases this was attributed to the definition specified--seven years continuous confinement; some states could only report time-served data in prespecified increments, such as five to 10 years.

Finally, it appears from the survey results that many states do not store certain demographic data in an easily retrievable form. Large no-response rates were recorded for the following characteristics:

- Change in marital status from time of admission;
- Educational achievement levels;
- Vocational attainment levels;
- Special management needs, i. e., the number of long-termers in protective custody or administrative segregation, the number chronically ill or geriatric, etc.; and
- Disciplinary records.

## LEGISLATION

**#2** Existing and proposed legislation pertaining to sentence enhancements should be examined to identify and project the impacts on future correctional facilities and operations. A formal mechanism should be available for presenting this type of information to the legislature and to the public for their consideration.

**#3** Proposed changes in agency policies or regulations regarding long-term inmates or long-term confinement need to be assessed for potential impacts on the agency's facility and operational requirements.

As a class of prisoners, long-term inmates are one of the most costly to confine, primarily due to their initial security and custody needs and to the length of time they will occupy bed space. While public sentiment clearly supports lengthy sentences for certain kinds of offenders, most members of the public and possibly the state legislatures probably do not have an adequate understanding of how sentence enhancements translate, rather quickly, into multi-million dollar expenditures for constructing correctional facilities, hiring necessary security and program staff, and funding institutional programs and services.

In an era where overcrowding is a common but deplorable condition of confinement, it would seem both prudent and humane to project the fiscal and operational impacts of proposed legislation and even of legislation already in force. It may be possible to moderate the impacts of certain laws if their effects are

realistically forecast and communicated to those who can introduce legislation. One formal mechanism correctional agencies commonly use to communicate with legislators is through liaison to joint legislative committees on corrections. A single staff member who answers to the agency director is sufficient for this purpose.

This is no small recommendation; at the present time fully 80% of the survey respondents indicated their agencies were subject to laws affecting the number of long-term inmates, and about 47% expected one or more such laws to be enacted in the near future.

Much like legislation, agency policies and procedures can have short- and long-range impacts on agency facilities and operations. They also may have the force of law on the lives of long-term inmates. As a result, it is always sound correctional practice to look closely at the potential ramifications of proposed policy changes before they are adopted. It is also useful to periodically review agency policies and procedures to ensure that they remain relevant and valid as correctional missions, practices and philosophies change.

At the time of the survey, 70% of the respondents indicated they had policies or regulations specifically regarding long-term male inmates; 81.2% said they anticipated the adoption of such policies and regulations. On the other hand, only 25% of the agencies reported current policies or regulations governing female long-termers, but 78.6% of the respondents expected such policies and regulations to be enacted within the near future.

**#4** Periodic assessment of the law governing temporary release and access to the community is necessary to determine if they are grounded in solid reasoning or research or if they are merely another way to impose secondary sanctions on long-term inmates.

Modern correctional theory maintains that inmates are sent to prison as punishment not for punishment. The

severity of the punishment extracted by society is embodied by the length of the sentence imposed, not by the conditions of confinement. By its restrictive nature, confinement creates what has been termed "secondary sanctions" of imprisonment-- loss of autonomy, loss of privacy, loss of familial relationships, etc. The quest to make correctional environments more humane begs for correctional administrators to take the necessary steps to minimize the adverse effects of these secondary sanctions.

As is repeated throughout this report, the secondary sanction that most adversely affects long-term inmates is the disintegration of family and community ties. Providing long-termers with the opportunity to maintain family and community ties is probably the most beneficial action jurisdictions can take to improve the quality of long-termers' lives while they are confined and their chances for successfully readjusting to life on the outside. Temporary release, including furloughs, is the preferred method for inmates to maintain, enhance, or reestablish family and community ties. Most long-term inmates are prohibited by law from participating in temporary release programs for much of their confinement. Many times these laws are applied in a blanket fashion to all types of long-term inmates by virtue of the length of their sentences. While the rationale for excluding many inmates from temporary release programs is valid, attention should be given to identifying those factors in lieu of length of sentence that would result in a high probability of failure upon release.

**#5** Long-term inmates should be automatically scheduled for hearing review by those agencies utilizing a release authority when they first become eligible for release (for life term inmates) or within one year of being received in a correctional facility (ACA Standard 1063).

At the long-term inmate's first hearing, the releasing authority should set a tentative release date. If circumstances prevent the setting of a release data at the first

hearing, a subsequent hearing should be held within one year for the purpose of setting a tentative release date. In any event, the releasing authority should give reasons in writing for any deferral of decision (ACA Standard 1063).

Tentative release dates and automatic release hearings scheduled on a regular basis are important management tools for correctional agencies. Release from incarceration is the nearly universal goal of all prisoners. For many prisoners with indefinite sentences and those who may secure early release through good-time provisions, the prospect of release is a primary motivator to maintain an infraction-free institutional record.

In addition, the reality of having a tentative release date set by the releasing authority would serve to reduce much of the uncertainty surrounding indefinite long-term commitment and would facilitate the efforts of treatment staff in helping long-term inmates adjust more satisfactorily to their sentences and the implications of lengthy confinement.

These recommendations are supported by the American Correctional Association's Manual of Standards for Adult Parole Authorities.

**#6** State legislatures or other governing bodies should be apprised of the need to enact laws setting automatic release review dates for life sentence inmates. The minimum number of years life sentence inmates should serve before automatic release dates are established should be determined by reviewing agencies' historical practices and finding the average term served prior to release.

**#7** In states utilizing a release authority, life sentence inmates should be required to earn automatic release review dates rather than being given automatic release review dates once a specified number of years has been served on their sentences.

The possibility of release, no matter how remote, provides life sentence

prisoners with an incentive for maintaining a good conduct record and for participating in institutional programming because it provides them with a tangible goal to work toward. Williamson and Thomas, for instance, have suggested that long-term incarceration with little or no hope of release is associated with increased violations. In a study of life-term inmates in Louisiana, they found that lifers with no chance of release exhibited higher rates of rule infractions when compared with lifers eligible for release and that these rates closely approximated the higher frequency pattern of short-term prisoners. <1>

Much the way inmates earn good time credits in many states with good time provisions, by maintaining an infraction-free record, performing certain meritorious acts, fulfilling mutual agreement contracts, and so forth, life sentence inmates should be required to earn the privilege of regularly scheduled automatic release hearings by similar behaviors. While most of the states (51.6%) did not report having a customary or legally defined time at which life-term inmates typically secure release, many did. In these systems, the average length of the sentence served was 19.5 years. Serving the customary or legally-defined length of time on a life sentence should only be one criteria used to instigate automatic release review dates. Depending on the criteria chosen, some lifers will earn automatic release review dates prior to the customary or legally defined time served while others will serve much longer periods.

**#8** Those states that do not employ a good-time system should consider enacting an accelerated good time law that would be predicated on each inmate's institutional adjustment.

**#9** Those states that employ good time without provisions for accelerating its award should consider revising

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<1> "Prison Conduct Among Life-Without-Parole Inmates," a paper prepared for the Criminal Justice Program, Northeast Louisiana University (1983).

legislation to permit such procedures.

All but four states had some sort of good time provisions at the time the survey was conducted. However, in just over half of these states, good time was accumulated at a steady rate regardless of the length of time served.

Long-term inmates would especially profit from accelerated good time laws because the maximum number of days per month that inmates may earn off their sentences depends upon the number of years the inmates have served on those sentences.

Several states have enacted accelerated good time laws. This approach involves the provision of additional time credited to prisoners as their sentences are completed, institutional behavior permitting. For example, prisoners may earn one day per week off their sentences during the first two years of confinement, two days per week during the next two years, and continue receiving increased number of days off until day-for-day good time credit is achieved.

It is vitally important that good time, whether accelerated or not, be earned by inmates. That is, good time should not be awarded to inmates upon admission to the system, then taken from them by adjustment committees for rule infractions. This constitutes negative reinforcement. Good time should be awarded when earned on a predetermined schedule--once a year, semi-annually, every other year, etc.--good time should be vested except under the most extenuating circumstances.

The advantages of this approach are twofold. First, long-term inmates benefit as they are able to experience a substantial reduction in their confinement, knowing that additional good time will be awarded on an increasingly more frequent basis as their sentences are completed without major incident. Second, the agency benefits in two ways. Good time acts as a management tool since it provides a practical and viable incentive for promoting positive behavior and participation in programs. It also serves to re-

duce the number of prisoners confined in the system by dramatically decreasing the number of bed days. This would help alleviate the prison overcrowding experienced by numerous agencies in the past few years.

**#10** Correctional agencies should develop strategies to engender support for or to temper opposition (legislative and public) to programs for long-term inmates. Such strategies might include:

- Population studies;
- Speakers bureaus;
- Media involvement in chronicling needs and existing programs;
- Reviewing successful programs in other states.

The leadership for such endeavors must come from the agency director and his/her executive staff, supported by the administrators of long-term inmate institutions. It is no longer enough simply to be a competent manager of facilities and people. Neither legislatures nor the public is much concerned with the fact that the proportion of long-term inmates is rapidly increasing in several jurisdictions, e.g., Oregon, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire. Corrections administrators must take the lead in convincing them that the issue is important and deserving of resources.

In order for such a campaign to be successful, corrections leaders must have accurate information so that the extent and nature of the problem may be clearly articulated. A minimum of five categories of information are required.

- The first is information on the numbers and types of long-term inmates in the system. In some jurisdictions, this will draw attention to the fact that a substantial number of long-term inmates are confined who committed relatively minor crimes but received harsh sentences, or that a number of long-term inmates, confined for serious crimes, nevertheless represent minimal threats to the public.

- The second type of information needed is projections of the numbers of long-term inmates who will be in the correctional system if current laws continue. This has major implications for future correctional facility needs, correctional budgeting, and long-range operations planning.

- Third is a comparison of long-term inmates now in the system with those of prior periods. It may be that the types of programs should be modified or the existing security responses may be inadequate for the needs of these new admissions.

- The fourth informational need is for the development of policy simulations on proposed legislation to apprise legislators in advance of the effects of enacting new sentencing laws that may substantially increase both the numbers of long-term inmates and their sentence lengths.

- The fifth and final category of information correctional administrators require is an estimate of the costs of long-term confinement. Few other issues are more controversial than the absolute costs of confining criminals. The public wants criminals locked up but does not want to bear the financial burden that is necessary to meet such a mandate.

Much thought needs to be given to preparing a case to present to the legislature and the public regarding the importance of long-term programming. Eight of the most important reasons include:

- Long-term confinement may result in idleness, which can result in danger to both staff and prisoners;
- There is less turnover in activity and work slots for the long-term inmate, resulting in increased idleness;
- The sentence difference between short-termers and long-termers is becoming more extreme;

- Most long-term inmates will eventually return to society and, without appropriate preparation, may endanger public safety;
- If nothing is done to improve conditions for long-term inmates, the courts may intervene because long-term inmates appear to have greater motivation to initiate litigation;
- Long-termers are much more likely to be impacted by overcrowding because, while short-termers are affected by overcrowding for one, two, or three years, long-termers must cope with crowded conditions for the majority of their adult lives;
- Long-term inmates can be a valuable resource if their programming supports institutional operations;
- If not appropriately programmed, long-term inmates are likely to become involved in repeated disciplinary infractions, making them special management inmates, who are much more costly to supervise and program

To gain public and legislative support, it will be necessary to carefully plan the program(s) and/or service(s) being proposed.

## TRAINING

- #11 It would be beneficial to the agency and the inmates alike if correctional agencies would develop training programs for institutional administrators and their managers relative to long-term inmate issues and management strategies.

Similarly, security and program staff who must interact with and relate to long-term inmates on a daily basis need specialized training.

These training programs should focus on the unique problems and needs of long-term inmates and on appropriate methods for addressing these issues both on an inter-

personal basis and through established agency programs and services.

Such training will have at least three important effects. First, it helps staff to acquire new skills that will enhance their abilities to relate to long-term inmates. Many correctional staff believe that the interpersonal and management skills required with long-term inmates and in long-term institutions are unique. Well-designed training programs will help to develop such skills.

Second, training encourages a sense of teamwork among administrative, program and security staff. This tends to increase job satisfaction and helps to identify staff who are under stress so that they can receive support more quickly.

Third, trained staff are more capable of recognizing and recommending appropriate responses to symptoms of stress related to long-term confinement. Thus, long-term inmates are afforded yet another resource for easing their adjustment to confinement.

## PROGRAMING

- #12 Correctional administrators are urged to establish sentence planning for long-term inmates as standard practice within their agencies. All long-term inmates should be afforded the opportunity to pursue prison careers.

As the numbers of long-term inmates increase, so will the proportion of long-termers who will spend their most productive adult years behind bars. Programming long-term inmates as one would short-term inmates is not advantageous to these inmates, the agency, or public safety. Much of the programming developed by correctional agencies is focused on the needs of short-term inmates--this programming typically lasts from 12 to 24 months and is intended to prepare the participants for imminent release. Likewise, postponing their programming until late in their sentences, a common

correctional practice, further wastes their potential to benefit themselves, the agency, and the public.

The survey results support the contention that the practice of postponing programming for long-term inmates is fairly widespread. One survey respondent replied,

"For a number of years we tended to focus our educational, work, and mental health treatment on offenders in the last two years of their sentences. People with long sentences generally were not programmed intensively until this final two-year period."

Most correctional agencies also reported the absence of long-term programming planning for long-term inmates. Again, since most available programming does not fit the needs of long-term inmates, staff see little reason to develop program plans. In a study conducted for the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections, long-termers identified the lack of long-range planning as the fifth most frequent problem distinguishing them from other inmates. Of considerable interest was the finding that Pennsylvania correctional staff did not perceive a lack of long-term planning as a particular problem for long-termers. <1>

Project staff believe that all but the most recalcitrant long-term inmates should be offered the opportunity to plan and pursue a career path for the duration of their confinement or until they reach retirement age. Sentence planning is most advantageous when it is started during the initial reception and classification stages and monitored and modified at subsequent reclassification hearings. However, for those inmates who are clearly unmotivated to develop sentence plans, the issue need not be forced. The opportunity to develop sentence plans would be present

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<1> C. Unger and R. Buchanan, Long-term Offenders in the Pennsylvania Correctional System (Kansas City, MO: Correctional Services Group, Inc., 1983).

should inmates decide to take advantage of it. Care needs to be taken, however, that inmates understand the benefits they will derive from participation.

At the time of the survey, slightly over half of the respondents stated that individualized incarceration plans were not developed for long-term inmates; of these, 47.4% did not view this type of planning as valuable to long-term males, 31.2% did not believe it was valuable to long-term females. Of those agencies that had individualized planning for female long-termers, half were dissatisfied with current efforts.

**#13** Correctional administrators should consider the establishment of an organizational unit, charged with the development, implementation, and administration of a comprehensive, unified long-term inmate program. Such a program would cover an inmate's entire confinement from the time of admission to release.

In multi-facility correctional systems, it is clear that program opportunities and housing alternatives for long-term inmates will span more than one facility. Therefore, should the responsibility for sentence planning for long-term prisoners be located within the central office of the agency, or should this task be dispersed to the program officials in specific institutions? A task force within the British penal system recently considered this issue. The Control Review Committee described sentence planning in these terms:

We propose that an individual career plan should be drawn up for each prisoner at the start of his sentence. The plan would be discussed with the prisoner and would take account of his personal circumstances and needs; it would suggest the likely shape of his sentence including when he might be expected to be re-classified, the sort of establishments he should be transferred to at different stages of his

sentence and for how long, and the kinds of vocational training, education or other programmes from which he might benefit. In time it might be possible to draw up more detailed career plans than this. But the important point is that a plan of any sort, however basic, would be preferable to the present arbitrary and unintelligible prison experience....

Given that the decision about appropriate facility placement may determine subsequent program security, and work assignment decisions, the British task force held the view that rational sentence planning for long-term inmates of the sort envisioned in their proposals could only be achieved if administrative responsibility for this planning was centralized. The task force noted, "We do not think that sentence planning could sensibly go ahead on any other basis." This approach calls for the establishment of "sentence planning units" within reception facilities. The role of these units is much broader than the current view of reception units in the United States. Operating in conjunction with central office staff, the reception units serve as the coordinative link between the long-term inmate and the resources of the entire correctional system <1>

The concept of a coordinative link between the long-term prisoner and the entire correctional system was also endorsed in a recent report of the Long-Term Offender Task Force of the Arizona Department of Corrections. The Arizona task force suggested the development of a staff position entitled Long-term Offender Program Manager to serve as a "focal point" for all sentence planning and programming for long-term prisoners. This proposal envisions the formulation of "contracts" between the long-term inmate and the agency. These contracts would specify both short- and long-range goals for the inmate, and would contractually

bind the agency to "rewards" (including reduced custody status, participation in pre-release programs, and others) for the achievement of these goals.

This centralization of decisionmaking authority will be resisted by many correctional administrators on a number of grounds. These objections will range from perceptions of unwarranted central office intrusion into the daily management of specific facilities to the position that staff who are "closest" to the prisoner at any given point in the sentence are best equipped to make judgements about the inmates' progress and needs. While these objections may have merit, the fact remains that in correctional systems in which inmates move from facility to facility during the course of the term sentence planning of the type required for long-term inmates requires that some coordination of the inmate's progress throughout the entire term be maintained. Moreover, these sentence planning units represent a real resource not only for the inmate but also for the institutional officials in the prisons where long-termers will be housed.

In most jurisdictions sentence planning would be difficult to accomplish, given the available programs. As discussed earlier, most current program offerings are designed for short-term inmates and thus focus on the skills needed upon release. In comparing the management of long-termers with other inmates, survey respondents cited differences and suggested the need for more intensive and creative programs, programs that can operate within a secure perimeter, and programs based upon long-range goals, particularly in the areas of academic and vocational education.

One program that uniquely addresses the management problems created by long-term inmates and their needs is operated by the Utah Department of Correction. This program is described in some depth in Chapter III of this report.

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<1> Managing the Long-term Prison System, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1984).



**#14** Correctional agencies should devise a mechanism that would identify, early in their sentences, long-term inmates who appear to be prone to litigative efforts and that would enable staff to resolve these inmates' grievances short of court intervention.

Once litigation-prone inmates have been identified, staff should attempt, on an individual basis, to ascertain those grievances that appear to have some legitimacy and resolve these complaints through administrative mechanisms rather than through outside litigation.

It is important for correctional administrators to attempt to diffuse the disruption and nuisance potential of litigious inmates as early in their sentences as possible. It may be an obvious observation, but long-term inmates have a long time to learn to litigate and a long time in which to litigate. For example, in a recent study of long-term confinement, long-termers identified the provision of good time and expanded legal services as the most beneficial programs/services for long-termers<sup><1></sup>. Not surprisingly, both of these suggestions focus on release. Long-termers, in particular, seem to appeal their convictions and/or sentences more frequently than do other inmates. Most do not give up until they have exhausted every available legal avenue. These types of legal challenges are usually pursued during the early years of incarceration.

**#15** Increased consideration should be given to developing incentives for long-term inmates at all custody levels to encourage acceptable behavior, participation in institutional programs, and pursuit of a prison career.

<sup><1></sup> C. Unger and R. Buchanan, Long-term Offenders in the Pennsylvania Correctional System. (Kansas City, MO: Correctional Services Group, Inc., 1983).

The most effective means of managing inmates, in general, is to build incentives into the prison system. In most correctional systems, identifiable privileges are usually concentrated at the ends of the security continuum, the maximum and minimum or community levels. At the maximum level, one finds prison industries that pay the highest wages within the prison system as well as a number of diverse institutional programs. At the community or minimum level, there is the opportunity to participate in temporary release programs and to visit with loved ones more frequently and in more relaxed settings. In many jurisdictions, however, long-term inmates lack such incentives because they are prohibited from participating in certain academic and vocational programs until just prior to release, from being reduced to minimum custody, and from participating in many forms of temporary release. Programs promoting family and community ties also possess a tremendous incentive capacity. Another area in which the introduction of incentives is possible is the prison career. The range of incentives should be patterned on "free world" incentives; for example, recognition, promotion, administrative/managerial opportunities, pay raises, vacation, and profit sharing.

## Long-Term Female Inmates

In 1975 the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Task Force on Women stated, "Women in prison are the forgotten offenders." Comprising approximately 4% of the total prison population, female prisoners receive little attention from criminal justice planners and policy makers. The literature on women offenders supports the contention that women fail to receive adequate consideration from the criminal justice system.

Long-term female inmates are but a small percentage of the total female prison population, and in comparison to the entire prisoner population, their numbers are minuscule. Yet to study the effects of long-term confinement on women is no less important a task than to examine its

impacts on men. The temptation is again to slight women by studying the male majority and then generalizing the findings and recommendations so that they also apply to female long-termers.

This study afforded equal attention to male and female long-term inmates and the management issues they present. Most of the recommendations found in this volume are equally applicable to male and female long-term inmates. Recommendations specifically relevant to women are explicitly identified. However, a few general issues bear recommendations and discussion that need to be presented apart from those applicable to both male and female long-termers. This section of Chapter II was developed specifically for that purpose.

**#16** some consideration should be given to means of alleviating the boredom and monotony that some long-term females may experience from being housed in the same environment for all or most of their sentences. Potential strategies for alleviating the tediousness for long-term female inmates could include early release, interstate transfer, interagency transfer, co-correctional facilities, and zoned (by security and custody features) all-female facilities composed of mini-institutions that share central services such as food, laundry, and medical services, but provide distinctive housing and program settings depending on inmates' needs.

The majority of states have only one prison for women. This means that for the entire time they are incarcerated, females will "do their time" in a single institution. There is no opportunity to get away from other inmates or staff who may be problematic. Nor is there much opportunity to move from one setting to another as custody levels are reduced. Women may have to wait many years before encountering a new environment such as work release or parole. Men, on the other hand, can expect to be transferred among institutions of varying security levels over the entire course of their confinement.

**#17** Correctional agencies should consider implementing programs which would promote the mother-child relationship. For example, the Mother-Offspring Life Development (HOLD) program in Nebraska allows children to stay up to five days and nights a month with their mothers, with no restrictions in terms of the mothers' crime or time.

Young women are denied the experience of motherhood if sentenced to long terms in prison. Crimes committed by women do not necessarily reflect their ability to be good mothers. Moreover, parenting is a significantly different experience for women than for men--emotionally, socially and physiologically.

Children are placed in foster care with no condition placed on the foster parents to regularly take the children to visit their mothers. Children placed with relatives are additional financial burdens. And, of course, young children grow up separated physically and emotionally from their mothers, not understanding the reason for their absence. Mothers in prison have little, if any, say regarding their children's upbringing. Programs promoting mother-child relationships would do much to offset the negative consequences of long-term confinement for long-term inmate mothers and their children. This is an important issue for many long-term mothers because they will resume their parenting responsibilities upon release.

**#18** Correctional administrators should consider creating a top level administrative position with responsibility for the development and implementation of female offender programs. An important component should be the development, implementation, and evaluation programs for long-term females.

In states where such a position would be considered impractical due to such factors as the size of the female population or the configuration of the organizational hierarchy, correctional administrators should consider developing a citizen

advisory commission to serve in an advocacy capacity.

In most state correctional systems, female prisoners receive little system or public support. Long-term female offenders experience even less. Long-termers comprise a small percentage of the female inmate population, and they tend to be judged more harshly than men for the crimes they commit. As a result, they may be perceived as less deserving of scarce correctional resources.

To counter these forces it will be necessary to address the lack of advocacy for female inmates in general through strategies such as those suggested above. Where practicable, the establishment of a recognized advocate program for female inmates that functions as a unit of the organizational bureaucracy is a recommended strategy.

## Financial Considerations <|>

**#19** Correctional administrators should examine the short- and long-range economic impacts of long-term confinement.

The survey results support the contention that correctional decision-makers are not fully aware of the operational and budgetary implications of the trend to incarcerate for longer periods of time. In their defense, it should be pointed out that a host of issues, both at the system and institutional levels, are just emerging. Since a new balance in the composition of the offender population has yet to be achieved, the impact of the ongoing redistribution of the offender population is not yet clear. Preliminary changes are observable, but it will be years before the effects are fully realized. It would be a mistake, however, to delay an analysis of this phenomenon for several reasons:

- It may take a decade or more before the redistribution of the offender population is complete. Sentences and time served may continue to rise

for the foreseeable future, changing current definitions and exacerbating current problems.

- A delay in analyzing the economic impacts of long-term confinement could relegate agency action to an ad hoc status.

The response would be conceived in a reactive as opposed to a proactive milieu, and the ability of the agency to plan for such contingencies would not be heightened.

- A timely analysis, although speculative, would assist decision-makers who influence the number and management of long-term inmates to assess the implications of their decisions.

The systemic effects of long-term incarceration are not difficult to determine, but the institutional effects can only be hypothesized at this time. The survey findings indicate most agencies do not acknowledge any special needs or costs associated with maintaining their long-term inmates. However, in many states these inmates constitute only a small portion of the prison population. It should be noted, though, that the best wisdom in the field predicts there will be growth in the long-term population and that there will be monetary effects associated with it. The ability to manage these effects will be determined by the accuracy of predictions and projections and the willingness to plan for a future problem. Such speculative assessments by nature do not yield definitive economic analyses, rather their usefulness is in providing warning signals that permit remedial action before a crisis is imminent.

Appendix N discusses, from an economic perspective, the systemic effects of a larger proportion of long-term inmates among prisoner populations.

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<|> Dr. Gail S. Funke prepared a monograph on the economic consequences of long-term confinement that provided the basis for this section of the Guide.

**#20** An examination of the short- and long-range economic impacts of long-term confinement should give particular attention to identifying those agency operations that are disproportionately impacted by long-term inmates and those areas where long-termers can be used to offset these costs.

Still undocumented are the specific or institutional costs to corrections presented by long-term inmates. The experience with such individuals is somewhat limited. As a result, the following observations concerning disproportionate costs are speculative. The intent is to suggest some impacts and highlight their economic consequences for security, medical and health care. It is not meant to be a definitive analysis--such an examination will require each jurisdiction to study its own populations, trends, institutional configurations, laws, and policies.

#### SECURITY

Tomorrow's inmates are likely to possess many of the characteristics observable in present populations. For example, some long-termers will do their time peaceably, others will act out on a regular basis, posing continual problems. One common feature--the length of their sentences--will require greatly disproportionate shares of correctional budgets. By nature of this characteristic, most prison systems will classify newly admitted long-term inmates as maximum or close custody and assign them to maximum security institutions. The economic impacts of increasing numbers of long-term inmates or of their propensity for violence (when considered as a group) are fairly easy to calculate. An increase in a single post (e.g., one guard tower position) will require an average of five positions to allow for days off, leave, and holidays and still staff this post for 24 hours each day, 365 days each year. At present salary and fringe benefits (recognizing these vary by state), the cost of this new post will add upwards of \$100,000 to annual operating costs. A typical prison

could require several such posts; ten would raise the operating budget by \$1 million. Compensating factors such as reduction in visiting coverage and less frequent use of facilities such as the gymnasium, recreation yard, or law library should not be viewed as much of an offset.

#### MEDICAL

As the prisoner population ages and release remains distant, one might expect to encounter more problems relating to old age, illness, and mental health. For example, while open heart surgery is a rare occurrence for inmates currently, it could become almost commonplace, given the expected growth in the number of long-termers aged 55 and older. For geriatric cases, physical renovation of existing facilities is likely to be necessary to permit easy access. Illness may require more hospital transport and supervisory officers; mental health needs may necessitate the employment of more psychiatric and counseling staff. Costs can rise quickly with such needs, although it would be difficult at present to estimate the exact magnitude.

#### EDUCATION AND WORK PROGRAMS

Programming is a problematic area for any institution. Some practitioners may question whether any programs at all should be offered to long-termers. Clearly, the cost of inmate education and other programs will increase on a per capita basis as more time is spent, for example, in classes or arts and craft activities. A related issue would be participation in vocational training. These programs are intended to provide meaningful and relevant skills to be used for support upon release. Yet for long-term inmates, what is relevant today may be obsolete upon their release. The issue may well be whether to provide these programs throughout incarceration (at a considerable per capita cost) or to tolerate idleness and its adverse effects and introduce programming near the end of inmates' sentences. Similar questions arise with respect to prison industries. With limited "slots" available, industries

dominated by long-term inmates would virtually exclude short-termers, with a different kind of cost incurred. Key policy issues, for example, as to whether industry should be operated in an up-to-date manner or merely counter inmate idleness will continue to be debated in this new context.

#### **OTHER ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF LONG-TERM INMATES**

Finally, there are the not insignificant costs to society in general of long-term inmate problems. The tax burden discussed above will accrue to future generations and could be considerable if current practices continue. It is easy to envision corrections claiming an ever-increasing share of public monies, penalizing other social programs and efforts, or contributing to higher taxes. The fiscal consequences are fairly straightforward and include the additional burden of replacing aging physical plants.

Lastly, serious questions arise about the ability of persons incarcerated for many years to adjust satisfactorily upon release. This concern has been voiced for years, in times when sentences were considerably shorter than at present. Many unknowns make the costs difficult to estimate--prison training, pre-release preparation, institutionalization, the potential for disruptive behavior, and so forth. As research is undertaken to document and analyze the careers of released long-termers, the costs will become more amenable to estimation. Suffice it to offer at this juncture that the evidence appears to be on the side of greater recidivism. It cannot be argued that this is compensated for by the specific deterrence of a prison term, since the average costs of crime are vastly exceeded by those of incarceration.

### **Environment and Design**

**#21** Where feasible, correctional administrators should create separate units

within the prison(s) where most long-termers are housed and design them to address the needs of these inmates. The possibility of creating these units based upon inmates' common needs, preferences, program participation, work assignments, or views toward serving time should be investigated.

Over time voluntary congregation of long-term prisoners with certain common characteristics will occur naturally and can serve to delineate the types of units that best meet the needs and preferences of these inmates. Further, within these distinct long-term inmate units it may be possible to adapt the mode of living, the privileges, and the punishments to the particular needs of the long-termers housed there. This proposal appears to run counter to a historical premise that has been central to correctional operations--within a single prison facility all inmates are to be treated exactly alike. However, research has shown that long-term inmates have needs such as stability and privacy, that short-termers do not have, at least not to the same degree. These differences should be addressed by correctional administrators.

In developing such units, the following principles, articulated in Resign Guide for Secure Adult Correctional Facilities, should be followed:

- The institutional atmosphere should be as normal as possible for the welfare of both inmates and staff and, ultimately, for that of the general public, as conditions during confinement will likely influence behavior after release.
- Inmates should be able to expect to be confined humanely and safely.
- Staff should be able to expect to carry out their professional responsibilities in a safe and humane environment.
- Inmates should be provided with opportunities for, and encouraged to participate in, programs for self-improvement in such areas as

academic, vocational, and social skills.

- Staff should interact directly with inmates. They should not be separated by architectural barriers that communicate a negative attitude on the part of management or that impede the open, interpersonal communication necessary for a positive climate in any human relationship.
- A reasonable balance should be struck between the security features and the architectural environment that projects a spirit of openness and reconciliation.<1>

**#22** Correctional administrators should consider matching the environmental preferences of long-term inmates with the environmental properties possessed by those institutions or housing units that usually confine long-term inmates.

While about half of the correctional personnel responding to the survey saw no need to provide different housing environments for long-term inmates, recent studies present persuasive evidence for matching inmates with the correctional environments that meet their ostensible needs. According to Toch, Flanagan, and others, it appears that the environmental features prized by long-term inmates are distinguishable from those of short-term inmates.<2> One way to accomplish this objective is through the use of the "Prisoner Preference Profile" developed by Toch,<3> in conjunction with the "Correc-

tional Environment Inventory" developed by Kevin Wright.<4> Such housing alternatives, however, should be voluntary. Many long-term inmates prefer to be housed with short-term inmates as well as other long-termers.

**#23** Where feasible, correctional administrators should develop an experimental long-term inmate program whereby select long-term inmates are housed in a unit or facility that is physically separate from any institution collocated on the grounds.

Such a program has successfully operated for over 10 years at the Utah State Prison at Draper. This program is described in detail in Chapter III. A survey of eligible long-term inmates would serve to assess their interest in such a program and their expectations.

As discussed previously, there is no one management response applicable to all long-term inmates due to their diverse characteristics and needs. As a result, a number of modest programs are needed, modest in the sense that they will benefit only a limited number of long-term inmates. A housing unit or facility designed expressly for a subset of long-term inmates is such a program

**#24** Given adequate resources, the most appropriate management response to long-term inmates who are disruptive, in need of long-term protective custody, long-term mental health problems, geriatric, or chronically ill is the establishment of specialized management units to house these offenders and address their special management needs.<5>

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<1> American Correctional Association, Design Guide for Secure Adult Correctional Facilities (College Park, MD: American Correctional Association, 1983), p. 6.

<2> See, for example, H. Toch, Living in Prison: The Ecology of Survival (New York: The Free Press, 1977).

<3> Living in Prison, pp. 227-45.

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<4> "Developing the Prison Environment Inventory," unpublished report (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York, 1984).

<5> Dr. David Ward, prepared a monograph on the management of disruptive long-term inmates that provided the basis for this discussion.

The limitations of turn-of-the-century fortress prisons and outdated physical plants and designs constrain security and program planning for long-term inmates in many states. Reconstruction of existing penitentiaries may allow for some improvements in these areas, but most correctional administrators will prefer the so-called "new generation" prisons, which are generally composed of six to eight physically separated units within a secure perimeter. The individual units house between 40 and 50 inmates in single cells. Each unit contains its own small dining, laundry, work, and indoor recreation areas, as well as offices for program staff assigned to the unit. The physical design of inmate housing calls for only one or two levels to facilitate continuous staff surveillance of all areas in which inmates interact with each other and with staff. In these prisons, it is possible to confine large groups of long-term inmates within the same physical perimeter but separate from each other while being housed in small enough groups to allow activities on a living area or unit basis. An array of self-contained units would also make it possible for long-term inmates with different personal characteristics, criminal records, and/or special management needs to participate in a variety of programs. One unit, for example, might house inmates with chemical dependency problems; another unit can be used for observation, diagnosis, and short-term treatment of stress and mental health problems; and other units can house inmates who want to work or go to school.

The new generation prison represents an effort to allow for both concentration and dispersal of a system's most serious management problems within one facility, but implementation of such a plan requires the physical design of a unitized facility.

It should be noted the experiences of several states with new modular or unitized prisons indicate that to represent a significant improvement in operations over traditional prisons, the new physical designs must be accompanied by new management techniques and appropriate levels of carefully trained and supervised staff, as well as

procedures and programs developed especially for the new generation of problem prisoners.

Facility and program planning to deal with the new generation of problematic long-term prisoners represents an extremely difficult and dangerous area for correctional officials because mistakes can cost the lives of inmates and employees. Since no clear course exists to guide prison staff members, cautious, well-planned experimentation appears to be the order of business for those who plan and manage the maximum security prisons in this country.

Long-term geriatric inmates present special problems for correctional administrators. It may be possible to develop community-based residential facilities for these offenders. Community-based facilities represent a much more appropriate response to the needs of these inmates than even a special management unit. If community placement is not a viable option, however, special units providing specialized programs and services are essential to the management of long-term geriatric prisoners.

**#25** Pre-architectural programs that specifically address the needs and characteristics of long-term inmates should be a primary component of planning new or renovated facilities where large numbers of long-termers will be housed.

The following discussion is included for those correctional staff who will someday plan or participate in planning new or renovated correctional facilities that will house long-termers.

#### PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS FOR LONG-TERM INMATES <1>

The opinion of some correctional architects to the contrary, "...walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage...." That is, the physical <1> Gary Mote, AIA, prepared a monograph on the environmental and design issues most impacting the management of long-term inmates; it provided the basis for this section of the Guide.

properties of a prison do not dictate the parameters of the inmates' confinement experience. The characteristics of the housing units, the design of the facility, the cleanliness of the prison all, no doubt, influence the quality of the confinement experience but they are not the critical elements of prison environments. These are the competence and fairness of the staff; the activities and programs available; and the inmates' relationships with one another and with staff. Toch provides the following illustration:

I traveled with Mathiesen to two institutions he was studying (in Norway). One was a traditional fortress-type prison, with walls that were five feet thick and had water running down them. The other institution was Ila, a psychiatric facility. It looked precisely like what the architecture and interior decorating experts have in mind for institutions. And yet, by a heavy margin, the inmates preferred the traditional fortresslike prison. They preferred it because its climate featured the vital ingredient of predictability. Particularly for the long-term inmate, predictability is a commodity that is very heavily prized. <l>

The physical requirements for long-term offender programs are multi-faceted. The majority of long-term offenders will need to be housed in close or maximum custody institutions for substantial periods. Toward the end of their sentences, many in this group will be assigned to institutions with less security. Others are appropriately confined for the full period of their sentence in facilities classified for medium or minimum custody. Confinement of long-term offenders in these latter facilities varies from what is

<l> "Classification for Programming and Survival," in *Confinement in Maximum Custody*, D. Ward and K. Schoen, eds. (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1981), p. 41.

needed for others only by the focus and intensity of programs vis-a-vis housing and other support activities.

Considering economies of scale and limited financial resources, most newly planned institutions for long-term offenders should have a capacity of 300 to 500 beds. Some systems build new facilities for even larger numbers, and many existing institutions used for these purposes are significantly larger. For purposes of this discussion, capacities of under 500 inmates are assumed.

New institutions provide an ideal opportunity for customizing physical plants to offender programs, but limited resources frequently make it necessary to remodel existing institutions. The principles outlined on the following pages apply equally, although perhaps not as readily, to old as well as new institutions.

Whether using existing or new facilities, many philosophical, programmatic, and operational issues must be considered. Since these issues will vary from system to system plans must be tailored to individual situations.

Appendix 0 contains a discussion of the predesign process for effectively planning new or renovated facilities that will house numerous long-term inmates and the necessary elements of an architectural program

## Classification

#26 Long-term inmates should be assigned to the least restrictive security and custody designations commensurate with the degree of risk they pose to the public and the amount of supervision they require within an institution.

Contemporary correctional practice holds that all offenders be classified at the least restrictive security and custody levels commensurate with their needs and public safety. Meeting this goal



**maximizes appropriate allocation of correctional resources for the agency and minimizes discontent among the inmates. The following recommendations further describe how this goal can be met and why it is important to the management of long-term inmates.**

**#27** Correctional administrators should examine their classification systems to determine the extent of the misclassification (particularly overclassification) of long-term prisoners that results from overreliance upon length of sentence as a factor in security designation.

The survey results indicated that 67% of the respondents to the long-term male survey and 36% of those to the long-term female survey equated long-term confinement with the need for maximum security housing. Further, sentence length is a factor used to classify males in 90.9% of the systems responding and to classify females in 46.4%. Due to length of sentence, 12.1% of the responding agencies indicated that long-term males could not be classified to minimum security until just prior to release; for long-term females the percent was 3.6.

Obviously, sentence length is an important factor in the classification systems used by most of the agencies responding to the survey. While this is not a flaw in these systems, correctional administrators must guard against the tendency to let length of sentence dominate the classification decision-making process. In some systems, a repeating burglar or forger with multiple sentences but no history of violence or escape who received an excessively harsh sentence would be placed in a maximum security institution, although nothing in the inmate's background may suggest that this degree of security and supervision is warranted. In an era of limited public expenditures for corrections, such policies tend to waste scarce resources and subject the inmate to unnecessary confinement restrictions.

**#28** In order to minimize misclassification, agencies employing objective classification systems should examine and nature and weighting of the security and custody criteria that most affect long-term inmates.

Those agencies that do not currently have an objective classification system are urged to develop one.

In general, objective classification systems by their structured nature help to minimize the incidence of misclassification experienced within an agency, yet approximately 25% of the nation's correctional systems continue to use subjective methods of classification. The advantages of objective systems are numerous, and include:

- Control of discretion--objective systems permit overrides of the classification process but within explicitly stated parameters.
- Rules that are highly visible--everyone is aware of the rules for decision-making.
- Improved information gathering--objective systems promote accurate, consistent, and comprehensive accumulation of information.
- Consistency in decision-making--decision-makers are required to use standardized criteria and apply them in the same manner to each inmate.
- Documentation of both routine and override decisions--facilitates monitoring function and promotes accountability.
- Easier evaluation/monitoring--standardized criteria and procedures for decision-making facilitate review and assessment.

There is some belief in the field that objective systems may tend to overclassify long-termers, particularly males. This phenomenon is thought to result primarily from giving disproportionate weight to sentence length compared to other factors. Also, the high correlation between nature of the offense and length of sentence doubly penalizes inmates who commit serious crimes and receive long sentences. Many correctional experts believe that the nature of the crime is a sufficiently serious factor to stand alone without compounding the severity of the correctional response by including length of sentence as a separate factor with its own weighting.

The most versatile objective classification systems assess offenders' security and custody needs as separate factors which helps to temper the effects of "length of sentence." As used by these systems, security denotes the degree of external security (i.e., type of perimeter, detection devices, etc.) needed to confine the individual within an institution; custody refers to the degree of internal control or supervision (i.e., level of staff supervision, restrictions on movement, access to programs, etc.) necessary to manage the offender's institutional behavior.

**#29** In many states, legislative requirements result in classification actions inconsistent with the security and custody needs of long-term inmates; e.g., a long-termer convicted of a crime of passion with no prior convictions and no violence history is assigned to a maximum security institution that provides extensive supervision. Although these are not frequent occurrences, correctional agencies are advised to seek to change such requirements through legislative means.

As sentence length should not solely determine an inmate's security and custody classification, neither should the crime category. Numerous state legislatures have passed laws that specify not only the length of the sentence but also the nature of confinement the offender will experience. Such laws nullify the

classification system and the experience of the classification staff. These statutes should be modified to retain the intent of the law while allowing corrections to manage its internal affairs. Another common legislative interference is laws that limit the custody reductions permitted certain prisoners. In all cases, legislation should set the framework within which corrections must operate and provide the necessary resources to meet its legislative mandates. Correctional agencies should initiate efforts to educate legislators in regard to the immediate and long-range impacts of dictating specific correctional practice.

**#30** The following schedule of progress reviews is recommended for long-term inmates:

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
First year of confinement	Every four months
Second through fifth years	Every six months
Sixth year of confinement up until pre-release phase (or within 12 months of release)	Once a year
Pre-release phase or last year of sentence	Every three months

The first year of confinement is difficult for all inmates but particularly for long-term inmates, who are facing many years of incarceration. Case managers need frequent, scheduled contact with long-term inmates on their caseloads to provide an extra measure of support, to more closely monitor inmates' adjustment to confinement, and to allow timely intervention should it become necessary. It is also during this period that prison career or sentence planning should be initiated. The development and documentation of these plans will require frequent contact between long-term inmates and their caseworkers. The schedule presented is applicable only to regularly

scheduled progress reviews. Consideration for reduction in security or custody should correlate with the classification criteria used by each jurisdiction.

The second through fifth years are also thought to be critical ones in the confinement of long-term inmates, for it is during this period that preparations for prison careers take place. Semiannual program reviews by caseworkers will ensure the plans are being implemented as intended and that necessary adjustments are made promptly. Long-termers' adjustment to prison, typically, should no longer be causing any major problems. During this period, long-term inmates are likely to receive reductions in custody and/or security.

After about the fifth year of confinement, annual progress reviews should suffice. Long-termers' prison careers or sentence plans should have been implemented and, therefore, require only minimum attention. It is during this period, however, that relationships outside the prison attenuate. It is hoped the rapport established between case management staff and long-term inmates will encourage troubled individuals to seek out their caseworkers at such crisis points.

Frequent contacts between long-term inmates and their caseworkers are essential during the pre-release period since pre-release programming requires long-termers to plan for their release. Caseworkers need to review the plans, help the long-termers implement them, and counsel long-termers about their expectations and possible fears.

The most critical periods for long-term inmates are at the beginning and end of the sentence.

**#31** To implement the schedule of progress reviews recommended above, specialized long-term inmate caseloads should be created for caseworkers both trained and interested in long-term inmate case management.

**#32** To offset the time-consuming responses required to meet the special needs of long-term inmates, lower caseloads would be a clear necessity:

- The caseload for male long-term males should not exceed one caseworker for every 100 prisoners.
- For women, a smaller caseload of one caseworker for every 50 long-term inmates is suggested.

Case specialization among correctional classification or casework staff is not new. In many states specialized case management staff work with prisoners who have been convicted of sexual offenses, prisoners who have serious substance abuse problems, prisoners who are geriatric, and other inmates who have special management needs.

Long-term inmates have enough special or unique needs and characteristics to qualify as a special management group. It would benefit both the system and the long-term inmates if specially trained caseworkers are employed to oversee their cases.

In order to meet the needs of long-termers, smaller caseloads than now exist will be necessary. The provision of intensive management services, described in previous recommendations, will require small caseloads. An even smaller caseload is recommended for female long-termers, primarily because of the large percentage who have children and/or have not previously been self-supporting.

**#33** As correctional administrators adopt sentence planning as a viable management tool, case management staff should be trained in the principles of career or vocational guidance. Case management staff will play pivotal roles in the development, revision, and monitoring of long-term inmates' sentence plans.

To be effective, sentence plans must be well-conceived and executed. The development of these plans will require much perception and sensitivity on the part of caseworkers, a working

understanding of and ability to apply the results of the battery of tests long-termers will undergo, and a comprehensive knowledge of the system's program and service resources and, as importantly, its human resource needs. Agencies should provide special training to case management staff working with long-term inmates to ensure that they can meet these objectives.

## Security and Custody

**#34** Correctional administrators should develop intervention strategies for disruptive long-term inmates that can be applied early in their sentences before the disruptive behavior becomes set into an established pattern.

The growing proportion of long-term prisoners in the nation's penitentiaries includes an increasing number who are disruptive to institutional management. Control units are often utilized to manage the disruptive behavior of those inmates prone to violence, destruction of the physical plant, and escape attempts. Long-term confinement in control units, in protective custody units, and as part of general lockdowns poses a major challenge to the professional judgement, experience, and ingenuity of correctional policy-makers because at this stage of the criminal justice process, considerations related to the physical safety of inmates and employees supersede all other concerns. A Federal Prison System's committee reviewing procedures at the prison at Marion, Illinois, makes this point clearly:

The leadership of the Federal Prison System-at Marion, at the Regional level, and in the Central Office--will never accept violence and intimidation as a norm for Marion, or any other facility. However, there must be a realistic acknowledgement that the type of inmates now confined there can, through a

variety of ingenious methods, still perpetrate assaults, attempt escapes, and otherwise disrupt institutional operations under even the most stringently monitored circumstances. These problems can be anticipated as a result of the decision to concentrate this population at one facility; Marion will not be violence-free, simply because of the type of inmate housed there. In fact, unless properly managed, on a day-to-day basis, Marion contends with a population which presents the potential for the most serious prison disturbance in our System's history. (Emphasis in the original)<1>

Finding procedures and activities that diminish the level of violence in the nation's prisons is a major challenge to a profession that calls its members "correctional administrators." Coping with the most troublesome, disruptive, and dangerous inmates in a prison or prison system tends to evoke, if not a punitive response, a high level of frustration from staff whose good intentions and usual array of program activities, rewards, and incentives have been rejected. When violence directed toward staff is also part of the equation, the result is a strong inclination to lock down prisons and withhold programs as a means of modifying behavior. But just as the great majority of inmates--even long-termers--will come out of prison and return to the community, the great majority of control unit and lockdown populations leave those settings and return to the general inmate population. One program option that allows a range of settings from almost totally controlled to less restrictive is a system of graded units.

Control unit and inmates in lockdown settings should perceive some incentive to move back into general population or to increasingly less restrictive living

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<1> "Program and Procedure Reviews, U.S. Penitentiary, Marion, Illinois," November 1981.

units. A graded system of units enables inmates to experience a change of faces and living conditions and to live in units with different program alternatives. Eating arrangements, for example, might allow inmates to progress from eating in their cells to eating one or two meals with other inmates out of their cells but within the unit to eating together as a unit or in a centralized dining hall. The same progression could also be applied to recreational, religious, educational, and work opportunities, as well as to the use of handcuffs and other physical restraints. Common to all units in the graded system would be the rights of inmates in all living units, including control units, to legal materials and counsel, religious counsel, medical services, exercise, and communication with family members.

Because problematic long-term inmates will spend long periods in segregation/control units or prolonged lockdowns, conflict between individual inmates and certain staff members can build in intensity as inmates and officers confront each other month after month in situations that can be provocative or dangerous for all concerned. Some inmates focus their frustration, anger, and hostility on one, two or a small number of staff members. Similarly, some employees develop antagonistic feelings toward certain inmates. If control units were established within several prisons in a correctional agency, administrators could, through periodic transfers, allow both inmates and staff a change of location and some relief from each other. Additionally, inmates would be allowed some relief from protracted contact with the same small group of prisoners whose language, actions, or personal habits aggravate daily life in the compressed atmosphere of a segregation/control unit or a lockdown setting. Having a number of control units also allows prison administrators to experiment with various program options.

**#35** In light of survey respondents' expectation that the incidence of violence among long-term females will increase within the next few years, correctional and institutional

administrators should plan for such an exigency.

Forty percent of the survey respondents predicted such an increase; none foresaw a decrease. If this prediction holds true, few correctional agencies will be prepared to manage these long-term females unless current practices and facilities are not modified in the interim. For example, most systems lack an adequate number of segregation cells, and those that are available must serve multiple purposes-- protective custody, disciplinary segregation, mental health, and so forth. Likewise, most correctional systems are not set up to effectively offer the range of programs and services available to other inmates to those females who may be confined in administrative segregation for extended periods.

**#36** The special management needs of long-term females, in particular, need attention from correctional administrators. More attention should be afforded to long-term females who are disruptive, protective custody or geriatric cases. Chronically ill long-term females need to be provided with special services and programs.

Inmates who pose special management needs create unique management problems for administrators. These inmates demand a disproportionate share of agencies' resources. As a result, the needs of special management inmates are frequently not adequately met. The situation is much worse for long-term females with special management needs. Their numbers are small and they have yet to exert their influence through the courts or through major uprisings.

One of the most important preliminary steps correctional agencies can take to address this issue is to train staff to recognize the special needs of long-term females and make appropriate personal, professional, and agency responses. This requires, however, the agency to have appropriate, adequate resources. One such resource is the availability of a small number of housing units designed specifically for long-term females who

evidence, for example, disruptive behavior, protective custody concerns, chronic medical problems, or are geriatric. Other needed specialized responses include programs that challenge long-term female inmates to become independent women capable of setting their own goals and thinking for themselves, those that emphasize parent-child relationships through parenting classes and creative parent-child visitation programs, and programs that will allow long-term females to learn work skills they can use to support themselves and their families, if necessary, once they are released from custody. A final program sorely needed by most long-term females is the initiation, early in their sentences, of a "wellness" program that educates these women about their bodies, stresses the need for regular physical exercise and good nutrition, and teaches them the basics of self-health care.

## Academic and Vocational Training

**#37** It is incumbent upon correctional systems to work with long-term inmates to plan prison careers that will benefit both the inmates and the agency, and that will be transferable and capable of supporting those inmates who will be released.

Long-term inmates must be viewed as individuals who will spend a significant proportion of their adult lives in prison. It is grossly inappropriate for correctional agencies to treat these inmates as they would short-term prisoners. The approach to correction that is taken with the short-termers typically revolves around programs that run 12 to 24 months, and focuses on the development of specific skills. On its face, such a piecemeal approach is not useful with offenders who enter prison at age eighteen and may not be released until they are nearly forty. Most of these individuals' adult and working lives will be spent in prison.

An example illustrates the career approach to planning programs for long-term prisoners. An inmate who has a high

school education and a desire to enter teaching is received in the prison. The prisoner faces a minimum sentence of twenty years. If the prisoner embarked on a planned course of study leading to undergraduate and graduate degrees, he or she could become a certified teacher in four to ten years, depending on the inmate's pace of advancement and such other commitments as prison work assignments. The prisoner could then become a prison instructor, and his or her talents would therefore be reinvested in the program for the period remaining before release. A similar progression can be envisioned for the inmate inclined toward trade training: from student to teacher, with other inmates reaping the benefits of the prisoner's experience. <1> Of course, numerous long-term inmates will not fit this particular mold. Most are not high school graduates, many have inadequate interpersonal skills, and others simply are not interested in semiprofessional or professional prison careers. Much more typically one finds a long-term inmate with 10 years of formal schooling, a 6th grade achievement level, who has held sporadic unskilled jobs. This type of inmate will require remedial help and the opportunity to learn a skill that can be used indefinitely within the prison environment. Such semiskilled and skilled job opportunities abound within institutional settings. To help keep these long-term inmates motivated and challenged, it may be necessary to depart from traditional practices. For example, these inmates may be used to provide on-the-job training to other inmates, both long- and short-term, who are interested in learning a particular trade. For others, retraining in another related or unrelated field may be necessary. The essential difference between the career approach to program planning and the current piecemeal approach is that the goals of the former are long range.

The prison career approach to programming for long-term inmates requires correctional administrators to break away

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<1> T. Flanagan, "Correctional Policy and the Long-Term Prisoner," *Crime and Delinquency*, Volume 28, Number 1, January 1982, pp. 89, 90.

from the old notion of the 12- or 24-month program that results in certificates and little else for prisoners. Instead, correctional officials and inmates must jointly develop plans oriented to accomplish long-range goals, and then ensure that the learned skills are put to use. Long-term prisoners could eventually provide many of the services needed in prison, through their skills as opticians, paramedics, accountants, teachers, master plumbers, and so on.

It should be noted that the essential components of these career plans are already part of many prison programs, in the form of college courses, vocational training, and other programs. Moreover, because the prison career model reinvests inmates' talents in the institution, overall costs to the taxpayer may be reduced. Although this program will not ensure that prisoners are released to receptive communities with appropriate job opportunities, it at least places them in a more competitive position in the marketplace. Finally, rather than serving to force people to waste a considerable portion of their adult lives regressing within a restricted, nonproductive world, the prison would release to the community persons who have made at least some contribution while incarcerated, and who are better equipped to cope with life on the outside. And, as Toch comments,

A meaningful career in the prison has the virtue of capitalizing on the long-term inmate's only "real world" and giving him a useful and meaningful role. Such a role can yield rewards and status, as well as being intrinsically rewarding to the inmate. It can be a role that is needed by fellow inmates and by staff, and that offers opportunities for real teamwork with staff members. <1>

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<1> "Classification for Programming and Survival," in *Confinement in Maximum Custody*, K. Schoen and D. Ward, eds. (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1981).

In order to implement such a prison career concept, the following steps will become necessary:

1. Assessment of long-term inmate. Once the definition of the long-term inmate is established, there should be an assessment of strengths, assets, and needs related, among other issues, to inmates' academic and vocational levels. While the assessment devices may be the same for all prisoners, the results need to be considered in light of the programming time available to long-termers.
2. Survey of existing resources. It is necessary to identify available academic and vocational opportunities and any limitations imposed (security levels, requirements from providers regarding proximity to release, other eligibility requirements). The existing resources and assessment of needs should be compared to determine the recommended way to balance the two and to suggest any needed additional resources.
3. Review of work experience and opportunities. Current correctional work and industries assignments should be reviewed to determine possible program flow between training and viable assignments.
4. Analysis of incentives. Besides programmatic considerations, the issue of other incentives to inmates should be considered. What is currently available and what else should be offered? A survey of inmates might be undertaken to ascertain new incentives.
5. Preparation for release. As release approaches, special needs must be addressed (job placement, training in job hunting skills, etc.). Are adequate resources currently available or are new or modified programs needed?
6. Consideration of unique concepts. Are long-term offenders a group needing novel or innovative

programming? For example, might it be best to train inmates initially for "career jobs" in the correctional system and focus on "street job" training closer to release? On the other hand, should training be offered early with refresher-update sessions near release? Should programming be focused on other than academic and vocational training initially with specific education deferred to a later point in the sentence?

7. Consideration of inmate-operated programs. Long-term inmates may be an asset in training other inmates. It is also possible that long-termers may benefit from inmate-operated programs, thus saving staff resources.
8. Consideration of cost-effectiveness. All issues need to be considered in this light and balanced against resources available or potentially available.

**#38** In order to implement the prison career concept, it will be necessary for correctional agencies to sequence programs for long-term inmates such that there exists a logical, programmatic flow from academic education to vocational training and from vocational training to prison industries, institutional job assignments, or supervised and unsupervised work release.

The development of a flow from academic to vocational training and on to prison industries, institutional job assignments, or work release (for eligible inmates) will provide long-term inmates with needed long-term goals while reinforcing the skills and work habits developed during vocational training with actual, relevant work experience.

Of necessity, programmatic flow needs to be an individualized process for each long-term prisoner. Agencies' classification systems should support this process. For some prisoners with very long or life sentences, this might mean an initial

academic education program followed by a vocational training program and then placement in a prison industries program. For other inmates, who will be released in eight to ten years, the most appropriate flow might require an initial placement in a prison industries program with participation in a vocational training program coming shortly before their projected release dates.

One of the primary reasons for developing the programmatic flow concept of inmate programming is to create "career" opportunities for interested and qualified long-termers. Many of these prisoners will spend the majority of their productive years behind bars. It behooves correctional agencies to educate and train them to pursue a career while incarcerated that will not only benefit inmates but will also provide agencies with needed services; for example, inmate instructors, prison industries supervisors, librarians, carpenters, and electricians.

The prerequisite to developing appropriate programmatic flow is to inventory all skills needed by the agency and the number of slots vacant on an annual basis; analyze the number of slots available for vocational programs; identify the educational and vocational needs of long-term inmates, and then restructure programs to correspond to these findings. For example, an agency might want to avoid training more long-termers in a skill area than will be needed in the immediate future. Otherwise, inmates will be needlessly frustrated and their skills will atrophy over time.

It should be noted that two thirds of the respondents to both the survey on long-term males and that on long-term females indicated their systems lacked program continuity.

**#39** Increased incentives for academic and vocational education achievement are necessary if the concepts of sentence planning and prison careers are to become workable, functioning realities.



Survey respondents reported that one of their top problems in providing academic and vocational training programs to long-termers, both male and female, was inmates' lack of motivation. Yet few agencies described any incentives to reward long-termers who put forth the effort to achieve in these areas.

Possible incentives suggested by reporting agencies included choice of job assignments, higher wages, consideration for custody (supervision) decreases, improved amenities in housing areas, more frequent visits, special recognition, or special leaves (supervised or unsupervised) should agency rules permit.

**#40** Special attention should be afforded to assessing the quality of academic and vocational programs offered to long-term inmates. If the concept of a prison career is to benefit the inmates and the agency, those found wanting should be upgraded.

Many agencies operate academic and vocational programs that are substandard. In the case of academic subjects, agencies' schools may have insufficient supplies of such basics as paper and pencils. Also lacking may be textbooks, workbooks, rulers, globes, maps, reference books, and audiovisual supplies. Some vocational programs fare even worse. Not only do they have inadequate supplies, their physical plants may be inadequate and even unsafe, and the equipment used to train inmates may be outdated, in disrepair, or simply not available.

The dual goals of correction, public safety and offender rehabilitation, are not served by substandard programming. If necessary, the quantity of programs should be sacrificed to improve the quality of programs agencies offer.

**#41** A thorough review of the eligibility requirements for participation in academic and vocational training should be conducted. Requirements that prohibit or restrict the participation of long-termers and that are not justified by sound security reasons should be modified or eliminated for programs helping to

prepare long-termers for prison careers.

Traditionally, inmates were enrolled in academic and vocational training programs to prepare them to be self-supporting in a law-abiding manner upon release. As a result, long-termers were not permitted to enroll in some academic and most vocational education programs until they were within a certain time of release. The objectives of these programs justified and warranted the exclusion of long-termers.

Now, however, what is being proposed is the preparation of long-term inmates for worthwhile careers within the prison system. Consequently, within this context is no justification for prohibiting long-termers from academic or vocational training programs unless strictly for security reasons.

**#42** Special attention to the academic and vocational education needs of long-term females is critically needed in most jurisdictions. More emphasis should be placed on vocational training that provides females with the skills needed to perform institutional maintenance or participate in prison industries.

Numerous studies in recent years have pointed to the dearth of academic and vocational programs in women's institutions. Long-term females, like their male counterparts, usually are released. They, too need the opportunity to learn those skills that will enable them to be self-supporting subsequent to release.

Consideration should be given to developing non-traditional vocational programs such as lens grinding, plumbing, carpentry, etc., that would provide better than subsistence income. In addition, the acquisition of skills in fields historically dominated by men, would permit long-term females to perform institutional maintenance functions, work that is currently limited to female inmates, both in scope and practice.

Finally, the need for a variety of programs to enrich the lives of long-term inmates is even greater in female facilities than in men's. Female institutions, for instance, typically offer far fewer programs which reduces the opportunities for participation at the variety of programs available. Low staff turnover and small institutional population means fewer new faces and situations to relieve the sameness. Even disruptive events such as fights, arguments, and so forth, common in men's prisons, that help to distinguish one day from the next, are notably absent.

## Prison Industries and Institutional Maintenance <1>

**#43** Correctional administrators should ensure that prison industries and institutional maintenance are basic components of their agencies' prison career plans for long-termers. There must be a continuity between prison-provided training (either on-the-job or vocational), prison industries, and institutional maintenance.

The basic objective of most correctional administrators concerning work is that idle time be kept to a minimum. According to Betty Bosarge, Editor, Washington Crime News Service,

Inmates are kept busy in several ways working to keep the institution operating, such as facility maintenance and food service, industry work programs, educational programs and recreation. While some tasks are essential for the operation of the institution, many are make-work jobs that do little to provide inmates with useful job skills. <2>

<1> John Dietler prepared a monograph on prison industries and institutional maintenance that was used as the basis for many of the following recommendations and rationales.

<2> "Inmate Idleness: GAO Calls for Improving Work Programs," Corrections Digest, 13 (June 19, 1982).

Insofar as the demands of the industry may succeed in changing the prison from a punitive, defensive, negative environment to one that focuses on productive activity, prison industries become a vehicle for correctional reform. Of equal importance, prison industries can create a more normal living environment for incarcerated individuals, in that, for at least eight hours a day, five days a week, those employed in industry become workers rather than inmates. By bringing the real world of work inside prisons, inmates are given the opportunity to mentally "escape" from the drudgery and idleness that is the normal lot of those imprisoned.

As reported by the survey respondents, long-termers represent valuable resources to the agency, including:

- They will be available to prison industries for a long time and thus reduce worker turnover.
- They can be trained in a variety of fields that are needed by the institution over a long period of time.
- They are somewhat less likely to become involved in disciplinary infractions, helping to ensure that they will be on the job on a day-to-day basis.
- They are more motivated from a financial perspective since many have no outside source of income.
- Their long-term status makes them a logical choice for supervisory positions.
- Many long-termers want to develop prison careers and see industry as the best area for those careers.

**#44** In planning industries programs for long-term inmates, it is in the best interests of the administration, the industries program, and the inmates to identify and place the priorities and concerns of each in the proper perspective; that is, security measures, needs of the program, and inmate needs.

Factors that need to be considered in planning include:

- Program resources;
- Special needs of the program - equipment, hours of operation, skills needed, etc.;
- Type of inmates being programmed;
- Security requirements;
- Classification of inmates and associated restrictions;
- Types of programs attractive to long-termers;
- Ability of the program to coordinate with other institutional programs and those in other facilities;
- Demonstrated need for this type of program;
- Need for and availability of resources;
- Administration of the program;
- Acceptability of the program to the institution, the inmate, and the public.

Long-termers, for example, present security issues unlike those for the remainder of the population. Their lengthy sentences generally result from having committed serious offenses. As such, security and custody considerations need to be analyzed in the development, implementation, and day-to-day functioning of any industry program. Classification is important here as it can identify those long-termers who are not likely to be serious security problems and who could function in a variety of industries and work positions within the respective industry.

In planning industries programs, there is also a need to examine how long-termers view the assignments, with the following considerations:

- Assignments where they can get along with other inmates. This is extremely important as the personal relationships long-term inmates have with other prisoners will be highly correlated with disciplinary involvement, institutional disruption, and, from an industry perspective, an effective and efficient industry operation.

- Assignments that pay sufficiently to provide for daily necessities such as toiletries, cigarettes, etc. Again, it must be kept in mind that after a period of time most long-term inmates have no outside source of income and depend upon a work or industry assignment to purchase needed commodities.
- Consideration as to which is the "best work assignment." These are assignments that are generally clean, minimally demanding in terms of physical labor, and, in some instances, interesting.

In the prison industries programs, long-term inmates can make a significant contribution and at the same time maintain a sense of self-worth. Because of their ability to achieve seniority, such inmates have the opportunity to learn every operation of a factory or other production unit and learn it well. With some additional specialized training, positions of responsibility can be awarded that provide valuable assistance to the limited number of civilian supervisory personnel available to most prison industrial operations.

Two safeguards must be instituted to capitalize on the utilization of qualified long-termers in lead positions. First, administrators must be constantly on their guard that this program, as valuable as it might be, does not degenerate into the old "con boss" system which led to the victimization of inmates with limited power or influence. Close supervision and full accountability must be assured. Specialized training will be required to move long-term inmates toward professionalism in their new roles as employees. The second safeguard that must be instituted is the development of a quota system that prevents all industry lead positions from being occupied by those serving long terms. Steps of this nature are required to maintain morale among all workers, for it can be devastating to a work force if inmates come to believe that it takes five years seniority to make shift foreman, no matter what kinds of talent one might demonstrate. An equitable distribution

must be made to allow both a reasonable number of long- and shorter-term inmates to aspire to these upper-level jobs.

**#45** There is a widespread need to establish prison industries, both traditional and nontraditional, in women's facilities. Long-term females would particularly profit from greater participation in prison industries.

**#46** Long-term females would also profit from the introduction of career ladders into their work assignments.

The lack of prison industries programs (15.4% of the survey respondents reported having no industries for females) was the top problem cited in this management issue area. Further, only 30.8% of the agencies reported using career ladders for female inmates.

Many observers of correctional practices have long advocated the need to place additional prison industries, particularly nontraditional industries such as furniture manufacturing and sheet metal fabrication, within women's institutions as a means of providing meaningful work opportunities, improved financial remuneration, skills that will help them become self-supporting following release, and perhaps most important to long-term female inmates, help to pass the time.

Career ladders are as important to female long-termers as they are to male long-termers and are essential components of any prison industry program developed for women's facilities. Career ladders provide an avenue of recognition for a job well done, help promote self-esteem, help justify pay raises, and show women how to earn promotions and supervisory positions.

Industry involvement for females, as well as males, provides one of the greatest opportunities to enhance feelings of self-worth. This is particularly important given the adverse psychological impacts of long-term confinement and the need for long-term inmates to find their niche within the institutional environment.

**#47** The prison industries program should incorporate incentives that are provided to long-term inmate workers who return to the academic and/or vocational classroom when additional training is required.

Participation in academic and vocational programs typically pays much less than prison industries. Therefore, any time spent away from industrial jobs severely reduces the amount of discretionary money inmates are able to earn. If possible, inmates who would benefit themselves and/or their job performance through academic and/or vocational training should receive a stipend to ease the potential financial strain. In all cases, the long-termers who pursue this course of action should be reinstated in their former positions. Achievement of this kind should be rewarded at the earliest possible time through such avenues as increased pay and/or job advancement.

Motivators suggested by survey respondents included additional good time, increased responsibility and/or pay, and special recognition. Perhaps it is even better to look to the real world of business for ideas about incentives, for the more closely prison industries approximate free-world industries, the more advantageous they will be to the inmate work force.

**#48** Prison industries should be located in those institutions where they most benefit both the inmate population and the agency. Administrations may wish to consider placing more future prison industries programs and relocating some present ones, if feasible, in medium security facilities--where the majority of long-termers will eventually do most of their time,

At the time of the survey, respondents reported that one half of their male and female long-term population, on the average, were housed in medium security institutions. Further, most long-term male inmates will remain in medium custody for the balance of their sentences. It appears that long-term inmates who work in prison industries are frequently

confronted with an unpleasant choice, reduction in custody and transfer to an institution without a prison industry, or refuse the reduction and continue to work in industries. Such a choice should not have to be made.

There are obvious advantages to locating prison industries inside medium security institutions. For example, certain types of industries such as metal fabrication plants are much more amenable to medium security facilities primarily due to security-related concerns. Medium security inmates generally are not as likely as higher security inmates to fashion weapons, smuggle contraband, participate in work stoppages, or to attempt escape during the delivery of raw materials or the transport of finished products from the prison. Another advantage is that it is often easier to hire and retain qualified civilian personnel to work in prison industries with inmates they perceive as potentially less dangerous.

## Health Care Issues

**#49** Annual physical exams should be administered to all long-term inmates.

Correctional agencies routinely conduct physical examinations on newly admitted prisoners as well as provide sick call services for those experiencing health problems during confinement. Another, less universal component of prison health care is periodic physical exams. Provision of regular physicals has several significant benefits, especially for long-term inmates. It aids in identifying conditions that might otherwise be overlooked by medical staff or even prisoners themselves. For instance, abnormalities in the cardiovascular and endocrine systems can be detected, and diseases like cancer, diabetes, and tuberculosis can be diagnosed in their early stages when they are more amenable to treatment. In addition, regular physical exams offer an opportunity to re-evaluate patients and

assess the care they have been receiving. They also ensure that prisoners' medical records are complete and current. Ultimately, they enable institutions to progress from a reactive health care system based on sick call to a proactive approach grounded on medical evaluation and scheduled follow-ups. Provision of regular physical examinations for long-term inmates also benefits correctional agencies themselves. These exams help reduce the need for more costly treatment and/or hospitalization. Moreover, they may preclude lawsuits resulting from undetected and, thus, untreated problems.

The survey results indicate that approximately two thirds of the responding agencies provided annual physical exams to at least a portion, if not all, of their long-term inmates.

**#50** Health care education should be provided to long-termers during the early stages of incarceration.

A frequent finding among studies of prison populations is that many inmates have seriously neglected their health prior to incarceration and continue to disregard it during confinement. While this finding is not applicable to all inmates, it is true of enough to warrant health education programs, especially at institutions housing substantial numbers of long-term inmates. These programs serve not only to enhance long-termers' health, which may suffer during lengthy confinement, but also to reduce future health care costs for these inmates, decrease misuse of sick call services, and avoid serious outbreaks of disease in correctional facilities.

Agencies responding to the survey indicated that poor health habits did tend to be characteristic of their long-term populations, both male and female. Moreover, nearly half of these inmates, on the average were reported to be substance abusers, a practice having serious consequences for inmates' health.

All correctional agencies should provide health care education to long-term inmates, starting in the early stages of confinement. These programs could be

conducted by the agencies' health services staff, or they could be included in the institutions' regular education activities. Health care education should focus on both prevention and health maintenance, covering such topics as personal hygiene, nutrition, exercise, dental care, relaxation techniques, substance abuse, and sex education. In providing this information, agencies might consider using lectures by their own staff or community health officials, literature and media aids developed by local or state health organizations, and non-technical books on general health and anatomy.

**#51** Particular attention should be directed at the special health care needs of long-term females.

Although the health care needs of male and female long-termers are fundamentally the same, there are areas in which females require special attention. In addition to conditions associated with the differences in their reproductive systems, for example, female long-termers are more likely to be affected by calcium deficiencies and to suffer from problems due to poor eating habits and insufficient exercise. Respondents to the female survey on health care issues placed more emphasis on nutrition, health education, and exercise than did respondents to the male survey. Respondents to the female survey also ranked gynecological problems as the third most important inmate health care problem facing their agencies. However, because females constitute such a small proportion of the long-term population, most attention and resources have historically been directed toward the health care needs of males.

All correctional agencies should take steps to meet the health care needs of long-term female inmates, whether they are housed in separate facilities or in institutions with males. Such steps should begin at intake in order to identify any problems involving the menstrual cycle, breasts, and venereal disease. During confinement, special attention should be paid to detecting cervical and breast cancer, symptoms of sexually transmitted diseases, and menstrual problems. Needs related to

feminine hygiene, contraception, and pregnancy should be met. In addition, family planning services should be available to all female long-termers. Efforts should also be made to educate females about such subjects as nutrition, exercise, childbirth, infant care, and menopause. At least one female medical staff member should be present at all physical examinations and, whenever possible, during all regular medical service delivery hours.

**#52** Particular attention should be directed at the special health care needs of geriatric long-term inmates.

As more offenders are sentenced to extended prison terms, experts in the field of corrections expect the overall age of the long-term inmate population to rise. Along with this aging trend, correctional agencies are likely to see an increase in geriatric-related problems. Geriatric long-termers, for instance, tend to have special dietary, exercise, and personal hygiene needs. Typically, they also experience a gradual decline in their sight, hearing, and memory, as well as a general slowing in their physical and mental responsiveness. Thus, by virtue of age alone, these inmates are set somewhat apart from other long-termers.

Survey respondents stated that an average of 1.9% of the male long-term population and 3.3% of the female long-term population could be considered geriatric. Although geriatric long-termers represented small proportions of these populations, it should be emphasized again that these percentages are expected to grow. Some agencies are already housing substantial numbers of older inmates. The Pennsylvania Department of Corrections, for instance, reported that approximately 40% of its long-term male population was age 55 or older. Moreover, respondents to the female survey listed geriatric problems as the second most important health care problem with which they must deal.

Correctional agencies should make special efforts to meet the health care needs of geriatric long-termers. All staff should be informed of the general

capabilities and requirements of geriatric inmates, and attempts should be made to accommodate these inmates' reduced abilities, including modified work and leisure programming. Geriatric long-termers should also be monitored for specific health problems associated with aging; for example, cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, and digestive ailments. When necessary, dietary and exercise programs should be tailored to meet older inmates' needs. Finally, special arrangements should be made for older long-termers requiring constant bed care or intense medical treatment.

## Mental Health

- #53** Special attention should be afforded to the counseling and support needs of long-termers during the admission period and the first three to six months of their sentences.

Caseworkers or counselors assigned to long-term inmates should schedule regular meetings with them at least weekly during the first month and quarterly thereafter until their initial adjustment problems are resolved.

The notion of differential adaptation or adjustment periods and styles is frequently cited in studies of long-term confinement. Yet little is known about what factors are associated with successful or unsuccessful adjustment. Likewise, successful coping strategies used by long-termers have not been identified.

The literature suggests, however, that the early part of the sentence is particularly stressful to long-term inmates, for this is when most come to grips with the realities of confinement. Intensive counseling and support is indicated during this period.

In some cases, existing counseling services may not be sufficient as is demonstrated by the following quote, taken from a report on long-term females

published by a large correctional system

- A. Discussions with Counselors. Counselors stated they were generally reluctant to meet with long-termers because these sessions were usually psychologically depressing for all involved. It seems it is extremely difficult to speak to a long-termer for there are really no positive areas of discussion, such as temporary release or furlough programs, to get the inmate involved in. Counselors felt they had no realistic long-range programs to offer to the long-termer; and even if they did have such programs, it was generally felt the long-termers would not have the motivation to get involved in them. It seems the only thing long-termers want to discuss in sessions are their sentences, either to complain about them or lament over them. When asked how long-termers serve time, they stated that the long-termer usually finds her niche within the prison and gets lost in the woodwork to do her time in the easiest way she can find. All in all, there was a general feeling of helplessness on the part of the counselors as far as long-termers were concerned; and consequently, in most cases they have no regularly scheduled sessions with these inmates, but rather they will see them by request only.
- B. Discussions with Long-termers. The two long-termers interviewed, the chairperson and co-chairperson of the Long-termers' Committee, felt that counselors were neither interested in their problems nor had anything positive to offer them, and consequently, they were very reluctant to seek their help for any reason. These long-termers were generally not interested in any of the available programs, for they cannot visualize their value with such a long time to serve. They also gave a negative reply when asked if they might be interested in new programs with long-range possibilities. It seems the only real interest a long-termer has

is to somehow shorten the length of her sentence, and to have more family/community contact while serving her time.

While incarcerated, the long-termers feel their best opportunities are to work in those positions that offer the most money per day, and these are usually not in programs. It was further stated that even if a long-termer was motivated toward learning a skill or already proficient at one, the staff would not let them assume any real positions of responsibility within the institution; and consequently, there was no incentive in trying to better one's position. It was felt that the only way to get a long-termer motivated, if not by the hope of sentence reduction, was to offer them more responsible positions within the facility and also a higher pay scale to go along with these positions. <1>

The solution in this case is obvious but difficult to implement. Counselors need to be trained to better deal with long-termers' problems, and systems must provide more incentives to motivate long-termers to participate in programs that will improve their self-esteem, their mastery of skills that interest them, their adjustment to incarceration, and so forth.

A psychological model of adaptation to long-term confinement has been developed by Canille Graham Camp, a former correctional administrator, based upon the work of Kubler-Ross with terminally ill patients. <2> It is summarized here to help correctional administrators better understand the need to provide long-term inmates with opportunities to avail

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<1> K. Martin, "Preliminary Report, Long-Term Female Inmates at Bedford Hills" New York Department of Correctional Services, Division of Program Planning, Evaluation and Research, June 1978.

<2> Long-term Offender Task Force, Arizona Long-Term Offender Study, unpublished internal study, (Arizona Department of Corrections, 1984).

themselves of intensive counseling and stress reduction programs.

The first stage that long-term inmates experience is DENIAL. Inmates refuse to accept their long sentences being convinced that something will soon free them from prison. The behavior exhibited here is avoidance, evidenced by filing appeals or scheming escapes. As one long-termer explained "I went to the mailbox every day for weeks, expecting a letter from the judge saying he had made a mistake and I was going home." Another remembered, "I used to have fantasies that the Russians would bomb the prison and we'd all escape."

Once these inmates begin to accept reality, they move into the next psychological phase, the MOURNING STAGE. Suicidal thoughts and attempts, depression, withdrawal, excessive sleep, initiation of divorce, and denial of visits are manifested during this stage. Prisoners despair over their past actions and current situations. They take the blame for their situations instead of blaming others, berate themselves, and begin to mourn the fact that they are being denied so many of the pleasures of the outside world.

This attitude eventually gives way to REBELLION, the third stage. Institutional rules are seen as particularly oppressive; inmates perceive correctional staff as the "enemy." Long-termers also direct hostility at other prisoners, and they may feel the need to lash out at their surroundings. Dissension and even violence may erupt during this stage, or inmates' responses to anger take the form manifested before incarceration. This may be as mild as joining the prison's inmate-operated newspaper staff or as severe as joining a prison gang. Once the initial shock of long-term imprisonment starts fading and the affection and support of the free world dissipates, inmates will look for new support systems within the institution.

At some point along the way, most inmates, even the ones who have been rebelling strenuously, start thinking in terms of conforming to the goals and aims



of the institution, not necessarily because they have internalized these ideals, but because they believe that their cooperation will lead to a reduction in their sentences or, at least, a more comfortable environment. This fourth stage in the model is called the **ADJUSTMENT STAGE**.

This behavior may eventually be a large factor in inmates' rehabilitation, even though, at this point, it is still a game. Unfortunately, it is during this stage that some men and women become institutionalized.

During the adjustment stage, prisoners may become what the administration calls "the ideal inmate." Their relationships with correctional officers may be relaxed and pleasant. They may perform their jobs well, accept responsibility well, and show initiative or they may work tirelessly at community projects. For most inmates, this is the end of the cycle. Either they will maintain the behavior manifested at the adjustment stage or, due to external or internal factors, such as frustration, family problems, or the denial of legal appeal, they will regress to an earlier stage and become fixated there or work through the cycle once again.

The sixth and final stage is **SOCIALIZATION**. In the minority of cases, during the course of self-improvement endeavors (adjustment stage), long-termers stop perceiving themselves as criminals and begin to disassociate from prisoners who they consider are still criminals. They surrender to what is, begin to self-actualize through creative growth, recognize problems and plan for the future. Although the behavior pattern at this phase may be similar to that during the adjustment stage, the inmates are now intent on pleasing themselves, not the system. They are weary of being involved with the criminal justice system, tired of being separated from those they love, and fed up with all the other deprivations of prison. In addition, they may have many fears concerning their ability to function in the outside world. They may worry that they do not have sufficient skills to make a comfortable living and resist the temptation of crime. Inmates may have poor

self-images and worry about having the social graces to attract friends or keep meaningful jobs. They simply may not have sufficient optimism to think that they can function adequately outside of the prison. Before leaving prison, long-termers need psychological support that addresses these trepidations.

**#54** Intensive family counseling should be provided to long-termers and their families during the first six months to one year following admission.

This recommendation addresses one major set of problems that distinguish long-termers from other inmates--spouses and children who will wait for a few years for a prisoner's release are far less likely to wait for the inmate serving a much longer sentence. Most inmates serving long sentences recognize that attenuation of familial relationships does occur; however, this realization does not soften the blow when it happens to them.

A current program operated by the Kansas State Penitentiary provides an example of the type of family counseling programs that could be offered to long-termers and their families.

The Kansas State Penitentiary is a maximum security prison housing adult male prisoners. It has a mental health unit that provides a variety of services to inmates, including a Weekend Marriage Workshop for inmates and their legal or common-law wives. The purposes of the workshop are to help inmates learn to be responsible to themselves and their families and to help inmates and their families:

- Recognize that there have been and will be changes in all family members during separation;
- Communicate more effectively;
- Develop skills that will allow them to cope with confinement and resolve problems that arise; and
- Make informed, considered decisions about staying committed to one

another and clearly understand the reasons for these joint decisions.

The format for the workshop is a mixture of presentations by staff and group discussion exercises. Topic areas for the structured activities include common marital problems, resources in the community, and training in relaxation, assertiveness, and communication skills. Time is also allotted for meals and informal visiting so that couples can practice the newly acquired skills as they talk to one another in an unstructured situation.

During the weekend, couples are expected to examine their decisions to stay together, and to clarify any mutual commitment to continue their relationships. On the last evening of the workshop, couples meet with workshop staff to discuss the decisions they have reached about the future of their relationships and to express the reasons for their decisions. Staff offer suggestions for specific behavior changes that couples can make to improve their relationships, as well as provide feedback to couples based on their observations.

Although in Kansas inmates and their wives become eligible to participate in the marriage workshop when inmates are within three to four months of release, such a program would also be useful for long-term offenders at the beginning of their sentences. If possible, the inmates and their spouses should participate in a marriage workshop on an annual basis if couples have made a mutual commitment to maintaining their relationships at the time of the initial workshop.

**#55** Casework staff should be instructed to develop a system for "flagging" those events in long-term inmates' lives that may create undue stress. Such events include unsuccessful parole board appearances, repeated unsuccessful attempts to appeal conviction and/or sentence, the point when family visits begin to taper off, divorce, death of loved ones, aging, and the months just prior to release.

It is difficult to offer crisis intervention services or even counseling services to prisoners if no one other than the long-termers themselves recognize they are in need. In some cases, long-termers will contact their counselors, many times "just to talk." Most of the time, they will not. Inmates seem to learn early in their confinement to bear their burdens silently. It would not require much additional time or effort for caseworkers to code their caseloads to identify this type of information, possible stressful events such as those described, and dates, if known. Weekly reviews of long-termers files would put caseworkers in a proactive as opposed to a reactive stance.

**#56** Another program with serious consideration by correctional administrators is the establishment of special program units within maximum security prisons.

The special program units envisioned by this recommendation are not hospital units, but rather units with a more therapeutic orientation and milieu. While there is very little empirical evidence pertaining to any mental health effects associated with confinement in maximum security settings, speculation about this matter by lawyers, judges, penologists, and the press is generally in the direction of negative consequences. Long-term inmates' needs could be served by a special program unit that provides a setting for observation, diagnosis, and short-term or crisis-related treatment. In New York, for example, the State Office of Mental Health operates mental health satellite units within many of the Department's facilities.

**#57** Mental health services should be provided to inmates and staff in control units or lockdown status that include periodic evaluations and access to various agency treatment programs.

Another use for a special program unit is in conjunction with a control or disciplinary segregation unit population. For example, inmates serving time in the control unit at Minnesota's high security prison at Oak Park Heights are rotated to

the prison's mental health unit to provide a slight change of scenery. (The rooms in the Mental Health Unit are larger, with varying wall colors, and differing arrangements for sleeping, eating and watching television.) The opportunity to move inmates from a control unit, disciplinary segregation, protective custody, or any other limited privilege unit to a mental health unit also affords another opportunity for inmates and officers to gain some relief from settings where daily contact and communication is sometimes hostile but always adversarial.

**#58** Correctional administrators should work with the departments of mental health in their states to develop a procedure whereby long-term mentally ill inmates deemed untreatable are transferred, on a permanent basis, to the appropriate state mental health facility.

Correctional institutions, even those with mental health facilities, are not properly staffed or equipped to indefinitely house mentally ill inmates who have been adjudged untreatable. This is the purview of state-funded mental hospitals. Correctional administrators and state mental health officials should work together to ensure that the needs of long-term inmates requiring special housing and extended treatment are met. In a few states, such arrangements exist under civil commitment laws; however, the majority of states have no such procedures. Special attention will have to be given to the definition of "untreatable" and to determine who will have the final releasing authority.

## Family and Community Ties

**#59** Correctional administrators are urged to develop family orientation programs for long-termers and their families.

Long-term confinement has a profound effect on both inmates and their families. However, prisoners' families are often ignored or, at best, neglected by

correctional agencies due to limited resources. Frequently, they must struggle on their own to cope not only with financial and personal pressures but also with the correctional system itself. Family orientation programs can help to alleviate families' confusion, anxieties, and problems by providing vital information about the confinement experience. This information should cover such topics as visiting, correspondence, and furlough policies; educational and vocational programs available to prisoners; and release planning. Family orientation programs should also provide referrals to service agencies in prisoners' home communities that can assist families with financial and transportation problems. In addition these programs should consider establishing family support groups composed of persons who have experienced the difficulties associated with lengthy imprisonment.

Development of family orientation programs was listed by survey respondents as an important issue in need of additional consideration. Respondents also suggested that family orientation groups meet on at least a monthly basis and provide a contact person for each family.

**#60** Family counseling programs should be developed in those institutions housing large numbers of long-term inmates. Trained individual counselors should be available, particularly during the early and later stages of incarceration, to all long-term inmates and families desiring to work out separation and communication problems.

The strains of maintaining a marriage when one spouse is incarcerated are enormous. Often both partners feel alone and rejected; they are faced with shame, separation, and grief. These couples, consequently, must make some difficult decisions. Should they remain faithful to one another? Is it worthwhile to try to sustain their relationship? Should they just give up? And, in either case, how will their children be affected? During this time of emotional upheaval, inmates

and their families can benefit from professional counseling. Family counseling programs can assist them in confronting the realities of confinement and deciding whether their relationships can withstand the stress. If couples choose to maintain their marriages, counselors can help them resolve feelings about the crimes that led to incarceration, adjust to long-term separation, deal with communication problems, and reach decisions on family matters. For a variety of reasons, however, many couples elect to end their relationships. In these cases, family counseling can prove beneficial in resolving emotional conflicts, arranging for separation and/or divorce, and agreeing on custody matters. Similar programs are also needed for unmarried inmates directed at supporting their relationship with parents, siblings, and other important extended family members.

Survey respondents noted that long-time inmates commonly experience unusual stress during three stages of incarceration: first, during the first three to six months following admission; second, after approximately five years of imprisonment--when family relationships tend to dissolve--and third, just prior to release. Family counseling at these times can assist in alleviating adjustment difficulties, nurturing strained relationships and facilitating re-entry into the family circle. In helping to stabilize family ties, it can also head off frustrations that might erupt into displaced emotions or disruptive behaviors. Administrators and staff should work with churches, volunteers, etc., to establish support groups for families when the agency is unable to financially support this function.

**#61** Agencies should develop transportation programs for those institutions not readily served by public transportation. Such service should operate at least twice a month.

Numerous studies have found that long-term inmates receive fewer visits as time served increases. A primary reason for this decline is problems with

transportation. Inmates' families and friends often lack their own transportation, and many cannot afford to utilize public systems on a regular basis. In some cases, correctional facilities are located in remote areas that are not readily accessible by public transportation. As a result, ties to families and friends weaken and, all too frequently, break completely. Inmates are then stripped of important sources of support, ones that help stabilize their lives during confinement and facilitate readjustment to society upon release.

Approximately one half of the agencies responding to the male and female long-term inmate surveys reported that neither they nor any other organization provided or subsidized transportation for visitors. The significance of this finding is reflected in the fact that respondents ranked transportation as the second most critical problem they faced in regard to family and community ties.

Correctional agencies should address this problem directly by developing transportation programs for visitors, especially at institutions that are not regularly served by public transportation. These programs could take a variety of forms, including working with private and church-related organizations to provide transportation on a periodic basis, initiating special service through public transportation agencies, and subsidizing the cost of visitor transportation. Agencies should ensure that transportation is available to long-termers' families and friends at least twice a month in order to augment opportunities for visitation and to offer visitors some convenience in making travel arrangements.

**#62** Correctional administrators should consider developing and maintaining a transportation pool for inmates' families and friends.

Another means of facilitating transportation for long-term prisoners' families and friends is to create a computerized transportation pool of visitors' names, addresses, telephone numbers, and visiting schedules. Only those persons visiting on a regular basis

and who voluntarily agree to participate should be included as subscribers to this pool. Information should be kept as current as possible and should be kept confidential outside the subscribers. The transportation pool could be coordinated by either agency staff or community volunteers.

**#63** Long-term inmates would profit from assignment to institutions as close as possible to their primary visitors unless such assignment is contraindicated by other factors.

Another significant reason for the decline in visits received by long-termers is the location of many correctional institutions. A large proportion of long-term inmates come from urban areas, while the facilities that house them are frequently situated in remote rural areas or small towns. Such locations impact visiting opportunities in numerous ways. For instance, these sites are less likely to be served by public transportation and are oftentimes many hours distant. In addition, they increase the costs of visiting since families and friends must spend more to travel long distances, and often they must also pay for a motel and meals. Some visitors find that the time and expense of traveling long distances are not justified by the short--by comparison--supervised time they are permitted to spend with prisoners.

Many respondents to the long-term inmate surveys rated institutional location as their top problem in helping long-termers maintain family and community ties. In the female survey, location was also cited as an issue deserving greater attention, a finding that is not surprising since in most states female long-termers are housed in one facility.

To facilitate visiting and, thus, the maintenance of family and community ties, correctional agencies should make every attempt to assign long-term inmates to institutions located as close as possible to their primary visitors. In some cases, of course, such assignments may not be feasible. For instance, facilities may not be located near inmates' homes and security and programming considerations

may necessitate placing inmates in other facilities. Or inmates may not wish to be housed close to their hometowns. In many cases, however, housing assignments are not restricted and agencies should take advantage of options that enhance visiting opportunities.

**#64** Long-term inmates whose security and custody needs permit should be afforded the opportunity for extended family visits (private) or furloughs to their families or responsible community members.

As noted previously, visits by long-term prisoners' families are frequently thwarted by problems with transportation and/or location of correctional facilities. These obstacles can be overcome through extra-institutional and extended visiting programs. Furloughs that last for several days, for example, can reduce the financial drain resulting from travel to distant institutions. Moreover, they enable prisoners and their families to visit in more normal settings, which can serve to enhance communication and emotional expression. One of the pains of imprisonment is that inmates are generally expected to refrain from demonstrating affection. Visits are monitored, an invisible wall exists between prison staff and inmates, and emotional attachments to other prisoners are either tenuous or socially unacceptable. Yet inmates are expected to return to their communities and resume functioning in a normal manner. Furlough programs can assist in bridging such conflicting expectations and increase inmates' chances for successful post-release experiences.

Survey results indicate that only 25.9% of the responding agencies offered unsupervised furloughs for long-term males; 26.5% operated these programs for females. In contrast, 44.4% of the respondents reported unsupervised furlough programs available to short-term males, and 36.7% said that female short-termers were afforded unsupervised furloughs. Correctional agencies not offering furlough programs to long-term inmates should develop such programs for those whose eligibility is not restricted due to

security and custody considerations. Although aimed primarily at inmates and their families, furloughs for nonmarried inmates could also include stays with responsible members of the community. These programs would be especially important as long-termers enter the pre-release phase of confinement, when they can profit from greater exposure to freedom, responsibility, and society in general.

Agencies should also develop extended family visiting programs for long-term prisoners, especially those not eligible for furloughs. Like furloughs, however, extended visiting would afford a more natural environment and help maintain family relationships. Longer visits would also make travel time and expenses worthwhile for visitors. These programs would be aimed at bolstering family relations, not just providing sexual outlets, and they should not necessarily be limited to long-termers who meet specified security and custody requirements. California, for example, operates family visiting programs for inmates in all security classifications.

Several arguments are commonly made against extended visiting programs. Opponents claim, for instance, that these programs are expensive. Undoubtedly, the facilities needed for the programs are relatively costly. However, some of the costs can be offset by requiring inmates to rent state-provided facilities, by securing donated facilities, or by using inmate labor and donated building materials to construct suitable facilities. Inmates can also perform routine maintenance, further reducing program costs. Another argument is that extended visiting programs serve only those long-termers who are married and, consequently, the programs tend to create discontent among other long-termers. Studies have found, though, that substantial numbers of unmarried long-termers support these programs.

Only three respondents to the male survey and just one to the female survey were operating extended family visiting programs for long-term prisoners. Other agencies should seriously consider

instituting such programs within their jurisdictions.

**#65** Visitors advisory boards should be established at all correctional institutions housing large numbers of long-term inmates.

Visitation is an emotionally charged time for both long-term inmates and their families. Because visits are so highly valued, the emotional impact of any obstacle--a minor delay, unanticipated regulations, problems with correctional staff--is intensified. Visitors may become frustrated or angry and complain to inmates, who, in turn, may "act out" following the visits. Thus, an unfortunate chain of events can be set in motion as the result of minor problems or misunderstandings. This situation can generally be ameliorated if correctional institutions provide visitors a forum for communication. Rahway State Prison in New Jersey, for instance, has established a formal citizen's committee to recommend improvements in visitation procedures. Composed of members of prisoners' families and other concerned citizens, this advisory board meets monthly, with representatives from the prison's administration and inmate population often attending. The board discusses complaints and tries to work out feasible solutions. It also attempts to clarify existing rules and regulations and to instill mutual respect in visitors and staff. Since survey results indicate that visitors sometimes complained about rules and treatment by prison personnel, other institutions are urged to consider establishing similar organizations. Visiting policy setting and enforcement should remain with the facility administration.

**#66** Correctional administrators should consider establishing an outreach program to alert interested citizens and community groups to the special needs of long-term inmates and their families.

All too often the public tends to adopt an "out-of-sight, out-of-mind" attitude toward prison inmates, especially those who have been convicted of extremely

serious or repeated crimes. Citizens need to be reminded that the vast majority of long-term inmates will eventually be released from prison and that their chances of successful readjustment can be enhanced through the maintenance of family and community ties. A valuable source of assistance in maintaining these ties is the public itself, particularly community organizations and concerned citizens. Frequently, this pool of resources needs only to be tapped. Correctional administrators should consider means of informing these individuals about the needs of long-termers and their families. An important step in this effort would be the creation of a volunteer coordinator position. In addition to orchestrating volunteer activities, this person could help disseminate information to community organizations, churches, private agencies, and the news media. The volunteer coordinator could also ensure that the agency's speakers bureau covers topics such as the importance of family ties, the problems associated with separation during incarceration, and the need for transportation. Administrators might also see that special steps are taken to identify community resources that could help meet the special needs of long-termers and their families. For instance, community groups, churches, and private agencies could be contacted regarding assistance with families' financial problems, transportation difficulties, and child care needs.

Numerous survey respondents expressed concern regarding the low level of community involvement with long-term inmates and their families. Outreach programs provide an excellent vehicle for addressing this concern.

## Leisure-Time Activities

**#67** Agency policy should place more emphasis on soliciting the participation of community groups in bringing leisure and recreation activities to the long-term population.

The sheer length of time long-term inmates will spend in prison necessitates regular interaction with people from the free world. Aside from the opportunities such encounters give long-termers to keep abreast of happenings in the outside world, people from outside the prison society provide long-termers with a break from the monotonous prison routine and, in colloquial terms, provide a much needed change of scenery. Such encounters also serve to remind private citizens of the chronic deprivations associated with "doing long time." Bringing in community groups to provide or augment leisure and recreation activities for long-termers is a particularly effective form of outreach and public education.

**#68** Correctional administrators should consider introducing more goal-oriented leisure activities and programs for long-termers.

In studies of long-term confinement, several researchers have noted that long-term inmates frequently engage in leisure or recreation activities such as weightlifting or track events. The supposition, which is borne out in conversations with long-termers, is that some long-term inmates choose to participate in activities that involve a progression in skill achievement with practice. Some observers speculate that this is one method whereby long-termers not only mark the passage of time but also can feel good about themselves because they have used time constructively and not simply whiled it away.

Such activities are also useful in reinforcing the advantages of setting goals in one's life and working toward them on a daily basis. Equally important, losses, failures to gain, and other setbacks can be demonstrated to be what they are, temporary disappointments.

**#69** Serious consideration should be given to the initiation of arts and crafts that long-term inmates can sell to augment their incomes.

The survey results indicated that respondents believed long-term inmates were more likely to participate in arts

and crafts type leisure activities than were other inmates. One reason could be that arts and crafts pursuits provide a legitimate avenue for earning spending money. Most correctional agencies have procedures that permit and oftentimes facilitate the sale of inmates' art and crafts. Many long-term inmates lack an outside source of money and must depend upon the small sums they earn performing an institutional work assignment or attending prescribed classes.

**#70** Consideration should be given to developing "service-oriented" programs for long-term inmates; programs that allow them to give of themselves to better a segment of society, "to pay back their debt."

Numerous long-term inmates have praised the opportunities they have been given to participate in programs that allowed them to give of their time and of themselves to enrich the lives of others. Such programs have included the transcription of written materials, books and magazines into braille, the encouragement of children to read and write poetry and short stories, and the deterrence of juveniles from a life of crime.

**#71** In systems where 'lifers' clubs" or similar clubs are active, these clubs should be heartily supported by the correctional administration.

**#72** In jurisdictions without an active club, steps should be taken to generate inmate interest in a 'lifers'" or "long-termers'" club.

One of the oldest programs organized to meet distinct needs of long-term inmates is the lifers' club. Lifers' clubs attempt to serve a number of functions, all related to minimizing the adverse effects of long-term confinement. For example, members of lifers' clubs share common experiences, which tend to defuse the negative aspects of their confinement. The experience of social isolation, for example, is not as devastating if it is shared with others and is better understood once others share their views and knowledge of the phenomenon. Another aspect of lifers' clubs is that they

provide an acceptable vehicle for social interaction. They frequently plan and host banquets, parties, guest speakers, and less frequently, special field trips outside the facility for specially screened members. All activities of this type are very beneficial in terms of their ability to help normalize inmates' lives, environments, and relationships. Some lifers' groups go one step further and take on projects of value to correctional agencies, other inmates, or society in general. Such activities may be seen as efforts on the part of these inmates to become involved in the greater world. This involvement appears to be a key in developing meaningful programs for long-termers.

In some agencies the lifers' club is a formal organization, with a slate of officers, a constitution with by-laws, and the sponsorship of private citizens. In others the clubs are loosely organized, with a minimal format for conducting business. Group counseling programs are sometimes structured around this concept, with one or more groups composed of totally or mostly of inmates serving life sentences, usually assuring a length of prison stay of over ten years.

Such inmate organizations must be closely supervised by the facility administration to ensure they are responsive to the needs of most long-term inmates. If not properly structured and supervised such programs may become self-serving or used to promote criminal behavior by gang members, revolutionaries, drug dealers, etc.

## Release Preparation

**#73** Long-term inmates should be provided pre-release counseling, particularly those individuals who have been identified as requiring reintegration assistance.

Long-term inmates typically are plagued by a "Catch-Z" situation: they find it difficult to cope with imprisonment if they maintain a "real world" orientation,



yet if they adapt too completely to institutional life, they may experience considerable problems when they re-enter society. This situation has its genesis in the extended time that long-termers spend in prison and the widespread changes that society undergoes during their imprisonment. Since most long-term inmates adjust to confinement, they are in special need of counseling prior to release. However, this counseling should differ somewhat from that provided to other prisoners in order to meet the unique needs of long-termers. Just over 88% of the respondents to the male survey and approximately 61% of the respondents to the female survey thought that the pre-release needs of long-term inmates differed from those of short-term inmates. These needs encompass a variety of concerns, many of which can be addressed through professional counseling.

One of the primary targets of pre-release counseling should be long-termers' general expectations. Frequently, long-term prisoners believe they will be back in the mainstream of society within a few months after release. They envision themselves working in good jobs, retaking their places within the family circle, and enjoying their leisure times with old friends. Such expectations, unfortunately, are unrealistic. It is much more likely that long-termers will find themselves struggling to find employment or working in low-paying positions, facing problems within the family constellation, and encountering suspicion and hostility not only from society in general but also from some of their friends. Counseling staff need to assist long-term inmates in developing realistic expectations concerning release and coping strategies so that disappointment will not lead to anger, despair and, perhaps, reincarceration.

Long-termers should also be counseled regarding ordinary social interaction. Many of these inmates find it difficult to engage in everyday conversations during their first few weeks in the community. They may feel uncomfortable talking with members of the opposite sex, dealing with store clerks, or interacting in numerous other ways that most people take for

granted and perform unthinkingly. Counseling can help to alleviate much of the anxiety and self-consciousness that long-term prisoners tend to experience upon release, while also helping to prepare them for such social encounters.

Long-term inmates with families are in particular need of pre-release counseling, regardless of whether their marriages have survived the confinement experience. Those who have become separated or divorced may require assistance in resolving their anger and disappointment and in relating to their former spouses and any children they may have. Married long-termers, on the other hand, are likely to need help in re-entering family life, where they may experience difficulties in dealing with the independence that their spouses have developed and the resentment or rejection that their children may bear toward them

Other factors may also play an important role in determining how successfully long-termers readjust to life in the community. Correctional agencies should attempt to identify long-termers' pre-release needs and provide special counseling to meet them

**#74** Pre-release programs designed specifically to meet the needs and characteristics of long-term inmates are recommended for all agencies. The development of all programs and services for long-termers should be guided by the expectation that sooner or later nearly all long-termers will be released.

As noted earlier, a majority of survey respondents perceived a difference between the pre-release needs of long-term inmates and those of other inmates. A large percentage of agencies also said they provided programs that prepared long-termers for release--64.7% of the male survey respondents and 75.0% of the female survey respondents. It seems likely, however, that most of these programs are the same ones offered to the general prisoner population rather than ones that have been developed specifically for long-termers. It also appears likely that many of these programs rely too heavily on

prison industries and maintenance assignments as a means of preparing long-term inmates for release. The length of time these prisoners are incarcerated necessitates the development of special programming for them, programming that spans their terms of confinement and is designed to gradually prepare them for release. Such release-oriented programming should encompass a wide range of program areas and, thus, in many cases will require cooperative efforts among agency and institutional staff.

For instance, efforts to prepare long-termers for employment following release should entail coordination among academic and vocational programs and development of long-range plans to build upon inmates' knowledge and skills. Academic education should precede other programming to ensure that long-term inmates possess the skills needed to read and follow written instructions, perform basic mathematical calculations, and communicate clearly with co-workers and supervisors. Next, vocational training should be provided to forge the skills and experiences required for employment in the institution and, eventually, the community. After such preparatory training has been completed, long-termers should have the opportunity to work in prison industries or institutional maintenance. These work assignments should be based on the prison career concept discussed earlier; career ladders and lead positions should be available to all long-term prisoners, including females. During their prison careers, long-termers should be able to upgrade their education by attending additional academic classes and to maintain their vocational skills by taking refresher courses. Security and custody considerations permitting, long-term prisoners should be encouraged to participate in work- and study-release programs during their last year of confinement.

Another area in which long-term inmates could benefit from more systematic programming is independent living. During their long years of confinement, many of these inmates tend to become institutionalized. They grow accustomed to a lifestyle that is tightly

circumscribed by rules and regulations. Their days are highly structured, and they have few opportunities to make decisions. Consequently, upon release, many long-termers feel overwhelmed by freedom and responsibility, and they may become anxious, confused, and/or frustrated. Correctional agencies should develop programs that better prepare long-termers for independent living. For example, agencies could design a program similar to that used for long-term prisoners at Utah State Prison. There, long-termers are housed in a separate facility and are party to individualized contracts based upon increasing levels of responsibility and privilege. (This program is described more fully in Chapter III.) Similarly, halfway houses or other community-based facilities can assist qualified long-termers in making the transition to independent living. Work-release and study-release programs, as well as home furloughs, can also serve to make long-termers feel more comfortable outside prison walls. Even a program designed specifically to aid with financial management can be of value; many long-termers do not know how to open a bank account, write a check, plan and balance a budget, or complete a tax return. In short, a variety of specific and broad-based options are available. Their guiding principle, however, should be the same: to assist long-term inmates in developing the skills needed for independent living.

**#75** Correctional administrators are urged to work with releasing agencies to develop post-release programming for those long-termers who are identified by institutional casework staff as particularly "at risk" for failure on parole or release.

Post-release programming for long-term inmates is not nearly as widespread as pre-release programming. Only 32.4% of the agencies responding to the survey, for instance, provided post-release programming for males; 25% offered this programming to females. Moreover, of those few respondents whose agencies did provide post-release programming, nearly half thought that programming inadequate. Finally, almost three fourths of the

respondents to the male survey and one half of the respondents to the female survey indicated that their after-release/parole staff received no training in the supervision or management of long-term prisoners.

The lack of quality programming for long-termers following their release is, thus, readily apparent. However, the need for post-release programming is less clearly delineated. Some long-termers, given adequate release preparation, readjust to life in the community with little or no outside assistance. Others may experience considerable difficulty. Such inmates would include those without any significant family or community ties, those lacking employment upon release, those with extensive histories of recidivism or violent behavior, and those having gang affiliations. These long-termers are likely to require intensive supervision and continued programming if they are to be successfully reintegrated into society.

Correctional administrators are urged to work with releasing agencies to develop programming for long-termers who are judged to be at risk of failure following release. The need for such cooperative efforts is great, for field staff often lack sufficient data on releasees and institutional staff feel little, if any, responsibility for inmates after they walk out the gate. To be effective, post-release programming must match long-termers' needs with community resources, a process that requires a good deal of information sharing. Once those inmates most likely to benefit from post-release programming have been identified, releasing agencies can assist in arranging programming appropriate to their needs; for example, individual or group counseling, intensive supervision, employment services, substance abuse treatment, or residential housing programs. It would be helpful, for example, if specialized training were offered to parole agents who had long-term inmates on their caseloads.

# Descriptions of Long-Term Inmate Programs-- Existing and Potential

The purpose of the Guidebook is to aid correctional administrators in planning, implementing, and evaluating inmate programs that show promise for improved management of long-term inmates. One of the most effective methods for accomplishing this objective is the development of case studies describing all aspects of the programs under consideration.

The preliminary survey requested correctional agencies to provide brief descriptions of any programs expressly designed for long-term inmates or of those developed for other inmates that could benefit long-termers.

Few programs were identified by the field. From the information received, it appears that only one long-term inmate program was operating in the United States at the time of the survey--the Long Termers Program at the Utah State Prison. Three other programs, all operated by the Connecticut Department of Corrections, were brought to the attention of project staff because of their potential for adaptation to long-term participants: The Cabbage Patch, which develops and distributes a variety of elementary educational tools; The World Prison Poetry Center, which publishes prisoners' poetry; and The Cohegan Wilderness Lands, which strives to preserve rare and endangered plant species.

Case studies were prepared for each of these four programs, based upon visits to the facilities, interviews with program administrators, staff, and inmate participants, and review of policies and procedures. The case studies that follow are intended to provide an overview of programs that could be used for long-termers in other jurisdictions. Included in these studies is basic information

concerning program organization, administration, staffing, costs, and effectiveness. A contact person for each program is also furnished.

## Long-Termers Program-- Utah State Prison

### INTRODUCTION

The Long Termers Program at Utah State Prison (USP) is an honor program that was developed to create an environment conducive to the positive growth of its members. It provides the incentives and opportunities necessary to help members move away from prison norms and values, become goal oriented, and adapt a life-style compatible with society's. Through a structured procedure for advancement, the program encourages members to make positive contributions to the correctional facility and community-at-large as well as to enhance their own lives. Although it has not been formally evaluated, the Long Termers Program has received high marks from both program staff and members.

### PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

#### Origin and Development

The concept of the Long Termers Program originated with a small group of USP inmates. Concerned about the debilitating effects of lengthy incarceration, these inmates enlisted the aid of a prison social worker in developing a rehabilitation program designed to meet the special needs of long-term offenders. The result, in December 1975, was a program that promotes innovation, integrity, hard work, and self-improvement in its participants and, thus, assists them in making the transition back to society as productive citizens.

#### Goals and Objectives

The Long Termers Program has three explicit goals: (1) "To provide a community of productive individuals drawn

from the ranks of long term prisoners, to serve as examples to the general prison population"; (2) "To provide an environment based upon an honor system in which deserving long term residents may realize their individual program goals utilizing methods not normally open to the general prison population"; and (3) "To provide an avenue of transition into the ranks of society, as well as a means of generating a society-oriented consciousness in participating individuals." These goals were developed by the unit director, social workers, deputy warden, and warden; and they have been incorporated into the manual of procedures governing the Long Termers Program

Program objectives center around individual contracts drawn up by members and Unit Management Team staff. These contracts enable members to move through a series of five levels that are characterized by increasing responsibilities and privileges. Members may progress through these levels at their own speed although time constraints related to parole date also influence advancement.

#### Organization and Management

The Long Termers Program is a component of the Special Services Dormitory, a minimum security housing unit at USP. This facility is shared with two other programs, one geared toward sex offenders and one designed for mentally ill prisoners. All three are administered by the Special Services Dormitory Director, who reports to the USP Warden, the Minimum Security Program Director, and the Deputy Warden. The programs also share staffing, principally social workers and correctional officers. This arrangement represents a substantial improvement over the program's organization of five years ago, when it was housed within the USP main cell block facility. The move was designed to provide an environment that would better meet long-term offender needs and program goals.

The program is administered by both staff and inmates. A three-member unit management team is responsible for

approving program applications and activities and for evaluating members' advancement. This team is composed of the unit director, a social worker, and a lieutenant, all of whom have been especially trained to work with long-term offenders. Program members also play a key role in ongoing management. The Program Residents Organization conducts regular meetings to inform members of current developments, discuss proposals, and schedule activities. This organization is managed by one elected payroll official--the program clerk--and three elected nonpayroll officials--the chairman, secretary, and treasurer. In addition, three active members serve on the Program Steering Committee, which acts as an advocate for members and ensures constant communication between program members and staff. Finally, all members have a voice in approving membership applications and in planning individual and group activities.

#### Staffing

The day-to-day operation of the Long Termers Program is performed by 16 staff. Overall management of the program is the responsibility of the Special Services Unit Director, who assists with and approves all program activities. Administration of the program is the responsibility of the social worker, who directs all functions, helps negotiate contract provisions, and serves as a liaison between members and staff. A lieutenant supervises the correctional staff and also participates in classification and scheduling. Thirteen correctional officers, who assist with counseling and are responsible for security/custody functions throughout the Special Services Dormitory, complete the staffing. In general, this staffing pattern has altered only when programming has changed, and there are no plans for any other changes in staffing.

#### Physical Plant/Equipment/Supplies

The Special Services Dormitory is a two-story self-contained facility located on USP grounds. The facility includes a kitchen, dining room, food storage area, and washer/dryer area. Administrative

functions are housed in a social worker's office, unit director's office, and lieutenant's/records office. In addition, space has been set aside for a counselor's station, medication room, psychologist's office, and seclusion room. For program activity, the facility has a weight room, recreation room, group room, craft workshop, and woodshop. Eighteen rooms are available for housing long-term offenders. Inmates in the sex offender program reside in two large dormitories; three additional dormitories are designated for mentally ill prisoners.

Although the physical plant generally meets the needs of the three special services programs, the Long Termers Program would like to enlarge the yard and increase the space and equipment available for recreational activities.

#### Program Costs

The costs of implementing and operating the Long Termers Program are nearly impossible to determine since it shares facilities, equipment, supplies, and staff with the two other programs housed within the Special Services Dormitory.

The program is funded entirely by the State of Utah. Funds are included within the penitentiary budget, with no specific conditions governing their use. Money for special activities is earned by program members themselves.

#### Program Operation

The Long Termers Program is designed to accommodate eighteen members annually. The program maintains high visibility within the prison so that inmates will be familiar with its philosophy and regulations. Candidates for membership must have an expected five years left to serve and spent the previous year in the general population. In addition, they must have had no major disciplinary convictions during that year and possess exemplary work records.

Applications for membership may be made through prison social workers or through Long Termers sent among the general population to invite participation in the

program. Applicants are then screened by program staff and members in regard to disciplinary records, work records, and parole status. To be accepted, applicants must be approved by 75% of the membership, the program staff, and an administrative review committee. All newly approved members must have a sponsor, who is responsible for assisting them during their first year in the program.

The program itself is based on advancement through five levels of graduated privileges. Advancement is contingent upon increased responsibility, integrity, and stability as demonstrated by fulfillment of individual contracts. A separate contract is drawn up for each privilege level, and the completion status of each contract is periodically assessed by program members and staff during unit management team meetings. Contracts address 22 specific areas, including group participation, individual accomplishments, educational improvement, community and prison service projects, disciplinary record, and psychological evaluation. Members must remain on each level for at least a year before requesting approval for advancement.

Each of the five levels is defined by the extent of privileges it affords. While in the lowest level, for example, members may have four visits per week and attend one dance per month upon invitation. By the time they have advanced to the highest level, privileges have been significantly extended. Members retain all privileges previously earned, are eligible for work or school release, and may make unescorted home visits.

A key aspect of the program in preparing long-term offenders for release is community service projects. Members may become involved in such activities as assisting the elderly and the handicapped with yard work and home repairs, adopting needy families during the Christmas season, and serving as crime prevention speakers. These activities help members feel more at ease in society, while alleviating some of society's fears about them.

Long Termers may be removed from the program or reduced in level if they are convicted of a major disciplinary offense, fail to comply with commitments made in individual contracts, or are recommended for removal by 75% of the membership.

### Program Effectiveness

The USP Long Termers Program has not been formally evaluated. However, some measure of its effectiveness can be obtained from inmate and staff feedback. Members generally report a positive experience with the program. They realize it is a high-level privilege program that provides them with unusual opportunities. They also find the privilege-level concept extremely motivating. Although some inmates in the general population exhibit a derogatory attitude toward the program, many others look up to Long Termers. Program staff are extremely enthusiastic about the program and view long-term offenders as the backbone of the institution. Most agency staff are generally supportive of the program. Some, however, believe it is too liberal in its approach, and a few think it should be eliminated.

Program members receive several major benefits. First, they have the opportunity to live in a constructive environment. Second, they can interact with staff in a more normalized manner. Third, they receive a high level of privileges. Finally, they have the opportunity to rebuild their self-image and become productive members of society.

For the agency, the program serves as an effective management tool and a means of providing useful prison services. Program members not only serve as models for other inmates, but also are qualified to orient new inmates and officers, provide psychiatric assistance and paraprofessional counseling, resolve problems between inmates and staff, and teach a GED equivalency course to students unable to attend formal classes. Moreover, it is believed that the program has the potential for enhancing the image of USP and of released offenders.

The Long Termers Program seeks continually to improve its operations. Procedures are reviewed biannually, and selection criteria have been gradually refined. To further improve the program, consideration is being given to adding more college courses, enhancing substance abuse and counseling programs, and liberalizing property restrictions. Staff would also like to increase service projects, perhaps by locating the program outside USP.

### POTENTIAL FOR TRANSFER

Replication of the USP Long Termers Program in other jurisdictions appears to present few difficulties. In terms of population, management, and philosophy, USP does not differ greatly from other state correctional facilities. However, transfer of the program can be facilitated if several considerations are kept in mind. First, program staff suggest that it is better to implement the program using restrictive selection and evaluation criteria. It is much easier to loosen than to tighten criteria if such changes later prove necessary. Second, it is prudent to exclude notorious offenders, who might tarnish the program's image with the public or with the general prison population. Third, it is important for staff to work closely with parole officers in coordinating plans for members to return to the community. Finally, the effectiveness of the program can be enhanced by housing it in a relatively small unit, where an environment conducive to individual growth and normalized social relations can be established.

Agencies wishing to obtain further information about the Long Termers Program should contact R. Mont Evans, Unit Director, Special Services Dormitory, Utah State Prison, P.O. Box 250, Draper, Utah 84020; (801) 571-2300.

## Goals and Objectives

# The Cabbage Patch-- Somers Correctional Institution

## INTRODUCTION

The Cabbage Patch is a non-profit rehabilitation program for maximum security, sentenced inmates at the Somers Correctional Institution in Somers, Connecticut. This special program has a dual focus, seeking to increase inmates' contacts with the community and to enhance children's reading and writing skills. Participants in the program develop and distribute a variety of educational tools for use in grade schools, libraries and children's hospitals throughout the world. Informal assessments of the program suggest that it helps to promote discipline, responsibility and self-esteem in participants.

## PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

### Origin and Development

The Cabbage Patch was begun in July 1978 as a means of providing maximum security prisoners at Somers Correctional Institution with greater access to the free community. It was hoped that the program would also provide an opportunity to study the methodology for devising such access. The idea for the program originated with the Chief of Program Development for the Connecticut Department of Correction and the Assistant Warden for Treatment at Somers Correctional Institution. The program was developed during a series of weekly discussions between these two staff members and a group of maximum security inmates. Inmate involvement and input were considered crucial not only to the development of the Cabbage Patch but also to its ultimate success. Approximately three and a half months after the first group discussion, the program was in place and its first educational tape had been produced.

The program is designed to serve two audiences, inmate participants and young children throughout the world. The principal goals established by "the men of the Cabbage Patch" reflect these foci. One broad goal is to enhance inmates' life skills. Participation in the program is designed to provide greater contact with the community, to heighten concern for others, to develop increased self-discipline and acceptance of responsibility, and to improve prisoners' self-images. A second goal is to encourage the development of children's reading and writing abilities and motivate them to use these important skills.

To meet these goals, program participants have initiated a number of educational projects. For instance, they have developed several educational programs based on tape recordings of fairy tales, folklore, popular stories, and stories and poems submitted by children. The tapes range from thirty minutes to an hour in length and are designed for monthly or bimonthly use in classrooms or libraries. Bilingual (Spanish/English) versions of these tapes are also available. In addition, the inmates produce a weekly half-hour radio program broadcast in Connecticut and New York. Another project is The Cabbage Leaf, a twice yearly publication containing stories, poems and "news releases" by children. The Cabbage Patch also sponsors a Pen-Pal club. Children, with parental approval, can correspond with inmates, who encourage the "young sprouts" to develop their imaginations and writing talents.

Staff report that inmates have established and met production schedules for these projects and that, for the most part, program goals have been met.

### Organization and Management

The Cabbage Patch is part of the programming offered by the Somers Correctional Institution, where it is overseen by the Assistant Warden for Treatment. The Assistant Warden reports to the Warden, who, in turn, is responsible to the Commissioner of



## Correction.

Although the lines of authority are clearly defined, some organizational difficulties may result from differing perceptions of the program. At the institutional level, it is classified as an avocational activity, but the central office views it as a rehabilitation program.

A variety of individuals are involved in administering the Cabbage Patch program. Three department staff serve in an administrative capacity--the Chief of Program Development, who acts as a consultant; the Assistant Warden for Treatment, who oversees the program, and a lieutenant, who is responsible for internal coordination. These staff are assisted by a part-time person who is contracted to handle external coordination. In addition, inmates play an important part in program management. They are involved in all major decisions, such as those concerned with programming, publishing, and scheduling. The final component of program administration is an advisory board composed of interested citizens. The board provides program participants with guidance on matters of style and content and assists them in locating resources important to program operations.

This administrative structure has been altered somewhat during the seven years the program has been operative. Originally, the Chief of Program Development was involved full-time in directing the program. His role has gradually decreased as the Institution has grown. This change has resulted in two significant developments. The use of dual coordinators, one from the outside and one from the Institution, facilitates effective resolution of most problems. However, as the central office's involvement has lessened, the program has been increasingly assimilated into the Institution and the prisoners' role in decision-making has declined. Staff have not yet reached agreement regarding the effectiveness of the current management structure.

## Staffing

Daily operation of the program is assigned to four staff. The Chief of Program Development acts as a consultant; meeting with inmates and staff, encouraging program activities and participation, and making public relations contacts. Two institutional staff are assigned to program operations. The Assistant Warden for Treatment serves as the program administrator, providing general oversight of activities. The lieutenant assigned to the program coordinates daily activities. These responsibilities include obtaining supplies, resolving problems and developing membership. The last staff position is the community liaison. This position is contracted on a part-time basis to an individual who is responsible for making contacts with schools, the program advisory board, and volunteers.

Staffing for the program has increased during the seven years it has been in operation. As the role of the central office began to decrease, management roles for the Assistant Warden and lieutenant were created. No further changes are currently planned, however.

## Physical Plant/Equipment/Supplies

The Cabbage Patch program operates from the facility that houses the Institution's school. There, however, it is assigned only about two-thirds of a large room, and staff state that the program would benefit greatly if it had not only an exclusive room but one designed for tape production activities.

Equipment and supplies, according to staff, are adequate. The program has the use of cassette and reel-to-reel tape recording equipment, a sound mixer, a tape duplicator, mimeograph equipment, and various writing and drawing supplies.

## Program Costs

No start-up costs are attributed to the Cabbage Patch program. Shortly after its inception, a small cassette tape recorder and several children's books were donated to participants, enabling them to produce

their first tapes. Current annual operating costs are estimated at \$6,000, or about \$600 per participant. These include expenditures for supplies and postage as well as the \$4,500 salary for the community liaison.

During its early years, most of the program's expenditures were borne by a three-year grant from the Hartford Foundation for Public Giving. Not until 1983 was funding for the Cabbage Patch included in the Department's budget, allowing it to receive some monies from the Institution's non-appropriated funds. In addition, some of the program's annual operating costs are defrayed by subscriptions to its taped educational programs.

#### Program Operation

The number of inmates participating in the program on an annual basis ranges between 9 and 13. The primary source of information about the Cabbage Patch is simply word of mouth. If an inmate becomes interested in participating in the program, he can make a request to the administration or to one of "the men of the Cabbage Patch." He must then await classification to the program, which can take one of two forms. An inmate may receive one of the three job assignments in the program, or he may be classified as a volunteer, enabling him to be released from other work assignments to participate in the program.

To date, very few inmates have been dropped from the program. Reasons for removal tend to center on disagreement with administrative policies and on actions demonstrating such disagreement--for example, criticizing policies in letters to subscribers.

Over time several factors have impacted program operations. When participants have asserted positions contrary to the administration's, reaction has been negative, affecting not only the individual but also the program. On the other hand, a number of favorable public relations articles have strengthened the program's position within the Institution. In addition, the grant award, which

focused on development of the program (particularly within the Foundation's region) provided targets and reporting procedures that were helpful in ensuring continuance and expansion of the program.

#### Program Effectiveness

The Cabbage Patch has not been formally evaluated. However, the impressions of staff and inmates suggest it is having a positive impact. Participants perceive the program as an opportunity to help children and enjoy a type of vicarious parenting experience. They also welcome the chance to engage in constructive activity with minimal supervision. The general prisoner population also views the program favorably, but feels it is a minor and remote opportunity. Program staff are particularly enthusiastic about the increased discipline and self-control inmates demonstrate through the program. Moreover, the Cabbage Patch has acquired a positive image among agency staff.

Program staff believe that both inmates and the agency benefit from the program. In addition to developing greater self-discipline and satisfaction in helping others, participants can continue or renew community contacts. For some, this interaction eventually eases the often difficult transition from prison to society. For a relatively low cost, the agency also receives significant benefits. The Cabbage Patch has been featured in numerous newspapers and on television, and it is one of the inmate programs highlighted in a recent documentary entitled "More Than a Sentence: The Humanities in Prison." The Cabbage Patch has also been recognized by the National Educational Media Association. Such acclamation has generated a very favorable image among the public and various community organizations. In addition, staff point out that the program assists the agency in meeting accreditation standards related to community involvement.

#### POTENTIAL FOR TRANSFER

Program staff believe that the Cabbage

Patch is amenable to replication in other jurisdictions if certain basic principles of organization are followed. Inmates should be allowed a large stake in the program. A strong advisory board should be operational, starting in the program's early years. In addition, the agency should make a strong, continuing commitment to the program from the outset.

Staff emphasize that some degree of participant autonomy is necessary for the program to succeed. The failure to involve participants in program decisions can lead to several problems. Foremost among these is an abdication by group members of responsibility for success of the enterprise and a turning back to the institution for financial and other forms of support. Additionally, the goals of creating a sense of service and better self-esteem among participants are likely to suffer if inmates become "operatives" rather than "directors" of the enterprise.

While a program such as the Cabbage Patch creates some risks for the administration of an institution, those risks can be minimized through collaborative efforts at goal setting and achievement. Over the course of seven years the program has experienced several minor problems, but none of such magnitude that consideration was given to terminating the activity. Currently, the administration sees no major difficulties in the transfer of the program and is open to accommodating visitors who wish to observe Cabbage Patch operations.

Agencies desiring more information about the Cabbage Patch program may contact Robert J. Brooks, Chief, Program Development, Department of Correction, 340 Capitol Avenue, Hartford, Connecticut 06106; (203) 566-4264.

## **World Prison Poetry Center - New Haven Community Correctional Center**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The World Prison Poetry Center is a unique program for inmates at the New

Haven Community Correctional Center, a medium security pretrial and sentenced facility operated by the Connecticut Department of Correction. The program which is run almost exclusively by inmates, seeks both to encourage prisoners to write poetry and to provide an outlet for the publication of their works. It has been operating for over three years and continues to expand the number and scope of its activities.

### **PROGRAM DESCRIPTION**

#### **Origin and Development**

The World Prison Poetry Center had its origins in a \$5,000 anonymous gift to the Department of Correction in late 1981. This money was used to fund several new inmate programs, one of which was an idea for a poetry center. The Chief of Program Development for the Department of Correction, who had originated this idea, then met periodically with interested inmates to discuss program structure, activities and products. By January 1982, an operating consensus had been reached, and the Center began soliciting poetry for publication. Three months later the World Prison Poetry Center printed and distributed the first of its bimonthly publications.

#### **Goals and Objectives**

Two basic goals govern the operation of the World Prison Poetry Center-- encouragement of poetry writing among prisoners throughout the world and publication of poetry composed by prisoners. To meet these goals, the Center has established several objectives. One of these is the bimonthly publication of inmate poetry. "Sentences: Broad-sides of Prison Poetry" has been published regularly since the program's inception. Each issue features the work of a single poet, which has been submitted to the Center and selected by a panel of professional writers, poets and professors. Another objective is to provide in-house poetry workshops featuring both guest poets from the outside community and program

participants. Several workshops have been conducted to encourage participation and sharpen inmates' writing skills.

Recently, the Center has established a new goal intended to benefit not only program participants but also the community. Inmates have begun to create an archive of Connecticut poets 'from outside the prison bars.' This project, which is funded by state grants, will include oral biographies and readings by poets. The archives will be made available to libraries throughout the state.

### Organization and Management

Within the Department of Correction, the World Prison Poetry Center falls under the auspices of the Chief of Program Development, who is responsible for initiating programs that lie outside traditional forms of activity. This individual, in turn, reports to the Commissioner of the Department of Correction.

The program is officially administered by the Chief of Program Development and a counselor/facility coordinator assigned to the Community Corrections Center. However, program participants also play a substantial role in management activities and are involved in almost every phase of decision-making, which relies heavily on consensus. In addition, the program uses volunteers as liaisons to the community.

This management configuration has proved relatively effective and, consequently, has not been altered since the program began operating over three years ago.

### Staffing

Two staff are assigned to the day-to-day operation of the World Prison Poetry Center. The Chief of Program Development has responsibility for all organizational aspects of the Center. He serves as its primary liaison and handles some of its correspondence. He also plays a key role in resolving any problems that may arise in connection with the program's operation. The second staff member is the counselor/facility coordinator, who is the

only on-site staff member. He is responsible for transmitting checks/cash and for opening the Center's mail. He also keeps custody staff informed of inmate activities. In addition to these program responsibilities, the coordinator continues all work associated with his counseling position at the Community Correctional Center. A significant portion of the day-to-day operations is handled by the participants themselves, who answer correspondence, maintain records of subscribers, and arrange poetry readings.

The number of program staff has not changed since the Center was established; however, there have been some minor alterations in staff responsibilities, primarily in regard to institutional coordination. Moreover, due to turnover, the coordinator's role has tended to change with the interest and commitment of the individual occupying the position. The present staffing arrangement is considered satisfactory, on the whole, and there are no plans to modify it.

### Physical Plant/Equipment/Supplies

Facilities for the Center are minimal at best. No space is assigned, so participants meet in whatever room is available. Some file space in the classification office has been designated for the Center's use, however.

Staff believe that equipment and supplies are adequate at present. The Center has its own stereo recording equipment and access to typewriters, mimeograph machines, and stationery supplies. In addition, an old flatbed letterpress (still used for printing temporary license plates) is available for printing the Center's poetry books at another, nearby state correctional facility.

### Program Costs

Because the World Prison Poetry Center was established with funds from an anonymous gift, start-up costs were nonexistent. The current annual operating expense, which has remained essentially unchanged since the program's inception,

is \$1,450. This figure covers printing, postage, and stationery supplies.

However, staff report that income defrays about 75% of these operating costs, reducing yearly expenditures to about \$350, or \$14 for each prisoner involved in the program. Income is derived from subscriptions to the poetry broadside and from sales of such items as T-shirts and packets of postcards with poems printed on them. A few costs have also been covered by grants. For example, work on the archive of published poets from Connecticut is being funded by grants from the Connecticut Council on the Humanities and the Connecticut Commission on the Arts.

### Program Operation

The number of prisoners involved in the Center at any one time averages around eight. Due to high turnover in the inmate population, however, approximately 125 inmates participate in the program on an annual basis. The program is open to all inmates, except those restricted by reason of psychiatric classification. Inmates generally learn of the Center through word of mouth although a few are referred by the classification committee. Interested individuals are then asked to contact one of the participants. Program involvement begins almost immediately, with an invitation to attend the Center's next meeting.

To date, no one has been dropped from the program, but staff indicate that disciplinary infractions would probably result in suspension or dismissal. In addition, as noted earlier, membership changes frequently as participants are transferred to lower security institutions.

On the whole, program operations have proved very effective, and they have been further enhanced by positive public relations and considerable media exposure. The Center, for instance, is one of five inmate programs nationwide that are featured in a recent documentary on the humanities in prisons. The only significant impediment to program operations has been the lack of working

space, but this problem has been largely resolved by meeting in the evening when more rooms are available.

### Program Effectiveness

No formal evaluation of the World Prison Poetry Center has been conducted to date. Generally, though, perceptions of the Center are quite positive. In fact, the principal complaint of the participants is that they are not able to spend more time on work for the Center. Those in the general inmate population who have heard about the program express support for it, as do most agency staff. The program organizer is particularly enthusiastic and believes the Center benefits the agency and community, as well as the inmates.

Program participants benefit in a variety of ways. For example, the Center offers them the opportunity to become part of an enterprise with community links, thus alleviating much of their sense of alienation. It also provides constructive and, oftentimes, therapeutic activity. Inmates have a legitimate channel of communication and a vehicle for venting their feelings. Some participants have gained a more favorable self-image as the result of their involvement, and most acquire valuable practice in the use of language arts.

The agency, in turn, benefits from these positive effects on program participants. Moreover, the Center has created a noticeably favorable image of the program and the agency among members of the community.

The community, too, gains from the Center's operation. Subscribers to the Center's publications not only have the pleasure of reading good poetry, but also acquire a greater understanding of prisoners and their lives. Area poets are provided with the chance to read their works to an enthusiastic audience of inmates, and the archival project ultimately will serve students and scholars.

## POTENTIAL FOR TRANSFER

Staff at the World Prison Poetry Center believe the program has excellent potential for transfer, especially since cost is not a significant barrier to this type of programming. The primary advantages of the program are its opportunities for unlimited elaboration and its ability to be used in areas that lack attractiveness to most businesses. The same sort of structure used by the Center could also be applied to programs designed to conduct genealogical research, serve the distinct needs of senior citizens, provide an outlet for prisoners' musical interests, and develop handcraft skills. The only barriers to replication, staff believe, are a willingness to give inmates a significant role in the program's administration and the commitment necessary to establish such a program. Staff also suggest that a procedures manual be developed to ensure program continuity and that facility staff be provided with sufficient information about program activities.

Agencies interested in replicating this type of program should contact Robert J. Brooks, Chief, Program Development, Department of Correction, 340 Capitol Avenue, Hartford, Connecticut 06106; (203) 566-4264.

## The Cohegan Wilderness Lands - Montville Community Correctional Center

### INTRODUCTION

Inmates at the Montville Community Correctional Center at Uncasville, Connecticut, have the opportunity to participate in a program that is unusual not only within but outside a prison setting. At the Montville Center, staff and inmates have established the Cohegan Wilderness Lands, an environmental program dedicated to preserving rare and endangered plant species. Through their work in cataloguing and cultivating heirloom seeds, prisoners perform a valuable public service, while gaining satisfaction from their constructive

activities and enhancing their attitudes toward themselves and others. The program was established three and a half years ago, and staff indicate that it has been operating effectively, while broadening the scope of its activities.

### PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

#### Origin and Development

The Montville Community Correctional Center is a medium security pretrial and sentenced facility operated by the Connecticut Department of Correction. Because the Center is located in a woodland area, a strong outdoor and agricultural interest has always existed at the facility. Staff note, for example, that the prison garden has traditionally been one of the most popular work assignments among inmates. Thus, the Cohegan Wilderness Lands program arose almost naturally from the recognition that many plant species are in danger of extinction. Originating with the administration, the idea was then discussed with inmates and staff. Gradually, a form for the program and some suggestions for activities emerged. After a large greenhouse was obtained and a six-acre plot set aside, the program was dedicated in public ceremonies held in April 1982. Approximately six months had elapsed between the first discussion meeting and the implementation of the program.

#### Goals and Objectives

When the Cohegan Wilderness Lands program was in its developmental stage, two principal goals were established by the Chief of Program Development for the Department of Correction. The primary goal is the preservation of endangered plant species in Connecticut. To this end, inmates study endangered species and cultivate heirloom seeds in the program's greenhouse. They also take frequent field trips to horticultural sites near the Community Correctional Center. Recently, as part of an effort to save the American elm, participants inoculated several mature trees in the area. Another

important goal is community education. Inmates have presented educational programs devoted to preservation and the environment. They also conduct tours of the wilderness lands. These goals are considered ongoing, so no timeframes have been established for meeting them

### Organization and Management

The Cochehan Wilderness Lands program is operated under the auspices of the Montville Community Correctional Center. Beyond that, it has no definite place in the organizational structure of the Department of Correction, essentially because it is considered a self-sufficient activity.

Due to its small size, a single correctional officer is responsible for administering the program. Inmates are not involved in program administration and management. However, the program does occasionally make use of volunteers, who donate their time to help instruct participants in horticulture. For instance, a faculty member from the University of Connecticut has assisted inmates in cataloguing plants on the Cochehan acreage. At present, this administrative structure is considered adequate to meet program needs.

### Staffing

Daily operation of the Cochehan Wilderness Lands program is the responsibility of a correctional officer. He provides direct supervision of all activities. No other staff have ever been assigned to the program, and no changes in staffing are currently contemplated.

### Physical Plant/Equipment/Supplies

The only building integral to the program is a greenhouse, although the wilderness lands themselves are also an essential component. Both are perceived as adequate for the program's present activities. The farm equipment and greenhouse supplies necessary for program operation are also considered adequate.

### Program Costs

The start-up cost for the Cochehan Wilderness Lands program was approximately \$1000. However, it should be noted that initial expenditures were significantly reduced by private donations and inmate labor. The greenhouse, whose estimated cost is \$15,000, was a gift from a private nursery. It was moved to the Center in a truck borrowed from another state agency and reconstructed with inmate labor. In addition, funds from a \$5000 anonymous donation to the Department of Correction were available. (Staff report, however, that "not much" of these funds were used.)

The current annual operating cost for the program is \$600. A large portion of this cost goes for fuel to operate farming equipment and the furnace in the greenhouse. The remainder is used for parts and equipment. These expenses have remained relatively constant since the program began in early 1982.

The Cochehan Wilderness Lands receives no federal or state monies. Funding for the program comes from donations and sales-generated income. A large portion of the program's operating expenses is offset by the sale of plants grown in the greenhouse. In 1983, income from these sales totaled \$500 for the period between mid-April and mid-July. Packages of note cards decorated with woodland scenes are also sold to help support the program. Income from the sales of plants and cards has increased over time, enabling the program to achieve increasing self-sufficiency.

### Program Operation

Participation in the program has grown from six to twenty inmates on an annual basis. Inmates learn of the program through word of mouth and from literature designed to encourage involvement. Enrollment is restricted to minimum custody inmates, and participation is managed through the facility's classification committee. Prisoners may participate in the program as long as they wish. However, they may be dropped if they become behavioral problems and/or their custody status is altered.

To date, nothing has impeded the effectiveness or impact of the program. In fact, operations have proceeded relatively smoothly and successfully. Inmates have recently cleared two additional acres of land, where a nursery will be developed. This addition is expected to strengthen the program's effectiveness.

### Program Effectiveness

The Cochegan Wilderness Lands has not yet been subject to formal evaluation, so it is not possible to accurately assess its effectiveness or progress in meeting goals. Various perceptions of the program are readily available, however. Participants view it as an opportunity to engage in constructive work with results they can actually see. They seem to have a genuine belief that they are involved in something worthwhile. Among the general prisoner population, reaction to the program has been minimal, except in terms of requests to be classified for assignment when openings become available. The correctional officer assigned to the program enjoys his involvement and believes the program promotes positive effects in the community. Other staff concur, pointing to the enhanced public image the Center has enjoyed as a result of program activities such as tree planting ceremonies and donations to the elderly of food grown by participants.

Such favorable perceptions seem to be borne out by the benefits that the participants and the Center receive. For the inmates, the program offers both an opportunity to work and a chance to learn new things. Their involvement often results in a more positive attitude toward themselves and others. Unlike some work assignments, it also gives them a sense of being productive. As noted earlier, the Center has benefited from a more favorable public image. The program has afforded the Center higher visibility in the community, and subsequent reaction has been very approving and supportive.

### POTENTIAL FOR TRANSFER

Staff familiar with the Cochegan Wilderness Lands believe the program can be replicated in other jurisdictions. However, they emphasize that the necessary resources, particularly land, must be available to agencies considering adaptation. They also suggest that other agencies could improve upon the existing program by expanding it and diversifying its activities. Cost is not viewed as a major barrier to transfer, and on the whole, the program is seen as a "plus for community relations and inmates' sense of self-worth and confidence."

Agencies interested in replicating this program can contact William J. Maynard, Warden, Mntville Community Correctional Center, Uncasville, Connecticut 06382; (203) 848-9216.

### Suggested Programs For Long-Term Inmates

The following suggestions for creating programs for long-term inmates were provided by Connecticut's Chief of Program Development. Notable characteristics of such programs include: 1) they are open-ended, offering opportunities for unlimited elaboration; 2) they are low budget, requiring neither large funding or heavy staffing; and 3) they incorporate cost-recoverable service and product aspects that lack commercial viability for most private concerns. The programs have been given hypothetical names, but these types of programs can function in any state or territory.

Inter-mountain Senior Network - This prison group might serve the growing population of seniors who have rather distinct needs. In a variety of ways it could function to bring together individuals who have been separated by time. The program could also serve the rather large nostalgic needs of this group through publishing, recording, etc. The group would need some research and reference skills, plus the usual measure of creativity that any fledgling venture



requires.

World Center for Youth Design - Children seem to be a common denominator for all people and that includes prisoners. Thus, a venture that seeks to serve children will attract many prisoners. This one, under its rather general name, might engage in inventing and designing toys, furniture, games, and learning devices. In one form it could serve children directly; in another it could do so through intermediaries like teachers, publishers, and furniture makers. A prisoner once suggested that pieces of wood (or plastic, fiberboard, or whatever) could be designed so that a child could assemble his/her own chair or table and then disassemble it when necessary. That man had the right spirit and ideas for this group.

Ancestral Research Center of the Southeast - Genealogical research is regarded by those who study ancestry as the second or third most prevalent indoor activity in America. As an example of this kind of activity, certain U.S. Census decennial records have never been catalogued - those from 1860 to 1870. The cataloguing of these records is an enormous job but not one requiring a high level of skill. Certain other activities ought to be added to this program to provide for variety and feedback; for instance, enabling participants to do their own genealogical research, compile a book, and share this information with all family members.

World Prison Handcraft Center - Nearly everyone in the field of corrections knows that prisoners sometimes do remarkable pieces of handicraft work with very limited access to materials or design help and that oftentimes their designs are just plain awful. This group could inventory craft products-- current and historical, publish a catalogue, encourage outlets for craft sales, and offer new designs for prisoners to work from. Through a series of newsletters, it might also stimulate a whole new generation of confined craftsmen who could enter their work in competitions, earn spending money, and, ultimately, carry their interests/talents home with them.

Prison Music Research Center - The number of prisoners who want an outlet for their musical interests is enormous. Up through the Great Depression, considerable music was being composed by inmates in American prisons, and this may still be the case although there is less direct evidence of it. Such a center might catalogue older compositions and offer encouragement to aspiring songwriters who are presently incarcerated. For instance, the folk ballad, though not always recognizable as such, still survives in county-and-western music. Many devotees of that musical genre would like to compose ballads to "make it big" in the recording field. Thus, opportunity is ripe for a group that could combine historical research with practical, how-to advice.

## Elements to Consider in Developing Programs For Long-Term Inmates

Agencies' experiences with the programs described earlier strongly suggests that something constructive can be done for long-term inmates at minimal cost. In analyzing these programs, it becomes apparent that they tend to share several elements. Staff agree that these elements constitute important considerations when designing or adapting any programs for long-term inmates. These common features are discussed below:

- Public Service Focus - This element is important in that it aids greatly in highlighting positive contributions of long-term prisoners and garnering public and political support for the development of programs for these "least deserving" inmates.
- External Advisory Group - A group of interested persons from the general public can serve several important functions in such programs. First, this group helps to legitimize the programs in eyes of prison staff, administrators, and others. Second, it clearly provides important benefits for inmate participants in terms of new stimuli and contact with

real-world problems, issues, and people.

- Potential for Participant Direction - Another important element is the sympathetic, supportive staff who supervise the programs. This supervision, however, makes allowances for varying degrees of program direction on the part of inmates. This approach enhances inmates' sense of ownership of the program. Within the context of the prison environment, the delicate balance between the needs of the staff to retain authority and those of the inmates to be autonomous is difficult to achieve even under ideal conditions; it is almost impossible in the face of constantly changing staff.
- Small Groups, Self-Selected Participants - Benefits arising from this feature include group cohesion and identity, reduced threat to staff's security interests, and program continuity.
- Minimal Program Costs - The Connecticut programs were begun with an anonymous donation, supplemented by grant funds received from a state agency and institutional operating budgets. The Cabbage Patch involves some cost recovery, in that its educational tapes are sold through paid subscriptions, albeit inexpensive ones. The Cochegan Wilderness Lands' primary costs are inmate labor since its greenhouse was donated and proceeds from plant sales are recycled into the program. The World Prison Poetry Center utilizes numerous community volunteers, and postage costs are offset by subscriptions to the monthly poetry publication, "Sentences: Broad-sides of Prison Poetry." The program in Utah entailed heavy start-up costs since a new facility was constructed to house long-termers and other special needs inmates. However, its operating costs are comparable to those experienced by other categories of inmates at the prison. Moreover, the modest costs of these programs

are balanced by their innovative or experimental nature and/or by their public service element (e.g., the food raised and donated by the Cochegan Wilderness Lands and the odd jobs completed for the elderly citizens of the Greater Salt Lake City Area).

- Noncompetition With Private Sector - None of these programs is competitive with the private sector. Given the public's view of these inmates as the least desirable and recent reports concerning abuses of profitable inmate enterprises, this aspect is likely to be important in designing constructive programs for long-term inmates.
- Liaison to Outside Community - Each program has regular liaison with the outside, either in the form of a volunteer or paid staff member. These people help to mobilize community involvement and support, cut red tape, and provide the where-with-all to solve logistical problems such as buying materials, mailing correspondence, and gathering and disseminating information.
- Provision of a "Sanctuary" - Each program but especially the Utah program provides what some researchers have termed a "sanctuary" for those inmates involved. The Cabbage Patch and the Cochegan Wilderness Lands provide a definable place for the inmates to go each day. This environment is important as it requires lower social density, promotes group identity, allows closer interaction with staff, and affords an escape from the general prisoner population. One of the men of the Cabbage Patch referred to the program area as "this place of freedom." This aspect, however, may be difficult to achieve in overcrowded prisons.

In Utah, the place of "sanctuary" is a housing unit within a special services dormitory that is on the grounds of, but physically separated from the Utah State Prison.

Connecticut's philosophy regarding inmate programs is reflected in the title of a document that describes the Department's program offerings--**Doing More With Less: Being a Brief Review of Federal Facility Programs Providing Constructive Activity, Community Service, Public Involvement, and/or Institutional Service at Minimum Cost. Connecticut's experience is testimony to the premise that much can be done to effectively program long-term inmates with minimum costs of the agency. What is required, however, is the commitment of one or more staff backed by the support and resources of the agency.**

# Coping With Imprisonment: A Long-Termer's View

## Introduction

This Guidebook is replete with opinions, perceptions, and suggestions that, theoretically, will affect long-term inmates. These opinions, perceptions, and suggestions are those of correctional staff, correctional consultants, and project staff. Clearly, what is lacking are the voices of the long-termers themselves. To broaden the perspective of this document, a long-term inmate was asked to prepare an essay that would give the reader an appreciation for the "inside" realities of long-term confinement.

The author is well-suited to this task, having served 16 years of a life sentence. Since 1971, he has collected everything about long-term confinement that came to his attention. Due to his interest in and knowledge of long-term imprisonment, he was selected to participate in a study of long-term imprisonment conducted by his home state; respect for his communication skills led to his being asked to author the study's final report.

This essay helps to personalize the issue of long-term confinement; to raise it above the mundane consideration of yet another correctional management problem. Long-term inmates are probably the most improbable group for which to engender concern and positive actions. Their criminal acts have shocked the public's conscience and their sentences reflect the magnitude of their deeds. They are not attractive targets for reform or innovation. However, they do evoke a need to devise an approach whereby the years spent in confinement are not wasted--for the long-term inmate or for the correctional agency. While long-term inmates' needs are very similar to those of short-term inmates, the length of their sentences exacerbates these needs until

they may bear slight resemblance to those of short-termers.

Correctional agencies are often ravaged by deep cuts in operating budgets and strapped for resources. There is the potential for a reciprocal relationship between long-termers and correctional agencies, wherein both parties benefit. The achievement of this goal requires insight into long-term confinement. This essay is an attempt to provide the beginning of this insight. Also included in the essay are many recommendations for improving the management and programming of long-term inmates.

## The Most Critical Issue

The paramount concern of all prisoners is "When will I get out?" The lack of a firm release date constitutes the most difficult adjustment to confinement for all prisoners, especially long-termers. This uncertainty contributes more than any other factor to the debilitating effects of incarceration. For long-term prisoners, almost equal concerns are "What kind of person will I be upon release? Will I be physically and mentally healthy? Will I still have a family and friends to assist me on the outside? Will I have an opportunity to lead a meaningful and useful life?" If satisfactory answers to these questions cannot be found, attempts to cope with the problems of long-term confinement are likely to fail.

An optimum release time exists for the majority of confined individuals. When prisoners are discharged beyond that optimum time, their anxiety increases, despair and depression grow, and hostility and fear fester. As a direct result, those confined beyond that optimum time, the criminal justice system, and even the public may suffer.

For example, a sentence of life without parole is a condition of confinement that many prison officials and all prisoners so sentenced consider beyond that optimum time--for many inmates, a fate worse than death. Lifers without hope of release die

a little with each passing day. Some lifers lapse into a state of harmless senility after many years of occupying scarce and costly bed space in highly secure institutions. Others look out for themselves the best way they know how and strive for prestige by engaging in reckless encounters with staff or other inmates. A few, believing they will never get out, fail to channel their energies, take menial prison jobs, and become so institutionalized that they lose their identities. The miracle is that most retain some degree of autonomy, hoping they will some day be released.

Many offenders wish to make amends for acts they have committed and to restructure their lives; sentencing sanctions such as life without parole and long mandatory sentences such as 50 years, no parole, offer little incentive to change.

## Family/Community Relationships

An important concern for many prisoners, but especially for long-termers, is separation from their families and friends. The pain of separation is often profound, and with the passing of time, the probability of continuing to maintain contact becomes an important concern. As long-termers watch relationships between other prisoners and their families diminish, fears of their own betrayal and complete abandonment arise. Worries about their children's schooling and behavioral problems, the financial situation at home, transportation to visit, and divorce are ever present. In most instances, the spouses of long-term prisoners are their prime source of social and emotional support and represent their main link to the community.

Separation from family may stimulate serious self-doubts about sexual adequacy, harming the long-termers' self-images. Some become severely frustrated from being deprived of normal heterosexual relationships. They may turn to pornographic magazines, obscene mannerisms, self-gratification, or

homosexual relationships in an effort to satisfy their natural urges. As the problems associated with maintaining close "free world" relationships are compounded over time, many long-termers lose their desire to remain involved with family responsibilities. Some slowly withdraw from all contact with family and home.

The importance of assisting prisoners in maintaining family and societal relationships is too often overlooked by correctional administrators. Concern about overcrowding, staff limitations, budgetary restraints, security, smuggling of contraband, and lack of facilities may even lead to restrictions on programs and policies that would help prisoners to strengthen family and community ties. Failure to understand the importance of close prisoner-community relationships has sometimes caused unrest and discontent in institutions that house long-termers. In facilities offering open visitation, correspondence, and other channels of communication, prisoner tension and unrest are generally minimized.

Long-termers view numerous conditions of their confinement as detrimental to maintaining family and community ties. Some of the most important of these conditions are discussed below:

1. Visiting lists that limit the total number of visitors a prisoner may have. These lists do not consider the size of inmates' families or the extent of their community support groups. Prisoners with large families must often choose to visit only with family members, thereby eliminating community contacts offering religious, employment, and other important social ties. Those inmates with large community support groups are forced to dissolve some of these important relationships at the very time they are most needed. These restrictive limitations serve little practical purpose, are costly and time consuming to administer, foster inmate discontent, and only slightly enhance institutional security. They also are harmful to the general public because they tend

to decrease prisoners' chances for success upon release.

2. Insufficient time for visitation and inadequate visiting facilities. Immediate improvements could be made in many institutions simply by increasing the number of visiting days allowed and/or the total number of visiting hours per day. These changes would not require significant increases in facilities or staffing.
3. Restricted access to home visit/furlough programs. No group of prisoners is likely to benefit more from home visits than long-term inmates, who have been cut off from the "free world" for years. A program of regular family visits can be a re-introduction to family, associates, and the swiftly changing technological advances in society today. These visits help reduce the debilitating effects of extended institutionalization and positively prepare inmates for eventual re-entry into society. Stringent selection criteria should be applied to ensure the safety of the community and the acceptance of the program, but length of sentence alone should not be a reason to exclude any prisoners from participation.
4. Lack of pre-furlough and post-furlough counseling. Counseling prior to home visits would help prepare individuals who have been confined for many years for the realities facing them upon their first venture alone into the "free world." Post-furlough counseling might be helpful in evaluating and heading off adjustment problems.
5. Lack of "day passes" for furlough-eligible inmates. In some states, inmates are limited to one or two furloughs yearly. As a supplement to these infrequent leaves, the establishment of short duration "day passes" would permit furlough-approved long-termers an opportunity to re-enter the community more often. These passes might be for purposes of community betterment programs (where

there is a real need for participation), counseling, and other activities consistent with promoting offenders' reintegration into society.

6. Lack of extended family visitation programs for those long-termers not yet eligible for home visits. Extended family visiting is used as a supplement to furlough programs in many countries and not as a substitute for them. They are an integral part of the penal systems in Canada, Sweden, Great Britain, West Germany, Denmark, Belgium, numerous countries in Latin America and Asia, and even a number of communist countries, including the Soviet Union. In the United States this practice is limited to only seven states (Mississippi, California, South Carolina, New York, Minnesota, Connecticut, Washington).

Family visitation as proposed here would be used solely as an alternative to long-termers being permitted to go to their own homes on furlough. It would be established for those inmates who might meet the general criteria for home furlough, but are ineligible for that program for some specific reason, such as no suitable family member residing within the state, insufficient time served on sentence, or nature of offense.

The arguments favoring this visitation concept center on strengthening marriages and family ties. These visits would provide inmates with a strong, healthy home life to return to upon their release. The extensive use of this concept in other nations speaks well for its acceptance and success, and limited experience in the United States has been positive. Extended family visits boost morale, help keep marriages intact, and, as one administrator in California reported, "Are a hell of a tool for the institution--a kind of safety valve that helps let steam out of a potentially explosive situation."

A common response among prison administrators, legislators, and the public regarding this concept is that institutions are already overcrowded and they do not have funding or space to support such a program. In answer to this response, consideration could be given to the utilization of donated house trailers located inside a secure institution area. Prisoners would be permitted to stay there for a specified time with their families. They would be charged a fee sufficient to cover the rental and maintenance for the duration of their stays. The program would therefore be self-supporting without requiring public expenditures for prison facilities.

7. Insufficient programs supporting community outings for long-term prisoners. Escorted community programs focusing on service projects, recreational activities, or religious functions afford an opportunity for long-termers to prepare for their return to society. Such programs could be promoted through organizations such as the Jaycees or Lifer's Clubs.
8. Lack of family counseling and educational support groups. These programs could cover issues relating to family disintegration under pressure of loneliness, sexual frustration, depleted economics, and stigmatization. Scheduled meetings could be held during regular visiting periods or at other prearranged times. Off-site support programs might also be established in various community settings to provide information, counseling, and other forms of assistance to the spouses of prisoners.
9. Inadequate programs to meet the specific needs of female prisoners. Many incarcerated women were the sole or primary caretaker of their children at the time of arrest. The abrupt separation of mothers from very young children may cause damaging consequences to those children in later life. A second

problem women may face is the birth of a child during confinement. The establishment of prison facilities and programs enabling infants to remain with their mothers would give them an opportunity to form an attachment bond, considered essential by many psychologists for normal childhood development. In those institutions lacking such facilities, it is common for infants to be given to relatives, placed in foster homes, or given up for adoption. The needs of the children are seldom considered by correctional agencies. Even most social service agencies make little effort to ameliorate the negative effects of their parents' incarceration on children.

## Housing Considerations

Lack of space and privacy becomes a significant concern over time. Inmates dislike being forced into intimacy with others chosen by the prison administration. They frequently tend to ostracize other inmates whose crimes may differ from theirs. Racial tensions exist and often flare up within the hostile prison environment. Older prisoners frequently find it difficult to adjust to the young "kids" who bring their loud stereos and music with them. Confrontations occur daily. These problems can only escalate as prisons become populated with disproportionate numbers of inmates who must live together for many years. Long-termers believe many of these problems can be avoided if administrators are willing to recognize and respond to them

1. Provide maximum privacy for long-term inmates. Privacy offers long-termers a way to cope with time. If they can find a "niche" in which to remove themselves from the daily stresses of prison life, long-termers may be able to relieve some of the tension and anxiety that often accumulates with the passage of time.
2. Provide quiet living areas. Tension can be effectively reduced if insti-

tutions set aside "quiet" housing units for those who are easily irritated by music and television blaring all day and night, as is so often the case. These "quiet" units should be reserved for those who exhibit a willingness to comply with the requirements for quiet.

3. Establish honor dorms for long-termers as an incentive for good behavior. Special "honor" housing should be established at every custody level. As inmates progress through the system, perform work and other assignments in a satisfactory manner, and maintain a good disciplinary record, they should be entitled to an upgrading of privileges. These could include carpeting on the floor, curtains at windows, an extension of allowable personal items, a telephone for their units, an extension of curfew hours, and increased visiting periods. Only those inmates who desire placement in this type housing should be assigned there. Serious violations of the conduct established for "honor" residents would result in removal from the unit.

## Rules and Regulations

In correctional systems throughout the nation, hundreds of rules and regulations extend into all areas of inmate life. These rules cover contact with family, access to legal materials, medical services, dress codes, disciplinary hearings, meal schedules, length of hair, sanitation, library, etc. Many of these rules arouse hostility among inmates simply because they do not make sense. Others seem but irritating gestures of authoritarianism that restrict inmates' abilities to make choices. It may appear that these rules are made by people inexperienced with and far removed from the prison setting. Further, they are carried out by people other than those who formulate them, thus allowing degrees of interpretation. Prisoners are sometimes unaware of rules. Moreover, rules and

regulations frequently contradict each other and often fail to reflect their intended purposes. In some institutions, procedures developed to meet the needs of the nineteenth century are still actively enforced. So many different directives, institutional regulations, and policies have accumulated over the years that few staff or inmates really know how many of them are to be applied.

Examples of these types of rules and regulations are presented below.

### 1. Rules That Do Not Make Sense.

Procedure may allow visitors to bring food items into the visitation area to be shared with minimum custody inmates. Barbecue pits and picnic benches are provided, and charcoal, lighter fluid, and matches are allowed. However, pots, pans, and other metal or glass cooking and eating utensils may be prohibited. Another example: electric clocks are prohibited, but electric clocks with radios are allowed.

### 2. Rules That Contradict One Another.

Departmental policy might specify that "random" strip searches will be required of minimum custody inmates returning from visits. There may be a contradictory rule at the institutional level that specified "all" inmates returning from a visit will be strip searched. What rule is to be followed? Generally, staff will implement the more severe rule even though it conflicts with departmental policy.

### 3. Rules That Are Not Fairly Enforced.

In prisons there are an endless number of violations that might result in disciplinary action. The need for such action is not in question here. The sanctions levied are questionable due to the wide range of penalties imposed for identical violations. In a situation in which two inmates are "horse playing" with each other, both are charged for the



same rule infraction and each is referred to the institutional court. One might go to court on Tuesday, be found guilty, and given a suspended sentence. The other may go to the same court on Thursday, be found guilty, and given a sentence of 10 days in the "hole." Few states publish case reports for these hearings. This often results in the inconsistency noted above since each new case is treated as if it were the first of its type handled by the court.

#### 4. Rules That Mandate Certain Allowable Items Are Contraband If Not Purchased Through the Prison Store.

Long-term inmates usually move to different institutions as they progress through the system. After transfer, they may be required to discard previously purchased items (lamps, hot pots, etc.) because rules at the new institution may declare these items contraband unless obtained from its store. The articles available in one institutional store are seldom the same as those sold in another institution. This imposes senseless financial burdens on long-term inmates who generally can ill afford them.

Short-term inmates often find prison little more than an unpleasant adventure; they can accept or reject the rules that govern their lives. The consequences, except for the most severe infractions, are themselves short-term. Long-termers, however, are not tourists in prison. They will live there for a significant portion of their lives. Rules and regulations for long-term prisoners are a way of life. They may be perceived as irritating, frustrating, senseless, and debilitating, and they frequently strip these inmates of dignity and self-esteem.

Long-termers, who have often been around longer than most staff, can contribute valuable insight into the feasibility of rules before they are issued. This would help prevent incomplete, inconsistent and sometimes senseless rules from being implemented.

All inmates are punished by a loss of freedom; further punitive measures are secondary sanctions that only serve to increase hostility and resentment among inmates.

## Progression Through The System

Nothing contributes more to prisoners' anxieties and insecurities than an unknown future in a strange and hostile environment. It is essential that all prisoners, especially long-termers, be provided with a program of systematic progression (a graduated release plan) through the correctional experience, from date of admission to date of release. Such a plan will assist them in managing their time and accepting their imprisonment with some knowledge of the future. It is unfortunate that most long-termers in today's prisons have no such plan to guide them. In some states the implementation of a realistic graduated release plan will require changes in sentencing and release laws. However, no programs will be meaningful to inmates unless they clearly have some bearing on their eventual release.

The key elements for any graduated release program designed to assist the progress of long-termers through the system should include the following:

1. Inmates should be given early notification of their tentative release dates.

Preferably, these dates would be established within three months of initial incarceration. They should be flexible enough to permit modification if circumstances change significantly. They must also meet existing statutory requirements. In those states where some sentences do not have fixed terminal dates, criminal code revisions should be sought. Every sentence, including that of life, should have a release date. (Researchers from many nations have concluded that it is the certainty of punishment and not the

**length of sentence that deters criminal behavior.)**

2. Inmates should be assured that their established tentative release dates cannot be altered except for specified reasons.
3. Progress reviews should be conducted once every year.
4. general criteria should be established to govern progress through each custody level.

**Decisions should always consider placement at the lowest possible custody level commensurate with public and institutional safety. Access to every level should be attainable for every prisoner regardless of length of sentence. Every prisoner should also be considered for community release status following the satisfactory completion of ten calendar years.**

5. The program plan should include incentive awards.

**Exceptional achievement and/or conduct, educational or vocational training, counseling, work performance, community service, etc. should be rewarded through incentives. These awards would permit an earlier advancement into lower levels of custody for those with superior achievement. When applied fairly, incentives are a helpful tool in maintaining an orderly institution.**

6. Documentation should be fair, accurate, up-to-date, and reflective of positive information.

**Attention should be given to including all current psychological information, work reports, educational achievements and meritorious acts. Case records should be designed to reflect positive changes and should not emphasize the negative as many currently do.**

7. Individualized treatment plans should be established for every prisoner.

**It must be recognized that the requirements of each inmate differ. A plan tailored to meet the specific needs of each individual as he/she progresses toward release is mandatory.**

## **Inmate Work Programs**

**In a nation that has always taken pride in its work ethic, it is difficult to understand why correctional agencies have been so remarkably inattentive to that ethic. The idleness that exists in prisons is one of the most critical concerns for both staff and inmates. Idleness, extended over long periods of time, contributes significantly to the debilitating effects of incarceration. Inmates milling around with nothing to do or sitting in front of a television set watching soap operas are certainly more prone to disorder than those working or studying regularly. Crowding has already overextended the use of monotonous, unskilled, and make-work jobs. These efforts to reduce idleness last only a few hours each day and usually result in discontent and boredom. For reasons such as these, long-term inmates often express serious concern about the current state of prison work programs.**

**There are some programs, though, that most long-termers believe will succeed, if properly implemented. Some of these may require legislative action; others will require the cooperation of trade unions and the private sector. Functional programs containing features noted below are in effect in several states, and model programs have been tried on a pilot basis in others.**

1. Revitalization of Prison Industry

**Traditional prison industrial programs have attempted to compete in a restricted marketplace by using cheap, unskilled prison labor. It**

was believed they would provide work for otherwise idle prisoners, train people in good work habits, give them an opportunity to learn about the job market in the real world, and be competitive because of the inexpensive labor available. In practice, they have been plagued by inferior products, missed delivery deadlines, and cost overruns.

Many long-termers believe these work programs will not be effective until they are independent of the correctional bureaucracy and the estrangement that often develops between industrial managers and correctional administrators is reduced. Sufficient funds must be available to modernize equipment and technology. Product lines will need expansion beyond the traditional license plate and furniture market. Work programs should be structured to function like private industry. Trade union and private business restraints must be removed and laws limiting product sales must be relaxed. Experienced industrial managers and engineers should be recruited as staff managers. These programs must also provide reasonable wages and other worker incentives. Each industry should be self-sustaining.

Even if all of the above were accomplished, industrial programs would still be dependent upon a stable labor force of trained workers. Most prisoners are unskilled and until recently the vast majority were imprisoned only for short terms. Unskilled "short-termers" often exhibit the "I don't give a damn, I'll be out in a little while any way" attitude. Such prisoners comprise an unwilling and inefficient work force. Long-termers, on the other hand, generally welcome opportunities for constructive work as a way to relieve idleness. If they have no specific work skills, their longer sentences make them ideal candidates for training. Once trained, they are

capable of providing stability in a constantly changing work force.

Probably the most important element required for an efficient, competitive industrial program is an incentive for inmates to work. A reasonable wage plan offering raises over time and bonuses for exceptional performance are important motivators for increased productivity. "Preferred" housing areas could also contribute to worker efficiency. The most important incentive for long-termers would be "time credits" for work performed, but such credits must be available to all workers regardless of sentence.

Another concept many believe could be successful involves the use of private firms to expand work programs for inmates. Factories funded by private industry could be erected within the institutional walls, or, as has been done in Kansas, near existing correctional facilities. Many of the disadvantages associated with the traditional prison industrial concept would be eliminated in the hands of private industry. Funding would no longer be the state's obligation.

## 2. Use of Para-Professional Positions at the Institutional Level

Another work opportunity for long-termers who have exhibited positive behavior and adjustment would be para-professional assignments within institutions. In some institutions these positions are filled by inmates rather than civilian staff. These assignments are of a non-security type, mainly in the area of support services. Potential para-professional positions include library aides, maintenance workers, teacher's aides, research assistants, typists, and fire department aides. Inmates trained as paraprofessionals would afford around-the-clock availability of trained personnel and provide growth opportunities for long-termers.

### 3. Availability of Career Ladders

There should also be a progression, akin to that in private industry, from lower to higher skill levels. Only actual job openings should be filled, and make-work assignments should be eliminated. Serious consideration must be given to providing work opportunities at all levels of custody. In addition, wage scales must include provisions ensuring retention of pay grades for inmates who have earned lower custody status. Long-termers, due to length of sentence, are seriously affected by incentive payment plans that frequently are reduced when inmates are transferred to lower custody status and placed on another job. As previously noted, it is long-termers who are most likely to lose contact with family and friends. They must, therefore, be self-supporting. If their choice is to accept lower custody at less wages, they may suffer financial difficulties. If they remain in higher custody so they can be self-supporting, their chances for parole or other forms of release might be negatively affected.

### 4. Employment of Long-termers in the Construction of New Prisons

In an effort to meet demands for rapid prison expansion, some correctional agencies employ inmate labor. Long-termers have frequently been called upon to provide stabilization in such work units. They have generally been willing laborers who took pride in their work. Their construction projects were usually on a par with those contracted to "free world" companies. Their low wage scale (10 to 20 times lower than prevailing "free world" wages) permitted the completion of many projects at costs below those estimated by private firms.

In some states, however, long-termers believe they are faced with a dilemma: they are more likely to be retained for the maximum length of their sentences now than just a few

years ago. Many believe they have already paid their debts to society and realize a new bed represents a bed that will be occupied, probably by one of them. They also know that short-termers have the best chances for release as a result of intolerable overcrowding. Many long-termers equate being asked to assist with new prison construction with being asked to extend their own imprisonment.

Correctional administrators and policy makers often fail to realize while all prisoners desire freedom most are willing to work to achieve it and few will willingly work to deprive themselves of it. Although long-termers comprise the most valuable work group in our prisons, in some states their greatest incentive has become a remote possibility. The key to motivating this important work force is incentives, ones that reduce long-termers' fears about extending their confinement.

### 5. Creation of C-unity Work Crews

Crews capable of performing a variety of services to state, county, and city governments could expand work opportunities for long-termers. Stability could be achieved through a core of "low risk" long-term inmates. Assignments might include the construction and maintenance of highways, parks, government buildings, and other civic projects. Work should not be limited to menial tasks. Training could be provided where required. All inmates should be paid for their labor and, as a special incentive, housed in community facilities or camps located near job sites. A public that likes to see prisoners work would find them highly visible, performing necessary labor. Both the inmates and the public would benefit.

### 6. Establishment of Contract Work Centers

Mutually beneficial work programs for long-term inmates are possible

between private industry and state correctional agencies. These programs take the form of contract work centers. The contract between the industry and the state calls for the long-term inmates to perform certain services in return for room board, and prison wages. The correctional agency provides security services. Inmate participants benefit by being allowed to utilize their work skills, while employed full time at jobs resembling those in the "real world." Private industry profits from reduced wages and motivated workers. The correctional agency benefits from reduced costs of confining these inmates.

#### 7. Development of Service and Para-Professional Positions in Community Centers

Carefully chosen long-term inmates should be considered as supplemental staff in para-professional and service functions at community halfway houses and release centers. They are capable of providing a variety of services at minimum cost. In addition, the experience would enhance their transition back into society.

A pilot program of this type has been conducted in Arizona. Six long-term males, including five lifers, were transferred to a pre-release center to work in maintenance, food service, transportation, and teaching. These duties were later expanded to include counseling, research, photographic services, Human Potential Seminars, and flood relief assistance. After allowing for their room board, and prison wages of \$0.50 per hour, the services they provided (in lieu of hiring additional staff) saved the state an estimated \$77,054 during the 23 months the program was operational. They also volunteered 8,000 hours of community service to agencies ranging from alcohol and drug treatment centers to homes for abused women and children. Each participant was able to avail himself of counseling, religious, and

educational opportunities not available within the institution. Family ties were strengthened and strong levels of community support resulted from the experience.

#### 8. Need for Work Release Programs

Although long-term inmates as a group are probably the most "needy" when it comes to providing community programs designed to help them make a more successful adjustment from a situation of almost total dependence to complete freedom they have traditionally been the last group to be placed in such programs. In 1983, 49 states had statutory provisions for implementing community work release programs. However, in some states, long-termers, including lifers, are not eligible to participate in these programs.

Work release programs can help long-termers gradually adjust to life in the community and the responsibilities community living entails. They can serve as a vehicle through which inmates can preserve family and community relationships. They might also eliminate or reduce the degree of psychological and cultural shock that often occurs when long-term inmates are directly released from an institution into the community. The cost savings possible through the utilization of community work release have been well documented. Significant contributions have been made by inmates in areas pertaining to the costs of imprisonment, family support, restitution, state and other taxes, debts, and institutional and program management.

### Summary

The concerns of long-term prisoners are many. When will I get out? When I do, what kind of person will I be following many years of exposure to the debilitating effects of imprisonment? Will I be

mentally and physically healthy? Will I still have a family and friends in the community? Will I still be able to lead a useful and meaningful life? For those with diminished hope, life contains little meaning and they must adjust to the prospects of a lifetime that will be spent in a harsh and anomalous environment.

Correctional agencies are equipped to deal with some of these concerns. But to do so, they must recognize the unique management concerns presented by long-term inmates. Their foremost concern is the maintenance of family and community ties. Channels for visitation, correspondence, and other means of communication must be less restrictive. Administrators must be supportive of home furlough programs for all inmates, including those with the longest sentences. Community activities and release programs should be available to worthy long-term prisoners. Housing adjustments tailored to meet the specific needs of long-termers can be implemented. Administrators should direct the

formulation of individualized inmate programs designed to meet the specific needs of inmates as they progress through the system. Realistic and meaningful work programs should be established, both inside and outside the institutions. Mental and physical health programs and effective counseling should be implemented. Legislative authority should be sought to implement any of these programs not currently authorized by law.

Finally, correctional administrators must play an active role in educating the public on prison matters. They must recognize that today's long-termers are not tourists just passing through the system. Increasing numbers of long-termers will be confined for many years in oppressive, impersonal prison environments. Administrators must strive to lessen the secondary impacts of incarceration on long-term inmates--their punishment is the loss of freedom.

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# Development of a Management-Oriented Data Base on Long-Term Inmates

The basic assumptions underlying this study--that the proportion of long-term inmates within the nation's prison population is growing and that this situation portends serious management problems for correctional administrators--apparently surprised several survey respondents. In the face of moderate increases in the admissions of long-term inmates, numerous respondents anticipated that business as usual would indefinitely remain the order of the day. Many agency staff simply do not perceive long-term inmates as either a current or a future problem. For some agencies this observation will probably hold true. Others have failed to recognize the signs that one of the most basic characteristics of their populations is shifting--length of stay. Attention has been turned, in many cases, to more immediate, pressing concerns. In other instances, agencies do not have management information systems adequate to the task of forecasting and analyzing such trends.

The following section has been written specifically for those agency administrators who wish to develop a management-oriented data base on long-term inmates. It is written in a straightforward, practical style that makes it particularly amenable to in-house staff capabilities.

## The Need for Research on Long-Term Prisoners

Few managers in today's world would question the importance of good information as a basis for effective decision-making. Yet there is considerably less consensus on what constitutes "good" information, where it comes from and how it can be used. This sentiment is

especially appropriate for the state correctional administrator facing decisions about policy development for long-term prisoners. The correctional administrator is a consumer or user of knowledge. The administrator is concerned that information which provides a base for policy development is valid and reliable, but validity and reliability are not ends in themselves; rather, it is the utility of the information for decision-making that is of paramount concern. The administrator asks the important "so what?" questions, framed in the context of the usefulness of the information in providing ways to solve immediate problems. In contrast, the researcher is often seen as a producer of knowledge. The researcher is often viewed as having self-serving values, objectives, and concerns, as well as being myopically worried about methodological issues that are discussed in a technical language that is foreign or, at best, tedious to busy administrators.

Given these gulfs between the producers and users of information, it is not surprising that social science research plays a very limited role in the development of correctional policy. The administrator is reluctant to engage in a process of indeterminate length, which will upset the smooth functioning of the organization and yield highly probabilistic answers to pressing questions. In addition, the tenure of correctional administrators is frequently brief which results in a tendency to dwell on immediate issues. The researcher is reluctant to participate in a research enterprise in which the questions have been framed in advance, objectives are highly result-oriented, and rigid time frames are imposed for completion of the research.

The inability to reconcile these conflicting objectives creates tensions that may result in correctional policy based exclusively on intuition, experience, knowledge of other jurisdictions' activities, and good faith. If the policy fails, the administrator can rarely determine why the failure occurred, which specific elements of the policy contributed to its lack of success, and



which elements of the policy might be salvaged. Similarly, if the policy succeeds, it is often difficult to determine why it was successful, which elements of the initiative contributed to its success, and what conditions might impede its replication in other settings.

The difference in objectives and methodology between the use of knowledge and the producer of that knowledge need not prevent fruitful collaboration between the correctional administrator and the researcher, and ample evidence from correctional practice suggests that innovative programs and policies can be shaped on the basis of this collaboration. To be successful, however, the correctional administrator will have to become a more sophisticated consumer of research and the researcher (whether based in the correctional agency or outside the organization) will have to be more sensitive to the needs of the administrator. Such a strategy views the researcher and administrator as joint participants in the research/policy development process who work collaboratively from the initial stages of problem identification and formulation to the final stages of evaluation, report preparation, and dissemination of findings.

## Policy-Relevant Research Questions

The sections that follow provide examples of questions about long-term prisoners which a correctional administrator might ask in seeking information for agency planning, program development, or policy formulation. Research strategies that would aid in the collection and synthesis of this information are suggested. Because very little policy-relevant research exists in regard to the management of long-term prisoners, these questions are quite general. While some correctional agencies may have sophisticated computer-based information systems and comparatively large research staffs that could produce the relevant information easily, the results of this survey indicate that

other jurisdictions may find the collection of the basic information too time-consuming and labor-intensive. Nevertheless, if current trends continue, the questions represent concerns that administrators in most states will be asking (if they have not done so already):

1. How many long-term prisoners do we have in our prisoner population? What proportion of the total inmate population do long-termers represent?
2. Has our long-term inmate population increased during the recent past? If so, what factors have produced the increase in the number and proportion of long-term prisoners in the inmate population? How is it likely to increase in the future?
3. How does our current long-term prisoner population compare with other states', and with national trends?
4. What types of problems and needs does the long-term prisoner population present? Are these problems and needs different from those presented by other inmates? What problems or concerns should we be anticipating from this subgroup of inmates, and what programs and policies could be developed to address these concerns?

### HOW MANY LONG-TERM PRISONERS DO WE HAVE?

This is a very complex question that appears deceptively simple. There is no universal definition of "long-term confinement" that is relevant for every jurisdiction. As a result, there is no standard against which to judge the length of sentences so that they can be classified unambiguously into "long-term" sentences and "others." In addition, the definition of long-term confinement can be expected to vary not only from agency to agency but also over time. With the passage of new sentencing legislation in the states, the number and proportion of "long-term prisoners" in state prisoner populations may be very different today

than five or ten years ago. This makes comparison of the current dilemma with previous experience problematic.

Of course, any definition of long-term incarceration that is developed for the purpose of providing the correctional administrator with useful information about these inmates involves drawing an arbitrary line. A criterion that is arbitrary, however, need not be capricious. A test of the utility of the definition lies in its relevance to the sentencing practice of the jurisdiction, and in the clarity of the definition itself.

Researchers use the term operational definition to describe the measurement of ambiguous or elusive concepts. Consider; for example, the difficulties involved in measuring the number of "prisoners" in the United States. For years, the U.S. Bureau of the Census employed the term "inmates-under-custody" in the count of the U.S. prison population. Operationally, "inmates-under-custody" referred to persons over whom the correctional authority exerted "direct physical control and responsibility for the body of a confined person." This operational definition introduced ambiguity into the measurement of prisoner population insofar as inmates on community release status, held in jails awaiting transfer, or transferred to private or public hospitals or mental health facilities may or may not have been considered under the "direct physical control" of the correctional authority. In 1978, the operational definition of "prisoner" for counting purposes was changed. The new operational definition refers to persons "under jurisdiction" of state correctional authorities. "Under jurisdiction" is specifically defined.

The revised operational definition of "prisoner" corrects many of the ambiguities of the previous definition and reduces the possibility of undercounting or double-counting the prisoner population. Another feature of a good operational definition is that it provides clear-cut directions to the providers of the original data on how to count inmate populations.

In developing an operational definition of "long-term inmate" for research purposes, the administrator and agency planners must decide whether the primary referent will be time served, sentence length, or some combination of these indicators. One approach would be to designate all prisoners who have served a given number of years as of a specific date as long-term prisoners. For example, a definition could stipulate that all inmates who have served at least 7 years as of July 1, 19-- are long-term prisoners. The count of inmates who meet this criterion would provide the administrator with the number and proportion of inmates in the population who were considered "long-term prisoners" as of that date. This definition is clear-cut and provides unambiguous directions for the measurement of the concept.

However, this approach leaves a number of questions unresolved. First, this operational definition would not include inmates who are in the early stages of a long prison term, such as the inmate who has served 2 years of a 30 year-to-life term. These inmates will obviously become long-term prisoners in time, but the use of a single-point time referent ignores this possibility. In the absence of evidence that there is a tangible boundary that inmates must cross (in terms of time served) in order to be considered "long-term" this definition is perhaps overly conservative. Second, if the objective of the definition is to identify the number and proportion of long-term prisoners for planning or programming purposes, it may be more useful to consider those inmates who will be long-term prisoners as well.

In order to consider these latter inmates, the administrator will have to refer to sentence length data in order to determine the potential long-term prisoners in the population. Depending upon the sentencing structure in the jurisdiction, including provisions that govern good time credits or that may otherwise affect actual time served, an "expected time served" figure for each inmate can be calculated. Using this information, the administrator can derive the number and percentage of long-term

prisoners in the correctional system by using an expanded operational definition of "long-term prisoner." This expanded definition would include all inmates who have served a specific number of years as of a specific date, and those inmates who are likely to serve the requisite number of years, given their current court-imposed sentences.

This approach to the measurement of long-term prisoner populations was used in the current survey as well as in research by MacKenzie and Goodstein. <1> The table below illustrates this measurement approach:

Table V-1  
TIME SERVED IN PRISON

	Short <a>	Middle <b>	Long <c>	Total <d>
Sentence Length (Expected time served)				
Short<d>	A	B	C	D
Long<c>	E	F	G	H
Total	I	J	K	L

<a> Less than 3 years

<b> 3 to 5.99 years

<c> 6 years or more

<d> Less than 6 Years

MacKenzie and Goodstein used inmate self-reports of time served and sentence length to place over 1,000 inmates from three prisons in the cells of the table, but official departmental records could be used as well. The time served and sentence length values used to create the categories could be changed to reflect jurisdiction-specific conditions. Cell K provides an estimate of the long-term prisoner population using the time-served criterion discussed above, Cell H provides

<1> "Impacts of Long-Term Incarceration and Characteristics of Long-Term Offenders: An Empirical Analysis," report supported in part by NIJ Grant 80-NI-AX-006 (The Pennsylvania State University, 1984).

an estimate using the expected time-served criterion, and the sum of Cells K+H provides an estimate of the size of the long-term prisoner population using the expanded definition discussed above.

This design for the measurement of the long-term prisoner population allows a number of different issues about these inmates to be addressed, and thus has a very high information value. Several of these questions will be discussed in the sections that follow. Before leaving this discussion of definitional and measurement issues, however, it is useful to consider alternative methods for determining the values of the categories used to subdivide the inmate population. For example, in the present study, seven years was the point of demarcation between a "long" prison term and others. In the MacKenzie and Goodstein research, six years of continuous confinement was used as a criterion of "long-term incarceration" and in other research five years has been used as a cut-off point. Where do these numbers come from? As mentioned earlier, there is no uniform definition of long-term confinement available. There are, however, several alternative methods of approaching this definitional question that range from relying on intuition to assessing expert opinion to employing statistical methods.

The intuitive approach involves a single decision-maker selecting the criterion on the basis of his/her perception of what a "long" prison term is. If the decision-maker is an experienced correctional administrator, this approach represents an informed and experienced "hunch" about the definition of a long-term prisoner. Since the figure selected is likely to be influenced by the experience of the correctional system in which the administrator works, this perception is more than a figure drawn from thin air; rather, it is grounded in the experience of the decision-maker in a specific setting. Moreover, the decision-maker will no doubt be able to defend his/her selection of a definition of long-term confinement. In this sense, the definition may be arbitrary but is unlikely to be capricious.

The expert approach to deriving a definition of long-term confinement raises the issue of the selection of experts in this area. One strategy would be to poll institutional superintendents for their views on the problem and then average the responses in order to arrive at a consensus definition of long-term confinement that would "smooth out" the differences in perceptions among individual decision-makers. The definition would be based on substantial correctional experience and grounded in the correctional agency that ultimately uses the definition for planning and research. Another strategy would be to sample a group of agency staff from diverse organizational locations and responsibilities (including officers, treatment staff, central office personnel, and others) to arrive at a more broadly based estimate. Still another approach would be to include inmate perceptions in the formulation of the definition. While inmate perceptions of long-term confinement can be expected to vary widely, one study of inmate and staff perceptions in the Pennsylvania correctional system found a very high level of agreement regarding the definition of long-term confinement.<1>

The statistical approach to defining long-term incarceration can take a number of forms, but it is important to note that no statistical method will produce a definition of long-term confinement by itself. The data can inform and describe the situation, but a decision-maker will ultimately have to decide the definitional issue after considering the statistical data. One strategy would involve arraying the distribution of time served and/or expected time served data for each inmate in the system (from longest to shortest, for example) and selecting a percentile as the criterion. For example, assume that the 75th percentile were selected as the cut-off point. If the data showed that 75% of the inmates in the correctional system were likely to serve less than 8

years, then inmates who will serve greater than 8 years would be designated as "long-term prisoners" for planning and program development. An alternative strategy would involve calculation of the average expected time served for all inmates in the system. Inmates whose expected time served was longer than the average for the system by some pre-specified amount could be designated as long-term prisoners. For example, it could be specified that any inmate whose expected time served exceeded the average expected time served by 20% or 30% would be considered a long-term prisoner.

These statistical methods share the strength that they ground the definition of long-term confinement in the current experience of the correctional agency that will utilize the definition. In addition, they are easy to communicate to legislators and other policy-makers and are defensible on a number of grounds. It must be remembered, however, that these approaches to defining long-term confinement are dynamic rather than static. The average expected time served for all inmates in the system, for example, is directly linked to legislative decisions on criminal penalties, changes in judicial sentencing practices, changes in the "mix" of offenses decided by the courts, and other factors. Therefore, while the definition of long-term imprisonment is not likely to change dramatically over a short period of time (from one year to the next), observable differences may occur over longer time periods, thus requiring periodic examination and adjustment of the definition as local conditions change.

#### HAS THE LONG-TERM PRISONER POPULATION INCREASED, AND WHY?

Many administrators across the country perceive that the number and percentage of long-term inmates in state correctional systems have increased in recent years. Whether the long-term inmate population has indeed increased, if so, how much it has increased and why it has increased are questions of obvious importance to the correctional administrator. This

<1> C. Unger and R. Buchanan, Long-term Offenders in the Pennsylvania Correctional System (Kansas City, MO: Correctional Services Group, Inc., 1983).

information will be central to capacity planning, program development, budget preparation, and population forecasting. An increasing share of long-term prisoners in a correctional population also has implications for facility design and construction, inmate turnover, and staff training.

There are a variety of methods for determining whether the percentage of the inmate population serving long sentences has increased in a given jurisdiction over a period of time. In most jurisdictions, several factors may be identified as causes of the increase, and the task of determining the reasons for the increase and the relative contribution of each cause may be a difficult one.

The number of long-term prisoners in the prison population at any time is a function of two related factors: the volume of offenders admitted to the correctional system with sentences that will require service of a long prison term and the release policy of the jurisdiction. These two factors combine to determine the actual time served for each inmate in the system. Policy choices made outside the correctional agency that change either of these variables will in time alter the composition of the prison population in terms of the size and, proportion of the long-term inmate population.

As a first approach to investigating changes in the size of the long-term prisoner population over time, the administrator can examine trends in prison admissions by length of sentence. Depending on the sentencing structure in the state (i.e., the imposition of minimum sentences, the influence of good time provisions, and other policies), the sentences of offenders admitted to the system must be converted into an estimate of expected time served. In some jurisdictions, the minimum sentence imposed by the sentencing court will be the best predictor of eventual time served by admitted offenders, minus credits for good time, if applicable. Local adjustments will vary widely from state to state, but each jurisdiction should be able to derive a relatively good estimate

of expected time served for each newly admitted inmate.

Using the definition of "long-term prisoner" determined by the agency (see Question One, above), the proportion of long-term inmates among recent admissions can then be calculated. For example, the percentage of prison admissions that could be expected to serve "long" terms could be derived for all inmates admitted each year for the period 1974-84. Examination of the trends in admissions utilizing this adjusted sentence length will provide the administrator with a clear picture of the changes in the relative size of the long-term prisoner population over the past decade.

An alternative to the use of the percentage approach would be to calculate statewide rates of commitment to long prison terms over a comparable time period. In this approach, rather than using the total prison population as the divisor in calculating the percentage of long-term inmates among prison admissions, the state's population can be used as the denominator in the fraction. By dividing the number of long-term inmates admitted to the agency each year by the state's population for the year and multiplying the rate by 100,000, an estimate of the long-term imprisonment commitment rate per 100,000 population can be calculated. Since some groups in the population are not "at risk" of commitment to a long prison term, an adjusted population figure (e.g., the state population age 18 years and older) should be used.

These two approaches provide different pictures of the trends in the use of long prison sentences. The former method looks at long-term inmates as a share of the total prisoner population. Note that total admissions and the percentage of prisoners committed to long terms could be increasing simultaneously over time, or the long-term inmate proportion of the inmate population may be increasing at a faster or slower rate than the growth in the overall prisoner population. If the first scenario is depicted, the conclusion may be that that prison population is growing, but that the composition of the population in terms of sentence length is

remaining roughly constant. Alternatively, the second scenario describes a system in which the rate of growth in the percentage of long-term inmates is exceeding the growth rate for the system as a whole, and suggests that the composition of the inmate population is changing systematically toward a larger "share" of long-termers. Each scenario has different implications for policy development, program planning, and agency response.

The use of population-based commitment rates provides a different way of looking at the problem. These rates describe the use of long-term prison commitment as a response to crime. By comparing trends in the overall commitment rate to trends in the long-term commitment rate, growth patterns in the relative use of long-term prison sentences can be described.

At least two other indicators of the size of the long-term prisoner over time could be used instead of the data on admissions described above. Many agencies collect descriptive data on the prison population as of a single day (e.g., December 31) for agency annual reports and for other purposes. If these data are broken down into meaningful categories of sentence length and/or time served, and are available for many years in the past, trends in the proportion of long-term inmates under custody as of that date can be determined. Similar analyses could focus on released prisoners. However, since prison admissions are the most sensitive indicator of sentencing policy, statutory and policy changes that affect the proportion of long-term prisoners in the inmate population will show up first in the admissions data, next in the inmates under custody figures, and last in the release data.

After a clear picture of the trends in the size of the long-term prisoner population is available, the administrator may seek to determine the causes underlying the trends. This information would provide valuable insight into the determinants of the current situation and, possibly, clues to future changes in the long-term inmate population.

The most obvious determinants of variations in the size and percentage of long-term prisoners in the correctional system are changes in judicial sentencing practices that may be tied to legislative sentencing revision (e.g., legislation that requires judges to impose a mandatory long prison term on selected classes of offenders for whom previous sentences were neither mandatory nor long}. However, it is also clear that the number of offenders "at risk" of the mandatory long-term sentence is a product of numerous policies and case decisions made by officials throughout the criminal justice system and that these decisions are, in turn, affected by the behavior of criminal offenders. Therefore, in accounting for the trends in the use of long prison terms, numerous potential causes must be investigated. For example, one state may find that the increase in the proportion of long-term inmates committed to its correctional agency is primarily the result of longer sentences meted out by courts in recent years for selected offenses, in the absence of new legislation that lengthened the prison term or made such a term mandatory. In another state, the increase in long-term prisoners may be chiefly the product of shifts in release practices--increases or decreases. In yet another state, the increase may be accounted for largely by reference to improved law enforcement and prosecution efforts focused on selected offenses that altered the "mix" of cases presented to the courts. In many states, changes in the long-term inmate population will be an indefinable composite of these and other changes.

Determining the relative contribution of many factors to the increase in the long-term prisoner population may be a difficult and time-consuming task. If a single cause is to be examined, the logic of the analysis is straightforward. For example, assume that legislative enactment of longer prison terms for a selected offense is presumed to be responsible for much of the increase in a state's long-term population. The analysis of the impact of this policy change could begin by identifying those inmates admitted to the agency under the provisions of the new sentencing legislation. The expected time

served for these offenders had they been sentenced before the enactment of the new law must then be estimated. The basis for these estimates would be previous experience under the former sentencing law with similar offenders; that is, offenders who are alike in terms of previous criminal record and other variables related to sentence decisions. The difference in the number of offenders considered to be long-term prisoners under the new statute and under the old law represents an estimate of the new legislation's impact on the number of long-term offenders in the correctional system

Where multiple factors are assumed to contribute to the trends in the proportion of long-term prisoners under the agency's jurisdiction, ferreting out the unique contribution of each putative cause is much more complex. However, several statistical techniques are well-suited to this task. Multivariate time-series analysis and multiple regression analysis are capable of parsing out the relative importance of several "predictor" variables in producing changes in the long-term prisoner population.<1>

The real value of the analyses discussed here lies not in the description of the factors that led to the current situation (although this information may be helpful for a number of purposes), but rather in the foundation that these analyses provide for examining the impact of future developments on the long-term prisoner population. Knowledge of the impact of past decisions on present prison populations provides a format for considering and planning for the impact of current and anticipated policy alternatives on future populations.

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<1> (For an excellent discussion of these methods, see McCleary and Hay, Applied Time Series Analysis for the Social Sciences.)

## HOW DOES THE LONG-TERM PRISONER POPULATION COMPARE WITH OTHER STATES?

Correctional administrators often compare their states' current situation and problems with those of other states as a means of placing their situations in perspective. While the experience of each correctional agency is unique in the sense that no other jurisdiction exactly reproduces the situation of another, much can be learned from examination of other states and comparison to national norms.

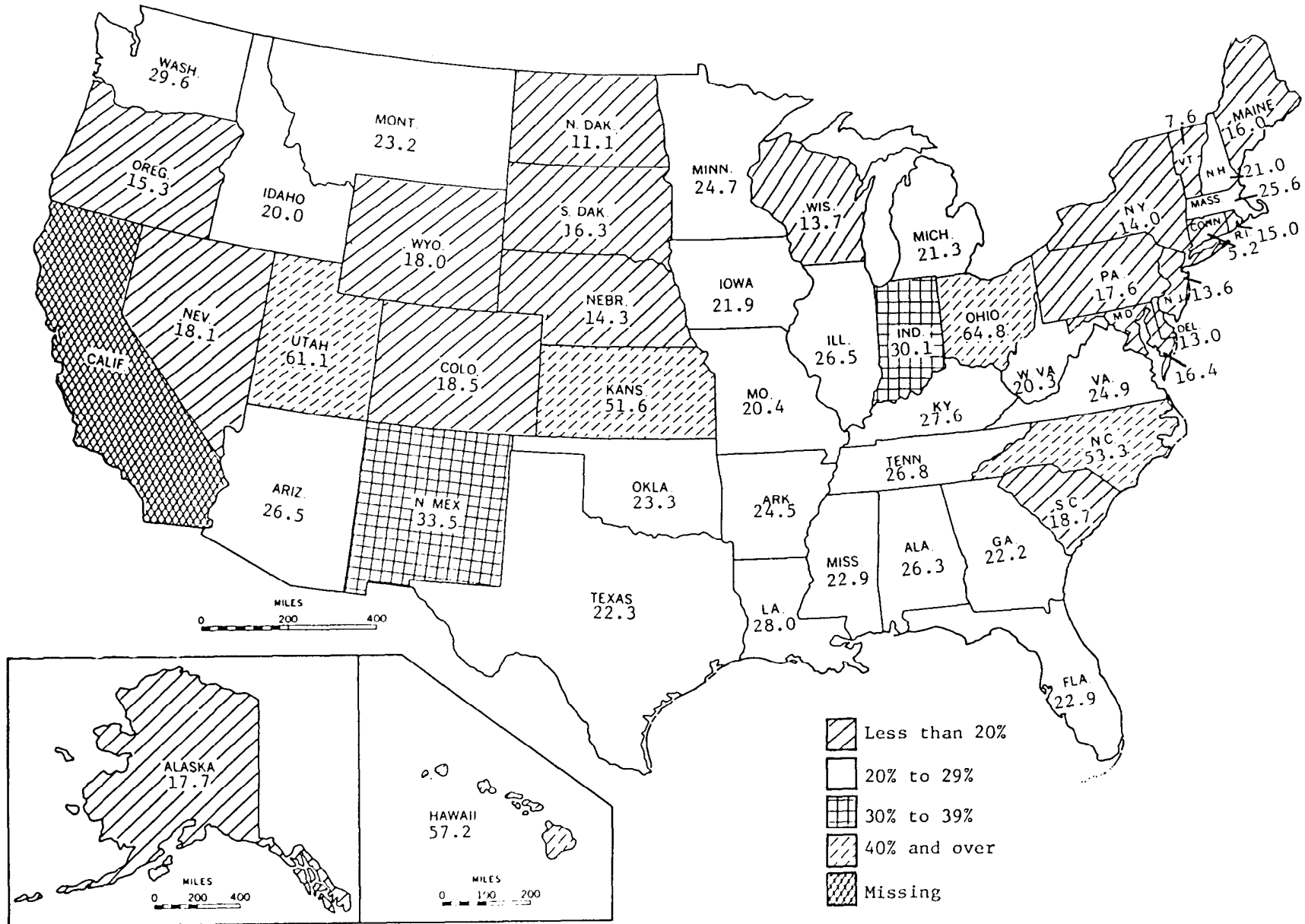
The administrator who wants to know how his/her agency compares to other states in terms of the size and growth of the long-term prisoner population faces problems due to differing agency sizes, varying state populations, and contrasting criminal codes and sentencing practices. Moreover, definitions of key terms such as "long-term prisoner" are likely to vary widely across the states. Faced with these differences, comparative analysis across states should be approached cautiously.

A method to standardize units of measurement across disparate states is essential to the use of comparative analysis. The most frequently used methods of standardization are percentages and rates. Comparison of the absolute size of the long-term prisoner population would yield little information because this figure will be related to the size of the total inmate population. In contrast, the use of percentages standardizes the various state figures to the total inmate population and facilitates comparison.

This approach was used by Flanagan in a study of the relative size of long-term inmate populations in state correctional systems. The proportion of long-term inmates (expressed as the percentage of the prison population serving sentences of more than 20 years) was compared, using data from the Census of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities conducted in 1973. Figure II-1 displays the percentage of long-term inmates by state. The data show that some of the variation in the relative

**Figure V-1**

**Proportion of Long-term Inmates in State Correctional Systems, 1973 <sup>a/</sup>**



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<sup>a/</sup> Long-term inmate is defined as one serving a sentence of more than 20 years.



size of long-term inmate populations can be attributed to regional differences. The Northeast region of the country, for instance, was marked by a lower proportion of long-term inmates, while the South Atlantic states were in the 20 to 30% range. However, the five states with the highest proportion of long-term inmates--Hawaii, Utah, Kansas, Ohio and North Carolina--were not regionally related. In addition, these states varied markedly in terms of overall prison population and other factors. Extensive analyses of other characteristics of the states revealed that few "objective" attributes of the states (e.g., the crime rate, the violent crime rate, and the overall incarceration rate) were systematically related to the proportion of long-term prisoners. Using nine variables<1> thought to be predictors of the use of long-term prison sentences, the analysis showed that less than 36% of the variation in the proportion of long-term prisoners could be "explained" by reference to these variables. Overall, the analysis suggested that differences in the proportion of long-term offenders in the prison population was perhaps best explained by differences in local sentencing norms.<2>

An alternative method of comparative analysis would use population-based rates of long-term prison commitments. This procedure entails calculation of the rate of commitment to long prison sentences per some standardized population unit, such as per 100,000 population. This measure would enable the comparison of diverse states along a common dimension that takes into account the differences in population size.

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<1> The nine variables were: nonwhite proportion of population, education level, per capita income, population, violent crime rate, urbanization, incarceration rate, unemployment rate, and crime rate.

<2> Long-term Prisoners: A Descriptive Analysis, Criminal Justice Research Center Working Paper Series, Report No. 20 (Albany, NY: Criminal Justice Research Center, 1980).

The most important obstacle to the analyses discussed here is that state correctional authorities collect and report information on prison populations in widely varying formats. Imposing a common definition of "long-term prisoner" on these disparate information bases will be difficult. As a result, comparative analysis such as these must rely on periodic national correctional censuses conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and other agencies. The data bases are available to state correctional agencies, however, and could be used as important input into the policy development process.

The primary value of comparative analysis is that the administrator may be able to identify jurisdictions with long-term inmate populations that are similar to his/her state. This information would provide the "targeting" necessary for consultation and information exchange about management strategies and policy development for this prisoner group. If multi-year trend data were available for comparative analysis, states with similar growth patterns for the long-term inmate population could be identified, and efforts that these states have taken to respond to this growth could be examined. Other states could then assess the merits of these responses in their own system planning.

#### WHAT TYPES OF PROBLEMS AND NEEDS DOES THE LONG-TERM PRISONER POPULATION PRESENT?

If the composition of state correctional populations is changing in the direction of an increasing number and proportion of long-term prisoners, administrators may need to reassess their agencies' operations to anticipate and deal with the requirements of these changing populations. This reassessment involves asking the questions, "Are long-term prisoners different from other-prisoners, and what is the nature of these differences?" In what ways are prisoners sentenced to 15-year terms different from those who will serve 3-year terms, and how should the agency respond to these differences?

These questions about differences between long-term inmates and others can be framed in a number of concrete ways. For example, do long-term prisoners, as a group, present a greater threat of escape than other prisoners? In regard to internal security, do long-term inmates present a greater risk of involvement in rule violations, such as assault and contraband, and other disciplinary infractions? Is the set of program opportunities available in the agency relevant for prisoners who will serve extended terms? Are institutional services such as health care, mental health counseling, and others relevant to the needs of long-term prisoners? Is the current physical plant stock of facilities appropriate to the needs of a population characterized by a larger share of long-term inmates? Are staff aware of and knowledgeable about the adjustment problems of long-term offenders? These and other issues represent areas of policy development that may need to be examined to deal with the changing nature of the inmate population.

There is very little research that sheds light on these questions. The research that is available is limited both in terms of the number of issues examined and in terms of applicability to other jurisdictions. In fact, the majority of research on the adjustment patterns of long-term prisoners has been conducted in European countries whose long-term prisoner problem bears little resemblance to the American situation. As a result, the correctional agency that wants to anticipate problems, formulate policy, and develop programs for long-term prisoners rather than to react to problems will have to conduct original research on these issues.

The first step in this research might be to assess the ways in which long-term prisoners differ from other inmates and also the ways in which the current group of long-term prisoners differs from its predecessors. For example, it may be logically assumed that the long-term prisoner group includes more murderers and violent offenders than the general prisoner population. However, the composition of this long-term group may

differ from other prisoners in other important respects as well. For example, do long-term prisoners, as a group, have more extensive criminal records than other prisoners? There is reason to believe that the composition of the long-term group is changing on this dimension, as new sentencing laws mandate longer terms for non-homicide offenders with extensive prior records. For example, years ago the lifer population in many state prison systems consisted almost exclusively of homicide offenders, and a large share of these inmates had no prior arrests. In contrast, today's lifer population includes inmates sentenced under habitual offender laws and career criminal legislation in which the extensiveness of the prior criminal record is an important determinant of the sentence imposed.

Other differences between long-term prisoners and the general prisoner population may also be relevant to program and policy development. For example, if the age distribution of long-term prisoners at the time of admission or the mental health history of the long-term inmate group systematically differs from other inmates, these differences may lead to examination of varying housing, program and service needs for these offenders. The differences that emerge are likely to be subtle rather than marked since both long-term inmates and the balance of the prisoner population have been through the same "filters" of criminal justice processing and sentencing.

Analysis of the pre-institutional differences between long-term inmates and other prisoners can be undertaken using samples of inmates currently under custody or samples of new admissions. For example, MacKenzie and Goodstein compared the characteristics of long-term inmates in custody in three prisons, using the design previously illustrated in Table II-1. By comparing across Cells E, F, and G in the table, the researchers were able to investigate differences in the characteristics of long-termers admitted more than six years ago, three to six years ago, and less than three years ago. No differences were found between these groups in terms of prior arrests, prior

incarcerations, education, race, involvement in prosocial activities, or severity of sentence. <1> It must be noted, however, that changes in the make-up of long-term prisoner populations that may be the product of sentencing revision will not appear in prisoner data until these changes have been in effect for some time. Therefore, the absence of systematic differences between the groups studied by MacKenzie and Goodstein may be the result of the recency of these legislative changes.

Comparison of the characteristics of long-term inmates versus other prisoners can be accomplished by comparing Cells A and E in Table II-1. If these groups of recent admissions differ in terms of important characteristics, differential program opportunities might well be indicated.

In addition to examining the pre-institutional characteristics of long-term prisoners and others, the correctional administrator may be interested in assessing the differences in adaptation to prison between these groups. Indicators of adjustment may be either positive (e.g., involvement in constructive programming or positive work evaluations) or negative (involvement in disciplinary violations). To adjust for the different periods of time that long-term inmates and others have served, it is necessary to examine these indicators with the use of annualized rates of involvement. For example, it is clear that inmates who have served six years in prison have been at risk of involvement in disciplinary violations for twice as long as inmates who have served only three years. However, the relative behavior records of these inmates can be compared if their disciplinary records are translated into annual rates of disciplinary violations. Using this method of comparative analysis, Flanagan found, on the basis of research on samples of long-term and short-term

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<1> "Impacts of Long Term Incarceration and Characteristics of Long Term Offenders: An Empirical Analysis," report submitted in part by NIJ Grant 80-NI-AX-006, The Pennsylvania State University, 1984.

inmates released from a Northeastern state during 1973-76, that long-term prisoners had lower rates of disciplinary violations. This lower rate was evident even when the effect of age differences between the long-term and short-term prisoner was taken into account. In addition, he found that long-term prisoners had lower rates of involvement in work assignment changes, program enrollments, and inter-institutional transfers. <1>

A different approach involves surveying correctional staff about the needs and problems presented by long-term inmates. Wardlaw, for example, surveyed officers-in-charge of Australian prisons about the problems presented by long-term inmates. Overall, these administrators reported that long-term prisoners, as a group, caused fewer problems than other inmates, but problems relating to "settling in" to a long prison term were cited as difficulties encountered in dealing with long-term prisoners. <2> These findings suggested that programs designed to assist in the early-phase adjustment of long-term inmates might improve the management of this group. Similarly, a survey of correctional staff in the Pennsylvania Bureau of Corrections regarding management of long-term prisoners found that acceptance of and adjustment to long-term confinement were the primary problems that staff perceived in dealing with these inmates. In addition, staff reported that diminished morale and motivation, depression, and boredom were problems that often had to be addressed in managing long-term prisoners. <3> In response to

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<1> Long-term Prisoners: Analysis of Institutional Incidents, Criminal Justice Research Center Working Paper Series, Report No. 21 (Albany, NY: Criminal Justice Research Center, 1980).

<2> "Are Long-term Prisoners a Management Problem in Australian Prisons?" Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 13(1980), 6-10.

<3> C. Unger and R. Buchanan, Long-term Offenders in the Pennsylvania Correctional System, (Kansas City, MO: Correctional Services Group, Inc., 1983).

these concerns, staff were able to suggest a wide variety of program and policy initiatives, ranging from annual health evaluations for inmates to better sequencing of educational programs and closer linkages between vocational training, institutional maintenance, and prison industries programs.

A final approach to agency-based research that would provide important information on policy development for long-term inmates is the design of "natural experiments." Natural experiments are opportunities for research that are presented in the regular course of planned or unplanned social events. Research on the social implications of natural disasters and followup studies of offender populations released prematurely as a result of court orders are examples of such experiments.

One of the most often discussed issues in the management of long-term prisoner populations is the concentration/dispersal issue, that is, whether it is better to concentrate long-termers in a single facility or to disperse them throughout several institutions in a correctional system. The concentration approach is presumed to have several important advantages, but arguments for the dispersal model are also persuasive.<sup><1></sup> While a few examples of concentrated long-term inmate facilities have existed in this country over the past century, no attempt has been made to directly examine the relative merits of the two approaches.

With rapid prison expansion efforts currently under way in many states, conditions that would be conducive to designing a natural experiment to test the merits of the concentration and dispersal models of long-term inmate management are available. For example, if a state had a new facility of appropriate security level scheduled to open in the near future,

plans could be formulated to populate the facility with a relatively homogeneous group of long-term prisoners from both the current system population and new admissions. The operation and management of this facility could be closely tracked for a period of time (two to three years, for example). After the experimental period, the population of the facility could be made more heterogeneous through inmate transfers and new admissions, and the post-experimental period operations of the facility could be similarly examined. Indicators such as assault rates, disciplinary activity, staff and inmate morale and attitudes, grievance complaints, health statistics, and others could be compared across the two time periods. The assessment of these relevant indicators of institutional functioning could provide important information on the strengths and weaknesses of the concentration and dispersal approaches to managing long-term offender populations and, perhaps, insight into institutional policies and programs that would improve management of these prisoners throughout the correctional system. Objections to experimenting with inmates and staff could be minimized by making assignment to the experimental facility voluntary for both groups. While this self-selection process would create problems for the research design because inmates and staff who opted for involvement with the experiment may differ in important ways from those who decline to participate, many of these differences are measurable and could be taken into account in analyzing the data.

## Using Research in the Policy Development Process

As noted at the beginning of this section, there are serious obstacles to the effective use of research in correctional planning, program development, and policy-making. These obstacles range from differences in professional values and work styles between the administrator and the researcher to budgetary constraints and limited technology. Despite these difficulties, research can provide valuable information to the administrator

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<sup><1></sup> See, e.g., Home Office Advisory Committee on the Penal System - The Regime for Long-term Prisoners in Conditions of Maximum Security (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968).

**faced with effectively managing a  
correctional system housing an inmate  
population that is characterized by an  
increasing share of long-term offenders.**

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**Appendix A**

**Time Served and Maximum Sentence Data**



TIME SERVED TO DATE--STATE BY STATE COMPARISON

	Males						Females					
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Alabama	8,575	1,234	426	41	28	10,304	477	29	1	0	0	507
Alaska	1,180	73	8	1	0	1,262	53	1	0	0	0	54
Arizona	6,694	553	125	14	0	7,386						
Arkansas	**						182	10	2	0	0	194
California	**											
Colorado							120	16	4	0	0	140
Connecticut	4,039	251	42	3	0	4,335	210	0	0	0	0	210
Delaware	**						**					
District of Columbia	4,152	776	556	6	2	5,495						
Florida	22,415	2,929	940	72	20	26,376	1,042	71	8	0	1	1,122
Georgia	13,896	1,287	383	15	2	15,583	684	47	7	0	0	738
Hawaii	1,131	161	30	4	3	1,329	63	0	0	0	0	63
Idaho	1,402	338	101	24	0	1,865	54	12	0	0	0	66
Illinois	15,442	1,140	219	25	2	16,828	554	30	1	0	0	585
Indiana	7,463	850	232	74	64	8,683	328	55	6	2	3	394
Iowa	2,526	148	29	6	0	2,709	97	6	0	0	0	103
Kansas	3,566	318	78	2	2	3,968*	225	5	1	0	0	232*
Kentucky	3,586	842	324	33	5	4,790	180	15	2	0	0	197
Louisiana	9,795	2,076	557	49	6	12,483	475	47	5	0	0	527*
Maine	875	71	19	2	4	971	22	1	0	0	0	23
Maryland	10,188	1,405	794	46	9	12,442	*					
Massachusetts	3,284	523	179	6	1	3,993	206	10	2	0	0	218
Michigan	**						**					
Minnesota	1,741	112	32	3	1	1,889	61	2	1	0	0	64
Mississippi	4,698	881	125	22	9	5,735	219	10	0	0	0	229
Missouri	7,145	922	292	24	18	8,401	285	16	3	0	0	304
Montana	718	27	8	0	0	753	31	2	0	0	0	33
Nebraska	1,464	196	81	2	2	1,745*	72	1	1	0	0	74
Nevada	2,880	422	61	9	0	3,372	190	9	-	-	-	199
New Hampshire	444	37	12	1	0	494	14	0	0	0	0	14***
New Jersey	**						**					
New Mexico	2,066	43	2	0	0	2,111	50	10	3	0	10	73
New York	28,564	3,075	605	44	6	32,294	862	46	8	0	1	917
North Carolina	13,461	2,102	515	44	6	16,128	632	32	0	0	0	664
North Dakota	390	16	10	0	0	416	7	0	0	0	0	7
Ohio	**						**					
Oklahoma	5,365	514	105	4	5	7,480*	367	16	0	0	1	413*
Oregon	4,056	329	44	3	1	4,433						
Pennsylvania	8,426	1,436	433	33	13	10,587*	358	27	10	0	0	403*
Rhode Island	891	85	39	0	1	1,016	27	1	0	0	0	28
South Carolina	7,598	1,584	342	23	17	9,564	384	37	5	0	0	426
South Dakota	**											
Tennessee	4,675	1,815	540	417	330	7,777	204	105	50	14	6	379
Texas	20,889	3,700	858	59	5	35,511						
Utah	1,137	186	45	2	1	1,551						
Vermont	**						**					
Virginia												
Washington	5,271	935	129	2	6	6,343	210	13	2	0	0	225
West Virginia												
Wisconsin	4,224	370	109	6	2	4,711	176	11	3	0	0	190
Wyoming												
Federal Prison System	**						**					
Totals	256,492	33,762	9,429	1,121	571	303,068**	9,374	786	161	57	39	10,455
Puerto Rico	3,573	287	65	10	9	3,944	79	26	6	10	8	719
Correctional Service.												
Canada	10,398	1,088	396	28	7	11,917	207	22	12	0	0	241

\* Data unavailable as requested  
 \*\* Includes prisoners with unknown sentences  
 \*\*\* Indeterminate sentencing  
 \*\*\*\* Includes natural life

MAXIMUM SENTENCE LENGTH--STATE BY STATE COMPARISON

	Males						Females					
	1	2	3	4	5****	Total	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Alabama	1,745	1,386	3,409	2,440	10,304	159	78	161	49	60	507	
Alaska	629	302	169	52	110	1,262	28	19	2	3	2	54
Arizona	3,347	2,061	1,026	952	1,324	7,386	40	62	43	15	34	194
Arkansas*												
California*												
Colorado	**						77	29	19	7	3	140
Connecticut	2,450	846	586	196	257	4,335	156	26	22	3	3	210
Delaware	800	379	249	76	315	1,819	38	11	14	1	4	68
District of Columbia**	2,865	883	409	166	459	5,495						
Florida	10,444	2,570	5,761	1,877	5,724	26,376	615	115	198	56	138	1,122
Georgia	4,207	3,847	3,821	3,426	282	15,583	283	190	136	126	3	738
Hawaii**	237	228	312	268	119	1,329	11	12	12	12	2	63
Idaho	468	792	484	78	43	1,865	35	22	5	2	2	66
Illinois	5,751	4,831	2,481	1,373	2,392	16,828	278	149	46	56	56	565
Indiana	5,514	1,694	1,024	147	304	8,683	241	108	28	3	14	394
Iowa	230	511	1,259	470	239	2,709	17	26	38	10	12	103
Kansas**	115	755	1,155	821	1,111	3,968	20	72	75	37	27	232
Kentucky	561	969	1,504	827	929	4,790	134	54	0	0	9	197
Louisiana**	4,105	2,856	1,970	968	2,546	12,483	233	102	62	33	58	527
Maine	535	192	106	40	75	948	12	3	3	3	2	23
Maryland	3,417	3,101	3,035	1,192	1,697	12,442	*					
Massachusetts	232	863	1,566	638	704	3,993	128	30	33	11	16	218
Michigan*												
Minnesota**	1,156	327	127	131	143	1,884	47	6	7	1	3	64
Mississippi	1,050	1,679	1,453	586	967	5,735	53	68	57	22	29	229
Missouri	2,434	2,250	2,022	643	1,052	8,401	146	62	52	9	35	304
Montana	86	127	219	108	213	753	9	11	9	2	2	33
Nebraska**	595	349	270	77	209	1,500	48	12	3	1	4	68
Nevada	1,148	817	635	180	592	3,372	97	50	24	4	24	199
New Hampshire	318	103	36	17	20	494	12	0	0	1	1	14
New Jersey**	2,941	1,316	2,577	2,069		9,527	113	44	55	48		347
New Mexico	982	398	278	46	397	2,111	50	10	3	0	10	73
New York	13,860	9,651	6,447	2,320	16	32,294	498	234	142	43	0	917
North Carolina	5,362	2,764	3,437	1,451	3,114	16,128	349	107	109	34	65	664
North Dakota	214	139	31	12	20	416	2	4	0	0	1	7
Ohio*							308	194	91	214	159	966
Oklahoma**	2,290	1,258	1,023	453	816	7,480	191	96	46	17	22	372
Oregon**	2,060	645	323	48	20	4,433						
Pennsylvania	1,971	2,484	2,645	1,411	1,840	10,587	123	108	78	32	54	403
Rhode Island	476	222	165	66	87	1,016	17	7	3	0	1	28
South Carolina	2,811	2,103	2,068	1,169	1,413	9,564	195	86	78	16	51	426
South Dakota*												
Tennessee	2,363	2,019	1,796	1,158	441	7,777	204	105	50	14	6	379
Texas	6,125	9,344	8,804	3,729	7,509	35,511						
Utah***												
Vermont	210	118	78	13	21	440	3	2	0	0	0	5
Virginia												
Washington	6	75	4,308	43	1,229	6,343	3	105	66	26	25	225
West Virginia												
Wisconsin	1,624	1,414	875	281	517	4,711	96	53	19	6	16	190
Wyoming												
Federal Prison System	9,579	7,236	5,062	3,788		25,665	831	258	129	54		1,272
Totals	107,313	75,904	75,005	34,690	40,382	338,740	5,900	2,730	1,918	971	953	12,626
Puerto Rico	2,037	869	630	120	288	3,944	78	20	9	4	8	119
Correctional Service, Canada	6,191	2,713	1,179	155	1,679	11,917	131	54	10	2	44	241

\* Data unavailable as requested

\*\* Includes prisoners with unknown sentences

\*\*\* Indeterminate sentencing

\*\*\*\* Includes natural life

**TIME SERVED TO DATE BY STATE**  
(Percentages)

	Males				Females			
	0 to 4.99 Years	5 to 9.99 Years	10 Plus Years	Total	0 to 4.99 Years	5 to 9.99 Years	10 Plus Years	Total
Alabama	83.2	12.0	4.8	100.0	94.0	5.7	0.2	99.9
Alaska	93.5	5.8	0.7	100.0	98.1	1.9	0.0	100.0
Arizona	90.6	7.5	1.9	100.0	*			
Arkansas	*				93.8	5.1	1.0	99.9
California	*							
Colorado	**				*			
Connecticut	93.2	5.8	1.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Delaware	*				*			
District of Columbia	75.6	14.1	10.3	100.0				
Florida	85.0	11.1	3.9	100.0	92.9	6.3	0.8	100.0
Georgia	89.2	8.3	2.6	100.1	92.7	6.4	0.9	100.0
Hawaii	85.1	12.1	2.8	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Idaho	75.2	18.1	6.7	100.0	81.8	18.2	0.0	100.0
Illinois	91.8	6.8	1.5	100.1	94.7	5.1	0.2	100.0
Indiana	85.9	9.8	4.3	100.0	83.2	14.0	2.8	100.0
Iowa	93.2	5.5	1.3	100.0	94.2	5.8	0.0	100.0
Kansas	89.9	8.0	2.1	100.0	97.0	2.6	0.4	100.0
Kentucky	74.9	17.6	7.6	100.1	91.4	7.6	1.0	100.0
Louisiana	78.5	16.6	4.9	100.0	90.1	8.9	0.9	99.9
Maine	90.1	7.3	2.6	100.0	95.7	4.3	0.0	100.0
Maryland	81.9	11.3	6.8	100.0	*			
Massachusetts	82.4	13.1	4.6	100.1	94.5	4.6	0.9	100.0
Michigan	*				*			
Minnesota	92.2	5.9	1.9	100.0	95.3	3.1	1.6	100.0
Mississippi	81.9	15.4	2.7	100.0	95.6	4.4	0.0	100.0
Missouri	85.0	11.0	4.0	100.0	93.8	5.3	1.0	100.1
Montana	95.4	3.6	1.1	100.1	93.9	6.1	0.0	100.0
Nebraska	83.9	11.2	4.9	100.0	97.3	1.4	1.4	100.1
Nevada	85.4	12.5	2.1	100.0	95.5	4.5	0.0	100.0
New Hampshire	89.9	7.5	2.6	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
New Jersey	*				*			
New Mexico	97.9	2.0	0.1	100.0	68.5	13.7	17.8	100.0
New York	88.4	9.5	2.0	99.9	94.0	5.0	1.0	100.0
North Carolina	83.5	13.0	3.5	100.0	95.2	4.8	0.0	100.0
North Dakota	93.8	3.8	2.4	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Ohio	*				**			
Oklahoma	89.5	8.6	2.0	100.1	95.6	4.2	0.3	100.1
Oregon	91.5	7.4	1.1	100.0	*			
Pennsylvania	81.5	13.9	4.6	100.0	90.6	6.8	2.5	99.9
Rhode Island	87.7	8.4	3.9	100.0	96.4	3.6	0.0	100.0
South Carolina	79.4	16.6	4.0	100.0	90.1	8.7	1.2	100.0
South Dakota	*				**			
Tennessee	60.1	23.3	16.5	99.9	53.8	27.7	18.5	100.0
Texas	87.0	10.4	2.6	100.0	**			
Utah	84.9	12.0	3.1	100.0	*			
Vermont	*				*			
Virginia	**				**			
Washington	83.1	14.7	2.2	100.0	93.3	5.8	0.9	100.0
West Virginia	**				**			
Wisconsin	89.7	7.8	2.5	100.0	92.6	5.8	1.6	100.0
Wyoming	**				**			
Federal Prison Systems	*				*			
Mean	85.2	11.1	3.7	100.0	90.0	7.5	2.5	100.0
Puerto Rico	90.6	7.3	2.0	99.9	66.4	21.8	11.7	99.9
Correctional Service, Canada	87.2	9.1	3.6	99.9	85.9	9.1	5.0	100.0

\* Data not available  
\*\* Did not participate in survey

MAXIMUM SENTENCE DATA BY STATE (PERCENTAGE)

	Males				Females			
	Less Than Five Years	5 to 9.99 Years	10+ Years	Total	Less Than Five Years	5 to 9.99 Years	10+ Years	Total
Alabama	16.9	13.5	69.6	100.0	31.4	15.4	53.3	100.1
Alaska	49.8	23.9	26.2	99.9	51.8	35.2	13.0	100.0
Arizona	45.3	27.9	26.8	100.0	20.6	32.0	47.4	100.0
Arkansas	*				*			
California	*				*			
Colorado	**				57.0	21.5	21.5	100.0
Connecticut	56.5	19.5	24.0	100.0	74.3	12.4	13.3	100.0
Delaware	44.0	20.8	35.2	100.0	55.9	16.2	27.9	100.0
District of Columbia	59.9	18.5	21.6	100.0	*			
Florida	39.6	9.7	50.7	100.0	54.8	10.2	34.9	99.9
Georgia	27.0	24.7	48.3	100.0	38.3	25.7	35.9	99.9
Hawaii	20.3	19.6	60.1	100.0	22.4	24.5	53.1	100.0
Idaho	25.1	42.5	32.4	100.0	53.0	33.3	13.6	99.9
Illinois	34.2	28.7	37.1	100.0	47.5	25.5	27.0	100.0
Indiana	63.5	19.5	17.0	100.0	61.2	27.4	11.4	100.0
Iowa	8.5	18.9	72.6	100.0	16.5	25.2	58.3	100.0
Kansas	2.9	19.1	78.0	100.0	8.6	31.2	60.2	100.0
Kentucky	11.7	20.2	68.0	99.9	68.0	27.4	4.6	100.0
Louisiana	33.0	22.9	44.1	100.0	47.7	20.9	31.4	100.0
Maine	56.4	20.2	23.3	99.9	52.2	13.0	34.8	100.0
Maryland	27.5	24.9	47.6	100.0	**			
Massachusetts	5.8	21.6	72.6	100.0	58.7	13.8	27.5	100.0
Michigan	*				*			
Minnesota	61.4	17.4	21.3	100.1	73.4	9.4	17.2	100.0
Mississippi	18.3	29.3	52.4	100.0	23.1	29.7	47.2	100.0
Missouri	29.0	26.8	44.2	100.0	48.0	20.4	31.6	100.0
Montana	11.4	16.9	71.7	100.0	27.3	33.3	39.4	100.0
Nebraska	39.7	23.2	37.1	100.1	70.6	17.6	11.8	100.0
Nevada	34.0	24.2	41.7	99.9	48.7	25.1	26.1	99.9
New Hampshire	64.4	20.8	17.8	100.0	85.7	0.0	14.3	100.0
New Jersey	33.0	14.8	52.2	100.0	43.5	16.9	39.6	100.0
New Mexico	46.7	18.9	34.3	99.9	68.5	13.7	17.8	100.0
New York	42.9	29.9	27.2	100.0	54.3	25.5	20.2	100.0
North Carolina	33.2	17.1	49.6	99.9	52.6	16.1	31.3	100.0
North Dakota	51.4	33.4	15.1	99.9	28.6	57.1	14.3	100.0
Ohio	*				31.9	20.1	48.0	100.0
Oklahoma	39.2	21.5	39.2	99.9	51.3	25.8	22.8	99.9
Oregon	66.5	20.8	12.6	99.9	**			
Pennsylvania	19.0	24.0	57.0	100.0	31.1	27.3	41.5	99.9
Rhode Island	46.9	21.8	31.3	100.0	60.7	28.0	14.3	100.0
South Carolina	29.4	22.0	48.6	100.0	45.8	20.2	34.0	100.0
South Dakota	**				**			
Tennessee	30.4	26.0	43.6	100.0	53.8	27.7	18.5	100.0
Texas	17.2	26.3	56.4	99.9	**			
Utah		Uses Indeterminate Sentencing						
Vermont	47.7	26.8	25.5	100.0	60.0	40.0	0.0	100.0
Virginia	**				**			
Washington	0.1	1.3	98.6	100.0	1.3	46.7	52.0	100.0
West Virginia	**				**			
Wisconsin	34.5	30.0	35.5	100.0	50.5	27.9	21.6	100.0
Wyoming	**				**			
Federal Prison Systems	37.3	28.2	34.5	100.0	65.3	20.3	14.4	100.0
Mean	32.2	22.8	45.0	100.0	47.3	21.9	30.8	100.0
Puerto Rico	51.6	22.0	76.3	99.9	65.5	16.8	17.7	100.0
Correctional Service, Canada	52.0	22.8	25.3	100.1	54.4	22.4	23.1	99.9

\* Data not available

\*\* Did not participate in survey



**Appendix B**

**Percentage of Long-Term Inmates in Current Adult Population  
and in 1979 by Sex and State**

State	Males				Females		
	1979	1984	1979-1984		1979	1984	1979-1984
Alabama <a,b>	22.5	28.1	+5.6	Alabama <a>			
Alaska <a>	31.0	34.0	+3.0	Alaska <a>			
Arizona	25.1	22.3	-2.8	Arizona	5.5	12.9	+7.4
Arkansas <c>				Arkansas	12.0	33.0	+21.0
California <b>	26.0	30.0	+4.0	California <h>			
Colorado <l>				Colorado	<b>	11.3	--
Connecticut <d>	8.7	12.7	+4.0	Connecticut <d>	1.7	7.2	+5.5
Delaware	44.0	31.0	-13.0	Delaware	26.0	22.0	-4.0
District of Columbia <l>				District of Columbia	<c>	<c>	--
Florida <a,d>	45.6	55.1	+9.5	Florida <h>			
Georgia	<c>	19.0	--	Georgia <a>			
Hawaii	<c>	55.0	--	Hawaii	<b>	41.0	--
Idaho	<c>	15.0	--	Idaho	<b>	22.0	--
Illinois	<c>	28.0	--	Illinois	<b>	0.7	--
Indiana	8.0	9.0	+1.0	Indiana <d>	6.0	6.0	0.0
Iowa	9.8	11.3	+1.5	Iowa	6.1	13.9	+7.8
Kansas	13.6 <b>	13.6	0.0	Kansas	5.3 <e>	4.9	-0.4
Kentucky	<c>	17.0 <b>	--	Kentucky	9.0	9.0	0.0
Louisiana <l>				Louisiana	6.3	20.6	+14.3
Maine <l>				Maine <h>			
Maryland	35.6 <e>	41.9	+6.3	Maryland	10.0 <e>	8.0	-2.0
Massachusetts	31.0	26.0	-5.0	Massachusetts	11.0	12.0	+1.0
Michigan <l>				Michigan <h>			
Minnesota	7.0	20.0	+13.0	Minnesota	<b>	6.0	--
Mississippi <l>				Mississippi <h>			
Missouri	<c>	34.9	--	Missouri	35.0	68.0	+33.0
Montana <a,f>	3.0	8.0	+5.0	Montana <a>			
Nebraska <l>				Nebraska <h>			
Nevada	20.0	20.0	0.0	Nevada	40.0 <e>	43.0	+3.0
New Hampshire	20.0	28.0	+8.0	New Hampshire <f>	67.0	35.0	-32.0
New Jersey <b>	10.0	15.5	+5.5	New Jersey	21.0	28.0	+7.0
New Mexico	<c>	41.6	--	New Mexico	7.3	14.6	+7.3
New York	<c>	17.0	--	New York	<b>	0.3	--
North Carolina <g>	32.0 <h>	35.0	+3.0	North Carolina	15.0	25.0	+10.0
North Dakota	15.0	22.0	+7.0	North Dakota <g>	0.0	1.0	+1.0
Ohio	<c>	<c>	--	Ohio <a>			
Oklahoma	<c>	30.0 <b>	--	Oklahoma	<b>	20.0	--
Oregon	7.8	20.5	+12.7	Oregon	9.0 <e>	11.0	+2.0
Pennsylvania <l>				Pennsylvania	<b>	17.0	--
Rhode Island	20.2 <i>	19.5	-0.7	Rhode Island <g>	25.0	4.5	-20.5
South Carolina	37.9	40.6	+2.7	South Carolina	33.6	27.4	-6.2
Tennessee	29.4	31.4	+2.0	Tennessee <h>			
Texas	41.8	37.8	-4.0	Texas	24.7	20.3	-4.4
Utah	8.0 <b>	10.0	+2.0	Utah	<b>	15.0	--
Vermont <a>	<c>	6.7	--	Vermont <a>			
Virginia <l>				Virginia <h>			
Washington	12.0 <b>	11.0	-1.0	Washington <h>			
West Virginia <a,j>	60.0	78.0	+18.0	West Virginia <a>			
Wisconsin <k>	21.4	21.8	+0.4	Wisconsin <h>			
Federal Prison System	<c>	<c>	--	Federal Prison System <d,e>	22.0	25.0	+3.0
Mean*	20.36	24.79	+1.78	Mean	18.4	18.9	+2.27

\* Excludes states that completed the abbreviated questionnaire or that provided data not conforming to the definition of long-term inmate.

<a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request a distinction between male and female inmate data.  
 <b> Estimate.  
 <c> Data not available.  
 <d> Data received too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for informational purposes only.  
 <e> Data are for 1981.  
 <f> Data reflect inmates who have served 7 years or more, but not those who may serve 7 years or more.  
 <g> Data are for inmates with sentences of 15 years or more.  
 <h> Data are for 1978.  
 <i> Data are for 1980.

<a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.  
 <b> Data not available.  
 <c> Agency has no female inmates under its jurisdiction.  
 <d> Data provided too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for informational purposes only.  
 <e> Estimate.  
 <f> Female inmates are housed out of state; data represent estimates.  
 <g> Agency reported fewer than 5 long-term female inmates in its population.  
 <h> No response.

**Appendix C**

**Race of Long-Term Inmate Population by Sex and State**



Males							Females						
State	White	Black	Hispanic	American Indian	Other	Total*	State	White	Black	Hispanic	American Indian	Other	Total
Alabama <a>							Alabama <a>						
Alaska <b>							Alaska <a>						
Arizona	55.2%	20.8%	20.6%	2.5%	0.9%	100.0%	Arizona <b>						
Arkansas <e>							Arkansas	54.0%	46.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
California	35.0	34.0	27.0	<a>	<a>	96.0	California <g>						
Colorado <e>							Colorado	63.0	37.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Connecticut <f>	38.7	45.9	14.8	0.3	0.3	100.0	Connecticut <h>	53.3	20.0	20.0	6.7	0.0	100.0
Delaware	39.0	61.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	Delaware	42.0	58.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
District of Columbia <e>							District of Columbia <c>						
Florida <b>							Florida <a>						
Georgia	37.0	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	37.0	Georgia <g>						
Hawaii	20.0	5.0	3.0	1.0	71.0	100.0	Hawaii	19.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	77.0	100.0
Idaho	85.8	2.2	8.7	2.7	0.5	99.9	Idaho	80.0	10.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	100.0
Illinois	28.0	65.4	6.3	0.0	0.3	100.0	Illinois	41.0	51.6	4.1	0.0	3.3	100.0
Indiana	69.0	29.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	99.0	Indiana <d,h>	51.0	46.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	100.0
Iowa	74.6	24.6	0.0	0.4	0.4	100.0	Iowa	73.0	27.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Kansas	51.7	41.3	4.3	2.2	0.5	100.0	Kansas	81.8	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Kentucky <a>							Kentucky	71.0	29.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Louisiana <e>							Louisiana	36.7	63.3	0.0	0.0	10.0	100.0
Maine <e>							Maine <g>						
Maryland	74.3	25.5	0.0	0.1	0.1	100.0	Maryland <d>	31.4	68.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	99.8
Massachusetts	61.0	35.0	3.0	1.0	0.0	100.0	Massachusetts	48.0	48.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Michigan <e>							Michigan <g>						
Minnesota	64.0	26.0	3.0	7.0	0.3	100.3	Minnesota	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Mississippi <e>							Mississippi <g>						
Missouri	47.8	51.9	0.1	0.1	0.1	100.0	Missouri	64.0	35.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	100.0
Montana <b>							Montana <a>						
Nebraska <e>							Nebraska <g>						
Nevada	66.0	27.0	5.0	2.0	1.0	101.0	Nevada	55.0	39.0	2.0	0.6	2.4	99.0
New Hampshire <c>	97.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	100.0	New Hampshire <d>	83.0	<e>	16.0	<e>	<e>	99.0
New Jersey <c>	27.0	62.0	11.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	New Jersey	24.0	67.0	9.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
New Mexico	35.1	12.0	47.1	2.8	<a>	97.0	New Mexico	2.0	1.0	97.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
New York	24.9	56.0	18.4	0.2	0.5	100.0	New York	34.6	51.5	12.9	1.0	0.0	100.0
North Carolina <a>							North Carolina	40.0	53.0	2.0	5.0	0.0	100.0
North Dakota	84.0	2.0	1.0	13.0	0.0	100.0	North Dakota <f>						
Ohio <b>							Ohio <a>						
Oklahoma	60.0	33.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	100.0	Oklahoma	60.0	31.0	0.3	8.0	0.7	100.0
Oregon	81.2	10.8	3.8	3.8	0.5	100.1	Oregon	72.0	17.0	0.0	11.0	0.0	100.0
Pennsylvania <e>							Pennsylvania	42.0	58.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Rhode Island	70.1	23.8	6.1	0.0	0.0	100.0	Rhode Island <f>						
South Carolina	38.6	61.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	100.0	South Carolina	41.2	58.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Tennessee	55.0	44.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	Tennessee <g>						
Texas	33.4	49.6	17.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	Texas	39.3	44.9	15.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
Utah	76.8	8.0	14.4	0.8	0.0	100.0	Utah	80.0	10.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Vermont <b>							Vermont <a>						
Virginia <e>							Virginia <g>						
Washington	54.0	39.0	5.0	1.0	1.0	100.0	Washington <g>						
West Virginia <b>							West Virginia <a>						
Wisconsin <d>							Wisconsin <g>						
Federal Prison System <a>							Federal Prison System <d,h>	30.0	50.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Mean	55.2	31.5	7.8	1.8	3.4	99.7	Mean	53.0	37.1	6.6	1.5	3.3	

\* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding and/or exclusion of inmates under 18 years of age.

<a> Not available.

<b> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.

<c> Estimate.

<d> Data do not conform to definition of long-term inmate.

<e> No response.

<f> Data arrived too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for informational purposes only.

<a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.

<b> Data not available.

<c> Agency has no females under its jurisdiction.

<d> Estimate.

<e> Not reported.

<f> Agency reported fewer than 5 long-term female inmates in its population.

<g> No response.

<h> Data arrived too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for informational purposes only.

**Appendix D**

**Marital Status of Long-Term Inmates at Admission and at  
Time of Survey by Sex and State**

**MARITAL STATUS AT ADMISSION**  
(Percentages)

State	Male					Total*
	Married	Single	Divorced	Separated	Widowed	
Alabama <a>						
Alaska <b>						
Arizona <a>						
Arkansas <d>						
California <a>						
Colorado <d>						
Connecticut <e>	15.3	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	15.3
Delaware <a>						
District of Columbia <d>						
Florida <b>						
Georgia	22.0	39.0	12.0	6.0	4.0	83.0
Hawaii <a>						
Idaho	29.0	34.0	24.2	6.5	4.3	98.0
Illinois <a>						
Indiana	22.0	58.0	17.0	2.0	0.0	99.0
Iowa <a>						
Kansas	34.9	44.2	15.6	1.4	3.9	100.0
Kentucky <a>						
Louisiana <d>						
Maine <d>						
Maryland	17.0	69.1	6.0	6.4	1.4	99.9
Massachusetts	23.0	57.0	13.0	4.0	2.0	99.0
Michigan <d>						
Minnesota	23.0	46.0	19.0	4.0	4.0	96.0
Mississippi <d>						
Missouri	22.8	54.7	14.1	4.4	1.7	97.7
Montana <b>						
Nebraska <d>						
Nevada <a>						
New Hampshire <c>	20.0	55.0	20.0	4.0	1.0	100.0
New Jersey <a>						
New Mexico <a>						
New York	38.0	50.6	4.6	4.7	1.5	99.4
North Carolina <a>						
North Dakota	16.0	44.0	28.0	0.0	12.0	100.0
Ohio <b>						
Oklahoma <a>						
Oregon	27.0	52.0	21.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Pennsylvania <d>						
Rhode Island	22.7	53.6	16.0	4.4	3.3	100.0
South Carolina	34.1	51.5	8.8	3.4	2.2	100.0
Tennessee	37.0	50.0	9.0	3.0	1.0	100.0
Texas <a>						
Utah <a>						
Vermont <b>						
Virginia <d>						
Washington <a>						
West Virginia <b>						
Wisconsin <a>						
Federal Prison System <a>						
Mean	25.9	50.6	15.2	3.6	2.8	98.1

\* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding and/or exclusion of inmates under 18 years of age.

<a> Not available.

<b> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.

<c> Estimate.

<d> No response.

<e> Data arrived too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for informational purposes only.

**CURRENT MARITAL STATUS  
(Percentages)**

<u>State</u>	<u>Male</u>					<u>Total*</u>
	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Divorced</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	
Alabama <a>						
Alaska <b>						
Arizona <a>						
Arkansas <e>						
California <a>						
Colorado <e>						
Connecticut <f>	11.7	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	11.7
Delaware	7.0	90.0	2.0	0.1	0.1	99.2
District of Columbia <e>						
Florida <b>						
Georgia <a>						
Hawaii <a>						
Idaho <a>						
Illinois <a>						
Indiana	22.0	58.0	17.0	2.0	0.0	99.0
Iowa	35.7	33.5	20.1	4.0	5.8	99.1
Kansas <c>	34.9	44.2	15.6	1.4	3.9	100.0
Kentucky <a>						
Louisiana <e>						
Maine <e>						
Maryland <a>						
Massachusetts <a>						
Michigan <e>						
Minnesota <a>						
Mississippi <e>						
Missouri <c>	22.8	54.7	14.1	4.4	1.7	97.7
Montana <b>						
Nebraska <e>						
Nevada <a>						
New Hampshire <c>	20.0	55.0	20.0	4.0	1.0	100.0
New Jersey <a>						
New Mexico	38.6	38.8	14.3	2.2	2.4	96.3
New York <a>						
North Carolina <a>						
North Dakota	16.0	44.0	28.0	0.0	12.0	100.0
Ohio <b>						
Oklahoma <a>						
Oregon	30.0	50.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Pennsylvania <e>						
Rhode Island <a>						
South Carolina <a>						
Tennessee	35.0	52.0	9.0	3.0	1.0	100.0
Texas	37.7	43.0	15.0	0.5	1.4	97.6
Utah	30.4	36.0	21.6	6.4	5.6	100.0
Vermont <b>						
Virginia <e>						
Washington	51.0	18.0	31.0	<a>	1.0	101.0
West Virginia <b>						
Wisconsin <d>						
Federal Prison System <a>						
Mean	29.3	47.5	17.5	2.4	2.8	99.5

\* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding and/or exclusion of inmates under 18 years of age.

- <a> Not available.
- <b> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.
- <c> Estimate.
- <d> Data do not conform to definition of long-term inmate.
- <e> No response.
- <f> Data arrived too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for informational purposes only.

**MARITAL STATUS AT ADMISSION  
(Percentages)**

<u>State</u>	<u>Females</u>					<u>Total*</u>
	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Divorced</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	
Alabama <a>						
Alaska <a>						
Arizona <b>						
Arkansas	25.0	44.0	19.0	2.0	10.0	100.0
California <e>						
Colorado	37.0	18.0	9.0	18.0	18.0	100.0
Connecticut <g>	38.4	<b>	<b>	<b>	<b>	38.4
Delaware <b>						
District of Columbia <c>						
Florida <a>						
Georgia <e>						
Hawaii <b>						
Idaho	20.0	40.0	10.0	10.0	20.0	100.0
Illinois	31.0	39.0	14.0	4.0	12.0	100.0
Indiana <d,g>	25.0	10.0	20.0	10.0	35.0	100.0
Iowa	36.3	9.0	18.1	0.0	36.3	99.7
Kansas	40.0	10.0	20.0	0.0	30.0	100.0
Kentucky	14.0	36.0	7.0	29.0	14.0	100.0
Louisiana	25.5	41.8	15.3	5.1	12.3	100.0
Maine <e>						
Maryland <d>	25.0	55.0	10.0	8.0	2.0	100.0
Massachusetts	14.0	48.0	17.0	14.0	7.0	100.0
Michigan <e>						
Minnesota	0.0	0.0	40.0	40.0	20.0	100.0
Mississippi <e>						
Missouri	20.0	34.0	21.0	15.0	10.0	100.0
Montana <a>						
Nebraska <e>						
Nevada <e>						
New Hampshire <d>	16.0	<e>	16.0	16.0	50.0	98.0
New Jersey	2.0	55.0	12.0	30.0	1.0	100.0
New Mexico	10.0	20.0	40.0	10.0	20.0	100.0
New York	17.8	51.5	9.9	12.9	6.9	99.0
North Carolina	15.0	40.0	15.0	20.0	10.0	100.0
North Dakota <f>						
Ohio <a>						
Oklahoma	32.0	21.0	42.0	<e>	2.0	97.0
Oregon	11.0	33.0	33.0	2.0	17.0	99.0
Pennsylvania	26.0	46.0	10.0	8.0	10.0	100.0
Rhode Island <f>						
South Carolina	26.1	43.7	9.2	3.4	17.6	100.0
Tennessee <e>						
Texas <b>						
Utah	40.0	10.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Vermont <a>						
Virginia <e>						
Washington <e>						
West Virginia <a>						
Wisconsin <e>						
Federal Prison System <d,g>	20.0	40.0	15.0	20.0	5.0	100.0
Mean	22.0	33.1	19.9	11.9	14.8	

\* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding and/or exclusion of inmates under 18 years of age.

<a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.

<b> Not available.

<c> Agency has no female inmates under its jurisdiction.

<d> Estimate.

<e> No response.

<f> Agency reported less than 5 long-term female inmates in its population.

<g> Data arrived too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for informational purposes only.

**CURRENT MARITAL STATUS  
(Percentages)**

State	Females					Total*
	Married	Single	Divorced	Separated	Widowed	
Alabama <a>						
Alaska <a>						
Arizona <b>						
Arkansas	25.0	42.0	21.0	2.0	10.0	100.0
California <c>						
Colorado <c>						
Connecticut <g>	26.7	<b>	<b>	<b>	<b>	26.7
Delaware	15.0	62.0	13.0	10.0	0.0	100.0
District of Columbia <d>						
Florida <a>						
Georgia <c>						
Hawaii <b>						
Idaho	20.0	60.0	10.0	0.0	10.0	100.0
Illinois	22.0	38.0	18.0	7.0	15.0	100.0
Indiana <e,g>	25.0	10.0	20.0	10.0	35.0	100.0
Iowa	9.0	9.0	45.4	0.0	36.3	99.7
Kansas <e>	40.0	10.0	20.0	0.0	30.0	100.0
Kentucky	14.0	36.0	7.0	29.0	14.0	100.0
Louisiana <b>						
Maine <c>						
Maryland <e>	20.0	55.0	15.0	8.0	2.0	100.0
Massachusetts <b>						
Michigan <c>						
Minnesota	0.0	0.0	60.0	20.0	20.0	100.0
Mississippi <c>						
Missouri	18.0	34.0	26.0	12.0	10.0	100.0
Montana <a>						
Nebraska <c>						
Nevada <c>						
New Hampshire <e>	16.0	<c>	16.0	16.0	50.0	98.0
New Jersey	2.0	55.0	12.0	30.0	1.0	100.0
New Mexico	0.0	20.0	50.0	10.0	20.0	100.0
New York <b>						
North Carolina	15.0	40.0	15.0	20.0	10.0	100.0
North Dakota <f>						
Ohio <a>						
Oklahoma	30.0	21.0	44.0	<c>	2.0	97.0
Oregon	17.0	22.0	39.0	5.0	17.0	100.0
Pennsylvania	28.0	43.0	11.0	8.0	10.0	100.0
Rhode Island <f>						
South Carolina <b>						
Tennessee <c>						
Texas	44.4	28.0	14.3	0.9	8.9	96.5
Utah	40.0	10.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Vermont <a>						
Virginia <c>						
Washington <c>						
West Virginia <a>						
Wisconsin <c>						
Federal Prison System <e,g>	20.0	40.0	15.0	20.0	5.0	100.0
Mean	19.8	32.5	25.6	9.9	14.0	

\* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding and/or exclusion of inmates under 18 years of age.

<a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not include these data.

<b> Not available.

<c> No response.

<d> Agency has no female inmates in its jurisdiction.

<e> Estimate.

<f> Agency reported less than 5 long-term female inmates in its population.

<g> Data arrived too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for informational purposes only.



**Appendix E**  
**Educational Level of Long-Term Inmate Population**  
**by Sex and State**



State	Male					
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total*
Alabama <a>						
Alaska <b>						
Arizona <c>						
Arkansas <c>						
California	6.0%	2.0%	35.0%	50.0%	7.0%	100.0%
Colorado <a>						
Connecticut <d,e>	1.7	0.8	2.8	59.0	37.7	100.0
Delaware	10.0	35.0	40.0	10.0	5.0	100.0
District of Columbia <a>						
Florida <b>						
Georgia <c>						
Hawaii <c>						
Idaho <c>						
Illinois <c>						
Indiana <d>	0.0	10.0	40.0	25.0	15.0	90.0
Iowa	0.0	2.7	16.1	29.0	52.2	100.0
Kansas <c>						
Kentucky <c>						
Louisiana <a>						
Maine <a>						
Maryland <a>						
Massachusetts	0.0	3.0	13.0	50.0	33.0	99.0
Michigan <a>						
Minnesota	1.0	20.0	50.0	10.0	10.0	91.0
Mississippi <a>						
Missouri	0.4	0.8	7.2	54.9	34.4	97.7
Montana <b>						
Nebraska <a>						
Nevada <c>						
New Hampshire <d>	1.0	5.0	10.0	34.0	50.0	100.0
New Jersey <c>						
New Mexico <c>						
New York <c>						
North Carolina <c>						
North Dakota	1.0	0.0	7.0	30.0	62.0	100.0
Ohio <b>						
Oklahoma <d>	0.0	1.0	2.0	87.0	10.0	100.0
Oregon	0.0	4.0	9.0	50.0	37.0	100.0
Pennsylvania <a>						
Rhode Island	15.3	19.9	30.7	9.7	32.4	108.0
South Carolina	0.8	1.0	12.0	60.1	26.2	100.1
Tennessee	3.0	15.0	20.0	27.0	35.0	100.0
Texas <c>						
Utah	0.0	2.0	6.0	42.0	50.0	100.0
Vermont <b>						
Virginia <a>						
Washington	0.0	1.0	17.0	58.0	24.0	100.0
West Virginia <b>						
Wisconsin <a>						
Federal Prison System <a>						

Level 1: Mentally retarded/illiterate.  
 Level 2: Minimal abilities--read, write, spell on first through third grade levels.  
 Level 3: Read, write, spell, perform math on third through seventh grade levels.  
 Level 4: Seventh grade level or above--no equivalency degree or high school diploma.  
 Level 5: Completed high school or equivalency degree (at minimum).

\* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding and/or exclusion of inmates under 18 years of age.

<a> No response.  
 <b> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.  
 <c> Not available.  
 <d> Estimate.

State	Females					
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total*
Alabama <a>						
Alaska <a>						
Arizona <b>						
Arkansas	0.0%	5.0%	15.0%	16.0%	64.0%	100.0%
California <c>						
Colorado <c>						
Connecticut <f,i>	0.0	13.3	6.7	60.0	20.0	100.0
Delaware	2.0	10.0	30.0	38.0	20.0	100.0
District of Columbia <d>						
Florida <a>						
Georgia <c>						
Hawaii <b>						
Idaho <b>						
Illinois	2.5	5.1	20.3	25.4	46.6	99.9
Indiana <f,i>	2.0	18.0	10.0	45.0	25.0	100.0
Iowa	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Kansas	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	90.9	100.0
Kentucky	0.0	0.0	7.0	14.0	79.0	100.0
Louisiana <b>						
Maine <c>						
Maryland <b>						
Massachusetts	0.0	4.0	11.0	36.0	50.0	101.0
Michigan <c>						
Minnesota	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.0	100.0
Mississippi <c>						
Missouri <c>						
Montana <a>						
Nebraska <c>						
Nevada <e>	0.0	3.0	19.0	55.0	15.0	92.0
New Hampshire <f>	<c>	16.0	<c>	<c>	83.0	99.0
New Jersey <c>						
New Mexico	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.0	100.0
New York <b>						
North Carolina	5.0	15.0	50.0	15.0	15.0	100.0
North Dakota <g>						
Ohio <a>						
Oklahoma <b>						
Oregon <b>						
Pennsylvania <h>	2.0	4.0	26.0	11.0	44.0	87.0
Rhode Island <g>						
South Carolina	1.7	2.5	9.2	61.4	25.2	100.0
Tennessee <c>						
Texas <b>						
Utah	10.0	10.0	10.0	60.0	10.0	100.0
Vermont <a>						
Virginia <c>						
Washington <c>						
West Virginia <a>						
Wisconsin <c>						
Federal Prison System <b>						

Mean 1.5 4.7 14.1 27.2 53.5

Level 1: Mentally retarded/illiterate.  
 Level 2: Minimal abilities--read, write, spell on first through third grade levels.  
 Level 3: Read, write, spell, perform math on third through seventh grade levels.  
 Level 4: Seventh grade level or above--no equivalency degree or high school diploma.  
 Level 5: Completed high school or equivalency degree (at minimum).

\* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.  
 <a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.  
 <b> Not available.  
 <c> No response.  
 <d> Agency has no female inmates under its jurisdiction.  
 <e> No records available for 8% of long-term female population.  
 <f> Estimate.  
 <g> Only 1 long-term female under agency's jurisdiction.  
 <h> Approximately 13% of the population did not undergo educational testing, which is voluntary.

**Appendix F**

**Vocational Training Level of Long-Term Inmate Population  
by Sex and State**

State	Males					
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total*
Alabama <a>						
Alaska <b>						
Arizona <c>						
Arkansas <c>						
California <c>						
Colorado <a>						
Connecticut <c>						
Delaware	70.0%	10.0%	10.0%	5.0%	5.0%	100.0%
District of Columbia <a>						
Florida <b>						
Georgia <c>						
Hawaii <c>						
Idaho <c>						
Illinois <c>						
Indiana <d>	10.0	50.0	32.0	5.0	3.0	100.0
Iowa	4.7	4.1	5.9	5.3	79.9	99.9
Kansas <c>						
Kentucky <c>						
Louisiana <a>						
Maine <a>						
Maryland <a>						
Massachusetts	33.0	24.0	15.0	0.0	28.0	100.0
Michigan <a>						
Minnesota	10.0	50.0	20.0	15.0	5.0	100.0
Mississippi <a>						
Missouri <c>						
Montana <b>						
Nebraska <a>						
Nevada	<c>	<c>	<c>	20.0	20.0	40.0
New Hampshire <d>	10.0	60.0	20.0	5.0	5.0	100.0
New Jersey <c>						
New Mexico <c>						
New York <c>						
North Carolina <c>						
North Dakota	<c>	<c>	<c>	<c>	4.0	
Ohio <b>						
Oklahoma <c>						
Oregon	51.0	24.0	14.0	7.0	4.0	100.0
Pennsylvania <a>						
Rhode Island	22.7	33.1	13.2	8.3	22.7	100.0
South Carolina <c>						
Tennessee	20.0	20.0	25.0	20.0	15.0	100.0
Texas <c>						
Utah <c>						
Vermont <b>						
Virginia <a>						
Washington <c>						
West Virginia <b>						
Wisconsin <e>						
Federal Prison System <c>						

Mean	25.7	30.6	17.2	9.1	17.4
Level 1: Poor aptitudes, full-time student, limited skills, not self-supporting in community.					
Level 2: Held job for at least four months, change jobs frequently, unemployed more than four months, history of problems in work place, limited marketable skills.					
Level 3: Held job more than one year, has job skills (not certifiable), suitable for low skilled jobs.					
Level 4: Employed in skilled occupation (or in support of) for at least two years, steady work record, good aptitude.					
Level 5: Good work history, more than two years steady employment in skill area, has demonstrable skills in occupation.					

\* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.  
 <a> No response.  
 <b> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.

State	Females					
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total*
Alabama <a>						
Alaska <a>						
Arizona <b>						
Arkansas	21.0%	24.0%	20.0%	28.0%	7.0%	100.0%
California <c>						
Colorado <c>						
Connecticut <b>						
Delaware	90.0	2.0	2.0	5.0	2.0	101.0
District of Columbia <d>						
Florida <a>						
Georgia <c>						
Hawaii <b>						
Idaho <c>						
Illinois <b>						
Indiana <e,g>	70.0	15.0	5.0	6.0	4.0	100.0
Iowa	0.0	18.0	27.0	37.0	18.0	100.0
Kansas <b>						
Kentucky	2.0	35.0	43.0	17.0	3.0	100.0
Louisiana <b>						
Maine <c>						
Maryland <c>						
Massachusetts	35.0	35.0	6.0	0.0	24.0	100.0
Michigan <c>						
Minnesota <c>						
Mississippi <c>						
Missouri <c>						
Montana <a>						
Nebraska <c>						
Nevada <b>						
New Hampshire <e>	0.0	33.0	67.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
New Jersey <c>						
New Mexico	0.0	30.0	70.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
New York <b>						
North Carolina	15.0	40.0	20.0	15.0	10.0	100.0
North Dakota <f>						
Ohio <a>						
Oklahoma	9.0	25.0	23.0	24.0	19.0	100.0
Oregon	0.0	53.0	33.0	0.0	11.0	97.0
Pennsylvania <b>						
Rhode Island <f>						
South Carolina <b>						
Tennessee <c>						
Texas <b>						
Utah	30.0	50.0	10.0	5.0	5.0	100.0
Vermont <a>						
Virginia <c>						
Washington <c>						
West Virginia <a>						
Wisconsin <c>						
Federal Prison System <c>						

Level 1: Poor aptitudes, full-time student, limited skills, not self-supporting in community.
Level 2: Held job for at least four months, change jobs frequently, unemployed more than four months, history of problems in work place, limited marketable skills.
Level 3: Held job more than one year, has job skills (not certifiable), suitable for low skilled jobs.
Level 4: Employed in skilled occupation (or in support of) for at least two years, steady work record, good aptitude.
Level 5: Good work history, more than two years steady employment in skill area, has demonstrable skills in occupation.

\*Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.  
 <a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.  
 <b> Not available.  
 <c> Not reported.  
 <d> Agency has no female inmates under its jurisdiction.  
 <e> Estimate.

**Appendix G**

**Security Designation of Long-Term Inmate Population by Sex  
and State**

State	Males					Total*
	Maximum Security	Close Custody	Medium Security	Minimum Security	Community Custody	
Alabama	19.7%	25.3%	55.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Alaska <a>						
Arizona	49.7	<b>	38.3	12.0	<b>	100.0
Arkansas <c>						
California	4.0	5.0	80.0	11.0	<b>	100.0
Colorado <f>						
Connecticut <g>	88.2	0.5	8.5	2.8	<b>	100.0
Delaware	10.0	30.0	50.0	10.0	<b>	100.0
District of Columbia <f>						
Florida <a>						
Georgia	12.0	40.0	21.0	26.0	1.0	100.0
Hawaii	6.0	<b>	83.0	7.0	4.0	100.0
Idaho	<b>	31.0	61.5	7.4	<b>	99.9
Illinois	59.5	<b>	28.1	11.9	<b>	99.5
Indiana	80.0	<b>	15.0	5.0	<b>	100.0
Iowa	68.3	<b>	25.4	5.8	0.4	99.9
Kansas	20.1	22.6	48.5	8.8	<b>	100.0
Kentucky <c>						
Louisiana <f>						
Maine <f>						
Maryland	39.9	<b>	51.1	6.6	2.4	100.0
Massachusetts	23.0	<b>	53.0	24.0	<b>	100.0
Michigan <f>						
Minnesota	52.0	21.0	12.0	7.0	<b>	92.0
Mississippi <f>						
Missouri	27.0	20.7	18.0	24.7	9.6	100.0
Montana <a>						
Nebraska <f>						
Nevada	10.0	29.0	56.0	4.0	0.3	99.3
New Hampshire	11.0	<b>	85.0	2.0	2.0	100.0
New Jersey <c>						
New Mexico	43.4	<b>	47.6	9.0	<b>	100.0
New York <c>						
North Carolina <c>						
North Dakota	76.0	<b>	11.0	13.0	<b>	100.0
Ohio <a>						
Oklahoma	16.0	<b>	54.0	22.0	8.0	100.0
Oregon	<b>	96.8	0.0	3.1	0.2	100.1
Pennsylvania <f>						
Rhode Island	64.1	<b>	21.0	11.6	3.3	100.0
South Carolina <d>	6.7	3.2	46.6	35.1	4.7	96.3
Tennessee	8.0	7.0	60.0	23.0	2.0	100.0
Texas <c>						
Utah	20.0	<b>	65.0	10.0	3.0	98.0
Vermont <a>						
Virginia <f>						
Washington	2.0	8.0	83.0	7.0	<b>	100.0
West Virginia <a>						
Wisconsin <e>						
Federal Prison System <c>						
Mean	30.4	26.1	45.0	11.8	2.9	

\* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

<a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.  
 <b> Designation not applicable.  
 <c> Not available.  
 <d> Excludes protective custody.  
 <e> Data do not conform to definition of long-term inmate.  
 <f> No response.  
 <g> Data arrived too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for informational purposes only.

State	Females					Total*
	Maximum Security	Close Custody	Medium Security	Minimum Security	Community Custody	
Alabama <a>						
Alaska <a>						
Arizona <b>						
Arkansas	22.0	59.0	19.0	0.0	<c>	100.0
California <f>						
Colorado	<c>	9.0	27.0	64.0	<c>	100.0
Connecticut <j>	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	<c>	100.0
Delaware	2.0	<c>	48.0	50.0	<c>	100.0
District of Columbia <d>						
Florida <a>						
Georgia <f>						
Hawaii	0.0	0.0	94.0	6.0	0.0	100.0
Idaho	10.0	60.0	20.0	10.0	<c>	100.0
Illinois	29.5	<c>	17.2	53.3	<c>	100.0
Indiana <e,j>	8.0	<c>	35.0	45.0	12.0	100.0
Iowa	63.6	<c>	9.0	27.2	<c>	99.8
Kansas	<c>	9.1	54.6	36.4	<c>	100.1
Kentucky	<c>	7.0	35.0	58.0	<c>	100.0
Louisiana <b>						
Maine <f>						
Maryland <e>	1.0	<c>	65.0	25.0	9.0	100.0
Massachusetts	0.0	<c>	96.0	4.0	<c>	100.0
Michigan <f>						
Minnesota	60.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	<c>	100.0
Mississippi <f>						
Missouri <f>						
Montana <a>						
Nebraska <f>						
Nevada	3.0	37.0	45.0	11.0	5.0	101.0
New Hampshire <e>	<f>	<f>	83.0	16.0	<f>	99.0
New Jersey <f>						
New Mexico	<c>	60.0	20.0	10.0	10.0	100.0
New York <b>						
North Carolina	15.0	20.0	45.0	20.0	<c>	100.0
North Dakota <g>						
Ohio <a>						
Oklahoma	8.0	3.0	31.0	58.0	<c>	100.0
Oregon	<c>	72.0	15.0	8.0	5.0	100.0
Pennsylvania	4.5	6.5	54.0	32.0	3.0	100.0
Rhode Island <g>						
South Carolina <h>	<c>	9.2	40.3	39.5	9.2	98.2
Tennessee <f>						
Texas <b>						
Utah	<c>	20.0	40.0	40.0	<i>	100.0
Vermont <a>						
Virginia <f>						
Washington <f>						
West Virginia <a>						
Wisconsin <f>						
Federal Prison System <j>	0.0	<c>	40.0	40.0	20.0	
Mean	18.2	24.8	41.8	28.0	5.9	

\* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

<a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.  
 <b> Not available.  
 <c> Designation not applicable.  
 <d> Agency has no females under its jurisdiction.  
 <e> Estimate.  
 <f> No response.  
 <g> Only one long-term female inmate under agency's jurisdiction.  
 <h> Does not include two inmates in protective custody.  
 <i> Included in minimum security figure.

## **Appendix H**

### **Relationship of Average Daily Population to Design Capacity of Secure Institutions by Sex and State**

	Males		
	Average Daily Population	Design Capacity	Percent of Design Capacity Utilized
Alabama <a>			
Alaska <b>			
Arizona <c>			
Arkansas <c>			
California <d>	5,914	4,766	124.1%
Colorado <h>			
Connecticut <i>	5,606	5,289	106.0%
Delaware <a>			
District of Columbia <h>			
Florida <b>			
Georgia	15,731	15,502	101.5%
Hawaii	1,441	846	170.3%
Idaho <f>	853	820	104.0%
Illinois	16,679	16,167	103.2%
Indiana	8,445	5,813	145.3%
Iowa <f>			
Kansas	3,625	3,620	100.1%
Kentucky <d>	616	488	126.2%
Louisiana <h>			
Maine <h>			
Maryland	11,441	7,857	145.6%
Massachusetts <f>	6,375	3,935	162.0%
Michigan <h>			
Minnesota <a>	355	406	87.4%
Mississippi <h>			
Missouri	8,665	6,219	139.3%
Montana <b>			
Nebraska <h>			
Nevada	534	430	124.2%
New Hampshire <f>	510	425	120.0%
New Jersey	7,538	6,397	117.8%
New Mexico <f>	1,850	2,142	86.3%
New York	32,705	32,932	99.3%
North Carolina <e>			
North Dakota	424	471	90.0%
Ohio <b>			
Oklahoma <f>	3,681	4,414	119.9%
Oregon <d>	1,605	1,107	145.0%
Pennsylvania <g>	11,953	7,992	149.6%
Rhode Island	610	766	79.6%
South Carolina <f>	7,703	6,419	120.0%
Tennessee <f>	6,133	6,456	95.0%
Texas <f>	35,820	39,550	90.6%
Utah <c>			
Vermont <b>			
Virginia <h>			
Washington	5,170	3,605	143.4%
West Virginia <b>			
Wisconsin	4,716	4,078	115.6%
Federal Prison System <c>			

- <a> Agency did not furnish specific data but indicated average daily population was below design capacity.
- <b> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not ask for these data.
- <c> Data not available.
- <d> Data apply to maximum security institutions only.
- <e> Agency did not furnish specific data but indicated average daily population was above design capacity.
- <f> Agency expressed relationship in the form of a percentage. Data on normal capacity for maximum, medium and minimum security institutions, taken from the 1984 American Correctional Association Directory, were used to calculate average daily population.
- <g> Agency furnished data on average daily population; data on design capacity were taken from the 1984 American Correctional Association Directory.
- <h> No response.
- <i> Data arrived too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for

	Female		
	Average Daily Population	Design Capacity	Percent of Design Capacity Utilized
Alabama <a>			
Alaska <a>			
Arizona <b>	340	340	100.0%
Arkansas	197	208	94.7%
California <h>			
Colorado <c>			
Connecticut <i>	276	156	177.0%
Delaware <c>			
District of Columbia <j>			
Florida <a>			
Georgia <h>			
Hawaii	104	56	185.7%
Idaho	45	60	75.0%
Illinois	483	400	120.8%
Indiana <d>			
Iowa <d>			
Kansas <e>			
Kentucky <f>	96	180	53.3%
Louisiana	360	360	100.0%
Maine <h>			
Maryland	362	258	140.3%
Massachusetts	250	126	198.4%
Michigan <h>			
Minnesota <b>			
Mississippi <h>			
Missouri	145	122	118.8%
Montana <a>			
Nebraska <h>			
Nevada	186	117	159.0%
New Hampshire <g>			
New Jersey <b>			
New Mexico	80	88	90.9%
New York	957	988	96.9%
North Carolina	600	450	133.3%
North Dakota	9	13	69.2%
Ohio <a>			
Oklahoma	275	138	199.3%
Oregon	83	80	103.8%
Pennsylvania <f>	417	341	122.3%
Rhode Island	40	100	40.0%
South Carolina	300	173	173.4%
Tennessee <h>			
Texas <b>	1,715	1,883	91.1%
Utah <c>			
Vermont <h>			
Virginia <h>			
Washington <h>			
West Virginia <a>			
Wisconsin <h>			

- Federal Prison System <d,i>
- <a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not ask for these data.
- <b> Agency expressed relationship in the form of a percentage. Data on normal capacity for maximum, medium and minimum security institutions, taken from the 1984 American Correctional Association Directory, were used to calculate average daily population.
- <c> Data not available.
- <d> Agency did not furnish specific data but indicated average daily population was at or below design capacity.
- <e> Data were not available; agency operates no institutions housing only females.
- <d> Data apply to maximum security institutions only.
- <e> Agency did not furnish specific data but indicated average daily population was above design capacity.
- <f> Design capacity data were taken from the 1984 American Correctional Association Directory.
- <g> Female prisoners under agency's jurisdiction are housed out of state.
- <h> No response.
- <i> Data arrived too late for inclusion in analysis, recorded for informational purposes only.

**Appendix I**

**Laws Affecting Numbers/Management of Long-Term Inmates**



**AGENCIES SUBJECT TO LAWS AFFECTING LONG-TERM CONFINEMENT**

	<u>Laws Increasing Length of Stay</u>	<u>Laws Impacting Management of Long-Term Inmates</u>
Alabama<a>		
Alaska<a>		
Arizona	Yes	Yes
Arkansas	Yes	Yes
California	Yes	No
Colorado<b>		
Connecticut	Yes	Yes
Delaware	No	Yes
District of Columbia	No	<b>
Florida<a>		
Georgia	Yes	Yes
Hawaii	No	No
Idaho	Yes	Yes
Illinois	Yes	Yes
Indiana	Yes	Yes
Iowa	Yes	Yes
Kansas	Yes	Yes
Kentucky	Yes	Yes
Louisiana	Yes	Yes
Maine<b>		
Maryland	Yes	No
Massachusetts	No	Yes
Michigan<b>		
Minnesota<b>		
Mississippi	Yes	Yes
Missouri	Yes	No
Montana<a>		
Nebraska<b>		
Nevada	Yes	Yes
New Hampshire	Yes	No
New Jersey	Yes	No
New Mexico	Yes	Yes
New York<b>		
North Carolina	No	No
North Dakota	No	Yes
Ohio<a>		
Oklahoma	Yes	Yes
Oregon<b>		
Pennsylvania	Yes	No
Rhode Island<b>		
South Carolina	Yes	Yes
South Dakota<b>		
Tennessee	Yes	Yes
Texas<b>		
Utah	Yes	No
Vermont<a>		
Virginia<b>		
Washington	Yes	Yes
West Virginia<a>		
Wisconsin	Yes	Yes
Wyoming<b>		
Federal Prison System<b>		

<a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.

<b> No response.

AGENCIES REPORTING EXISTING LAWS THAT INCREASE THE LENGTH OF STAY  
AMONG INMATES

- Arkansas - Parole eligibility.
- Arizona - Sentence enhancement.  
Life without parole for 25 calendar years (habitual offender law for serious offenses for repeat offenders).  
Increased term for 2nd degree murder.  
Offenses while on release (serve time imposed consecutive to prior sentence).  
Sexual conduct with minor (term imposed prior to release on any basis).  
Sexual assault (serve time imposed).
- California - Terms extended, prison offenses mandated; life without parole is possible for more offenses.
- Colorado - Many tougher sentencing laws, remove good time, increase child abuse sentences.
- Georgia - Earned time system eliminated.
- Idaho - Increased sentences for: 3rd conviction for felony; use of deadly weapon; infliction of great bodily injury; repeated sex offenses; extortion; kidnapping. No parole unless sentence commuted to indeterminate.
- Illinois - Habitual criminals sentenced to term of natural life.
- Indiana - Habitual offender sentence of 5 - 30 years added to base sentence.
- Iowa - Class A felons are not paroled.
- Kansas - Change in parole eligibility for conviction on 2+ Class A felonies and on good time for aggregate sentences.
- Louisiana - On revocation and for non-parolable offenses, no diminution of sentences; some habitual offenders get no parole, probation, suspension.
- Maryland - Established minimum sentences of 25 years without parole, depending on previous convictions on certain controlled substances; 25 years without diminution of confinement credits before eligibility for 1st degree murder with life sentence.
- Mississippi - Habitual criminal and armed robbery statutes.
- Missouri - Extended terms for persistent or dangerous offenders; sexual offenders; armed criminal action.
- Nevada - Enhanced sentencing for use of weapon, victim over 65, parole eligibility from 1/4 to 1/3 of sentence; minimums for parole on certain offenses affecting long-term inmates.
- New Hampshire - Good conduct time changed, parole board operation stiffened; people retained longer.
- New Jersey - Mandatory minimum sentence, especially for offenses involving firearms and murder without death sentence.
- New Mexico - Inmates are felons generally with more than 1 year sentence.
- Oklahoma - Senate Bill 505 affects parole eligibility for 2nd and subsequent offenders.
- Pennsylvania - Mandatory sentencing laws (longer minimum terms for some crimes).
- South Carolina - Those convicted for murder, armed robbery, criminal sexual assault, assault/battery with intent to kill, kidnapping must serve 1/3 of sentence before parole eligibility versus other crimes 1/4. Minimum mandatory sentences for some crimes.
- Tennessee - Change to judge sentencing and local sentencing of non-violent offenders will probably increase average length of stay.
- Utah - Habitual criminal gets 5 years to life; conviction on child kidnapping and sexual abuse gets from 3 additional years to term with no parole.
- Wisconsin - Mandatory release date at 2/3 sentence length, which can be extended for violations of administrative rules; mandatory additional time for major offenses. Compared to old good time system, average length of stay is longer now.
- Washington - Ability to extend term of confinement due to program or disciplinary reasons.

**AGENCIES ANTICIPATING PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING LONG-TERM CONFINEMENT**

	<u>Legislation Affecting Number of Long-Term Inmates</u>	<u>Laws Affecting Management of Long-Term Inmates</u>
Alabama<a>		
Alaska<a>		
Arizona	Yes	Yes
Arkansas	No	No
California	No	No
Colorado	Yes	Yes
Connecticut<b>		
Delaware	No	No
District of Columbia	Yes	Yes
Florida<b>		
Georgia	Yes	No
Hawaii	No	No
Idaho	No	No
Illinois	Yes	No
Indiana	No	No
Iowa	No	No
Kansas	No	No
Kentucky	Yes	Yes
Louisiana	Yes	No
Maine<b>		
Maryland	No	No
Massachusetts	No	No
Michigan<b>		
Minnesota<b>		
Mississippi	No	No
Missouri	Yes	No
Montana<a>		
Nebraska<b>		
Nevada	No	Yes
New Hampshire	Yes	No
New Jersey	Yes	Yes
New Mexico	Yes	Yes
New York<b>		
North Carolina	No	Yes
North Dakota	No	No
Ohio<a>		
Oklahoma	No	No
Oregon<b>		
Pennsylvania	Yes	No
Rhode Island<b>		
South Carolina	Yes	Yes
South Dakota<b>		
Tennessee	No	No
Texas<b>		
Utah	No	No
Vermont<a>		
Virginia<b>		
Washington	Yes	No
West Virginia<a>		
Wisconsin	Yes	No
Wyoming<b>		
Federal Prison System<b>		

<a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.

<b> No response.

**AGENCIES REPORTING EXISTING LAWS THAT AFFECT  
THE MANAGEMENT OF LONG-TERM INMATES**

- Arizona - Not eligible for parole, work furlough, earning release credits; mandatory release or parole eligibility for life sentences is 25 years.
- Arkansas - Ineligibility of inmates serving life or death sentence, murder, rape and 2nd aggravated robbery charge.
- Colorado - Possible extended sentences/no parole for heinous crimes.
- Delaware - Class A felons (most with long sentences) prohibited from participating in work release.
- Georgia - More limits on certain inmates' special leaves, furlough, privileges.
- Idaho - Furloughs for minimum/community custody inmates only.
- Illinois - Class X felons or habitual criminals not eligible for highway cleanup program.
- Indiana - Temporary leave restrictions; earning credit time begins at highest level, 1 day for 1 day.
- Iowa - Class A felons not eligible for furloughs.
- Kansas - Furlough restrictions - minimum custody, good record, 2 years confinement; work release eligibility restricted to 10 months before parole eligibility.
- Kentucky - Inmates can't be worked for other than public works projects; work release and vocational training release statutes.
- Louisiana - Limits eligibility for work release and furlough.
- Massachusetts - Restriction on eligibility for assignment to prison or forestry camps.  
Also favorable differences for long-term inmates regarding calculation of statutorily mandated sentence deductions for good behavior and mixed effect regarding camptime sentence deductions.
- Mississippi - Habitual criminal and armed robbery statutes.
- Nevada - Must be within 1 year of release for forestry program; violent offenders not eligible for restitution program; sex offenders not eligible for forestry or restitution.
- Oklahoma - Senate Bill 505 affects parole eligibility of 2nd and subsequent offenders.
- South Carolina - Certain crimes ineligible for supervised furlough.
- Tennessee - No minimum security or furlough until within 6 months of earliest release date.
- Washington - Sentence Reform Act limits work release to last 6 months of sentence.
- Wisconsin - Qualifications for leaves and work release.

## Agencies Subjected to Litigation Relating to Long-Term Confinement

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Focus of Litigation</u>
Alabama <a>			
Alaska <a>			
Arizona	M	F	Calculation of release date, classification
Arkansas	M	F	Parole eligibility
California <b>	M		Double celling in security and disciplinary units
Colorado		M/F	
Connecticut <d>			
Delaware		M/F	
District of Columbia <c>		M	
Florida <a>			
Georgia		M/F	
Hawaii <e>	F		Conditions of confinement
Idaho	M/F		Legal access (M), equal protection (F), conditions (M)
Illinois		M/F	
Indiana <b>		M	
Iowa	M	F	Lifer group, custody reduction for lifers
Kansas	M	F	Good time
Kentucky	M/F		Accreditation (M), vocational classes and industries (F)
Louisiana	M	F	Post-conviction relief on life sentences
Maine <d>			
Maryland	M/F		Conditions of confinement (M), equal access to programs for death row (F)
Massachusetts		M/F	
Michigan <d>			
Minnesota <e>			
Mississippi	M/F		Parole, work release for mandatory sentenced offenders (M); unknown (F)
Missouri		M/F	
Montana <a>			
Nebraska <d>			
Nevada	M/F		Parole eligibility (M), exercise for death row (F)
New Hampshire	M/F		Mandatory treatment, rights (M); conditions of confinement, out-of-state transfers (F)
New Jersey <b>	M		Contact visits for protective custody inmates
New Mexico	M/F		Conditions of confinement (M and F)
New York <d>			
North Carolina	M/F		Minimum custody regulations, parole eligibility (M); conditions of confinement (F)
North Dakota		M/F	
Ohio <a>			
Oklahoma		M/F	
Oregon <d>			
Pennsylvania	M/F		Unknown (M), class action (F)
Rhode Island <e>		F	
South Carolina	F	M	Overcrowding
Tennessee	M	F	Unconstitutional conditions on death row
Texas <d>			
Utah		M/F	
Vermont <a>			
Virginia <d>			
Washington	M		Habeas corpus, retroactive writ of mandamus
West Virginia <a>			
Wisconsin		M/F	
Federal Prison System <d>			

M = Male  
F = Female

- <a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.  
 <b> No response for female population.  
 <c> No females under agency's jurisdiction.  
 <d> No response.  
 <e> No response for male population.

**Comparison of Per Diem Costs for Long-term Inmates  
and Other Inmates**

	Males		Females	
	Cost for Long-term Inmates (In dollars)	Cost for Other Inmates (In dollars)	Cost for Long-term Inmates (In dollars)	Cost for Other Inmates (In dollars)
Alabama <a>				
Alaska <a>				
Arizona	<b>	<b>	<b>	<b>
Arkansas	20.86	20.86	22.00	22.00
California <c>				
Colorado <c>				
Connecticut <c>				
Delaware	47.95	47.95	46.58	46.58
District of Columbia <d>	<b>	<b>		
Florida <a>				
Georgia	28.60	28.60	28.96	28.96
Hawaii	125.00	<e>	<c>	<c>
Idaho	25.89	23.53	78.00	78.00
Illinois	38.81	38.81	46.06	46.06
Indiana	<b>	<b>	<b>	<b>
Iowa	52.00	28.63	65.90	65.90
Kansas	30.11	30.11	30.11	30.11
Kentucky	<b>	<b>	34.55	34.55
Louisiana	26.85	26.85	23.28	23.28
Maine <c>				
Maryland	25.35	25.35	28.06	28.06
Massachusetts	52.00	52.00	<b>	51.07
Michigan <c>				
Minnesota	81.00	47.00	76.51	76.51
Mississippi <c>				
Missouri	<b>	20.27	17.00	17.00
Montana <a>				
Nebraska <c>				
Nevada <f>	33.62	26.03	27.13	27.13
New Hampshire	<b>	<b>	<b>	<b>
New Jersey	47.00	35.00	69.36	69.36
New Mexico	56.73	56.73	68.50	68.50
New York <c>				
North Carolina	28.75	28.75	<b>	<b>
North Dakota	34.71	34.71	34.71	34.71
Ohio <a>				
Oklahoma	59.65	59.65	59.65	59.65
Oregon <c>				
Pennsylvania	<b>	<b>	49.85	49.85
Rhode Island	100.00	57.00	<c>	<c>
South Carolina	23.65	23.65	23.65	23.65
Tennessee	30.47	30.47	31.05	31.05
Texas <c>				
Utah	43.50	43.50	<c>	<c>
Vermont <a>				
Virginia <c>				
Washington	34.87	34.87	<c>	<c>
West Virginia <a>				
Wisconsin	38.39	38.39	<c>	<c>
Federal Prison System	36.32	37.55	<b>	<b>
Mean	44.88	35.85	43.28	43.64

<a> Agency completed an abbreviated questionnaire that did not request these data.

<b> Not available.

<c> No response.

<d> Agency has no females under its jurisdiction.

<e> Not applicable.

<f> Estimate.

## Appendix L

### Agencies Participating in the Long-Term Inmate Phenomenon Survey

Alabama Department of Corrections  
Alaska Department of Corrections  
Arizona Department of Corrections  
Arkansas Department of Correction  
California Department of Corrections  
Colorado Department of Corrections  
Connecticut Department of Correction  
Correctional Service of Canada  
Delaware Department of Correction  
District of Columbia Department of Corrections  
Federal Prison System  
Florida Department of Corrections  
Georgia Department of Offender Rehabilitation  
Hawaii Corrections Division  
Idaho Department of Corrections  
Illinois Department of Corrections  
Indiana Department of Correction  
Iowa Department of Corrections  
Kansas Department of Corrections  
Kentucky Corrections Cabinet  
Louisiana Department of Public Safety and Corrections  
Maine Department of Corrections  
Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services  
Massachusetts Department of Correction  
Minnesota Department of Corrections  
Mississippi Department of Corrections  
Missouri Department of Corrections and Human Resources  
Montana Corrections Division  
Nebraska Department of Correctional Services  
Nevada Department of Prisons  
New Hampshire Department of Corrections  
New Jersey Department of Corrections  
New Mexico Corrections Department  
New York Department of Correctional Services  
North Carolina Department of Correction  
North Dakota Director of Institutions  
Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction  
Oklahoma Department of Corrections  
Oregon Corrections Division  
Pennsylvania Department of Corrections  
Puerto Rico Administration of Corrections  
Rhode Island Department of Corrections  
South Carolina Department of Corrections  
Tennessee Department of Correction  
Texas Department of Corrections  
Utah Division of Corrections  
Vermont Department of Corrections  
Washington Department of Corrections  
West Virginia Department of Corrections  
Wisconsin Division of Corrections

**Appendix M**  
**Systemic Effects of a Larger Proportion of Long-Term**  
**Inmates Among Prisoner Populations**

**System Considerations**

From an economic perspective, the systemic effects of a larger long-term inmate population are fairly obvious, although their exact magnitude has yet to be determined. Very simply, the presence of more long-termers in a system reduces turnover and increases the need for bed space. A few examples make the point, as illustrated in Table 1.

**Table 1**  
**Impacts of Changes in Length of Stay on Prison Admissions**

<u>Number of Prison Beds</u>	<u>Average Stay</u>	<u>Maximum Annual Admissions</u>
500	6 months	1,000
500	1 year	500
500	2 years	250
500	3 years	167
500	4 years	125
500	5 years	100
500	6 years	83
500	7 years	70
500	8 years	63
500	9 years	56
500	10 years	50

The operant concept is the number of inmates who can be confined in a given prison space, at different average lengths of stay. As any household or hotel can testify, availability of bed space is dependent on turnover. The longer people stay, the fewer beds available for new clients, be they children, guests, or inmates. Table 1 shows the available bed space under different length-of-stay options. As sentences and time served increase, so does average time served, which reduces the available beds for new prisoners. (The numbers of emergency release acts nationally are nothing more than "back-door" releases to make room for "front-door" admissions.) Thus, under the historical time-served average of two years, a typical 500-bed prison could accommodate an average of 250 new admissions each year. (Another way of expressing this is to say that with an average stay of two years, the prison "empties" every two years and 500 new prisoners can be accommodated--an average of 250 per year. If everyone stays ten years, the prison "empties" once a decade for an annual average of 50 available beds.) The data of Table 1 also help explain why prison crowding occurs. If releases are reduced while admissions remain constant or increase, bed shortages and crowding quickly result.



In addition, the systemic effects of longer-term inmates will be dramatically compounded if more persons are imprisoned for offenses heretofore punishable by non-prison sanctions. Furthermore, changes in resource allocations that increase admissions irrespective of other changes will create results similar to those illustrated in Table 1. Internal changes that increase time served (such as the reduction or elimination of "good time") will produce comparable effects. The presence of long-term inmates alone is sufficient to reduce turnover, create crowding, and cause pressure for new construction. The presence of the other factors noted above merely makes the effects more mediate. Any action by legislature, judiciary, or corrections that (1) increases the number of entering prisoners, (2) changes the time served, or (3) reduces the number released will create crowding and the need for more bed space; that is, new construction.

Numerous statistical methods can be used to estimate the impact of long-term inmates on prison space needs. For instance, a 500-bed prison can be said to offer a total of 182,500 available bed days annually; a ten-year sentence will consume 3,650 bed days. It is fairly straightforward to add up bed days of various sentences and estimate prison needs. Or, from a different perspective, if a prison offers 500 person-years annually, aggregating the sentences of incoming populations will also allow estimation of future requirements. Finally, Table 1 affords yet another approach: accumulate the sentences, estimate the impact on available admissions, and calculate the need for additional space.

Case Costs. As shown above, an immediate effect of decisions increasing the number of long-term inmates is the reduction of flexibility in existing prison space, and, in effect, the "dedication" of entire prisons to these selected inmate populations. The economic outcome is that corrections' operating costs are spread over a declining number of inmates. This may be characterized as a change in the distribution of prison and program resources or costs. A relatively fixed correctional budget will thus become concentrated on this smaller group.

A convenient way of expressing this resource reallocation is through the concept of case costs. In order to determine the public outlays associated with any sentence, one simply multiplies the yearly maintenance costs (present dollars) by the number of years to be served. This procedure has the advantage of illustrating the long-run costs of decisions that clearly are more expensive than the simple daily cost figures so often used as justification for inexpensive deterrence. For example, if the annual cost of incarcerating an offender in an existing prison is \$20,000, then a one-year sentence "costs" the public \$20,000 in corrections outlays. A ten-year sentence is a commitment of \$200,000; a 20-year sentence, \$400,000; and so forth, without calculating the impact of inflation. In the economist's parlance, this is a valid way of expressing what that crime or offender is "worth"; that is, what the public is willing to spend on him or her. Thus,

over time, long-term inmates will command an increasingly disproportionate share of relatively fixed correctional resources.

Therefore, immediate economic impacts of long-term inmate policies serve to: (1) increase the resources or funds allocated to a smaller correctional population; and (2) reduce the funds available to confine other offenders. Two analogies more clearly illustrate these effects: with a fixed food budget, feeding larger amounts to one member of the group reduces the food available for the rest of the members; if an emergency shelter has ten beds, it can accommodate ten different needy people each night, but if six people do not leave, then only four new beds are available each evening. These impacts involve hard choices, and often the economic consequences are not immediately apparent, particularly if they occur over time or are cumulative.

Long-term Impacts. Prison capacity has not remained constant in recent years. It is therefore useful to expand the economic analysis to include new construction costs because these are the real costs to be borne by future generations. States are adding prisoners and prisons at unprecedented rates--and costs. Recent cost analyses indicate that new prison construction is approaching--and in some cases exceeding--\$100,000 per bed. The financing charges for new construction triple this figure, while operating expenses add another \$10 million annually. Over a 30-year financing period, capital and maintenance costs for a single 500-bed prison may approximate \$15 million, excluding inflationary costs, during each of those 30 years.

But a 500-bed prison does not go as far as it used to. When the average length of stay was two years, 7,500 inmates could be confined in such a prison over the 30-year period. The case costs for these inmates would be \$60,000 each (\$30,000 per year, including construction, financing, and operating outlays). However, long-term sentences alter these figures considerably. As Table 2 illustrates, longer sentences have several impacts. They reduce the number of persons who can be housed at a single prison, thus increasing the need for additional construction. In addition, case costs--the cost per offender--increase with sentence length. Explained yet another way, if a state correctional system is at capacity, then additional sentences require new prisons. Although 500-person increments are the basis for building, they need not be for cost estimation, as each sentence increases the pressure to build. Case costs are the relevant reference for potential costs. Ten new 20-year sentences carry a price tag of \$6 million in long-run costs; one hundred such sentences represent \$60 million--and so forth. Again, these figures exclude the certain effects of inflation.

**Table 2**

**Prison Capacity and Case Costs for New Construction**

<u>Annual Costs/Bed</u>	<u>Sentence Length</u>	<u>30-Year Capacity</u>	<u>Case Costs</u>
\$30,000	2 years	7,500	\$ 60,000
30,000	3 years	5,000	90,000
30,000	5 years	3,000	150,000
30,000	7 years	2,142	210,000
30,000	10 years	1,500	300,000
30,000	20 years	750	600,000
30,000	30 years	500	900,000

The aggregate and long-range costs of decisions that create longer and longer sentences are substantial, yet rarely considered when the issues are debated. Decision-makers are obviously free to choose, but it is critical that they realize that imposing a 50-year sentence is tantamount to saying that the crime or the criminal's incarceration is worth \$1.5 million in public outlays to carry out that single sentence.

## **Appendix N**

### **The Architectural Program**

To plan virtually any complex facility such as one designed to confine long-term inmates, a conceptual bridge is needed to span between programmatic and operational objectives and the architectural design. The most common method to achieve this bridge is through the special language of the architectural program

The program serves as a written guide to the designer. It is based on the earlier work of the planning task force, and it defines the spatial and qualitative features of a physical environment necessary to complement the planned activities. It should be concise and specific. It should summarize the general mission, goals and proposed characteristics for the facility. All space requirements are identified in square feet, along with functional descriptions and equipment needs. Relative adjacencies between functions and spaces are usually included, as well as a staffing analysis. In addition, it is appropriate to identify at this stage relevant correctional standards and various building codes that require compliance.

The program articulates specific requirements while yet at a fluid stage, and adjustments can be made easily before designers begin the more time consuming and costly process of preliminary architectural design. Changes made subsequent to this point become progressively more expensive.

The project budget requires updating at this stage, with emphasis given to the estimated cost of construction.

#### **Site Selection and Acquisition**

Correctional facilities, particularly those for long-term offenders, should be located as close as possible to major cities and near the demographic center of the projected inmate population. There are a number of advantages to such locations when compared to more remote areas:

Family visitation is facilitated, a critical issue for the long-termer who wishes to maintain family ties.

It is easier to attract qualified staff.

A staff complement more representative of the social and cultural backgrounds of the inmates can be more easily attained.

Contracts for the services of part-time specialists, such as medical, educational, or vocational training programs are more readily developed.

Housing and community amenities for staff and their families are usually more available. These factors contribute to good morale, enhanced job satisfaction and less staff turn-over.

### General Management Issues

One of the greatest challenges for the correctional administrator who manages long-term offenders is to provide programs that involve the inmates in meaningful activities that help relieve the psychological burden of lengthy periods of confinement, feelings of hopelessness, and the resulting stress and tensions that can lead to unrest and violence.

Idleness is the bane of virtually any correctional environment. It is especially serious for those with offenders serving long sentences. The long-term inmate needs to be busy. Space should be provided for comprehensive educational and vocational training programming.

Many inmates will be assigned to help maintain and operate the facility, particularly during their initial periods of confinement. These jobs are seldom numerous or demanding enough to absorb available manpower, however. In order to provide meaningful work for all inmates throughout their period of confinement, it is necessary to include space for a sizable industrial work program. This is perhaps the feature that most singularly distinguishes facilities for the long-term offender. As stated earlier in this report inmates employed in industrial work, and those who can look forward to such work later, typically develop a stronger sense of self-worth. Their morale will be better, they can provide financial assistance to their families, and they can save for the day they will return to their communities.

The natural tensions that are often acute in long-term, higher custody institutions can be substantially alleviated with a strong recreational program. Facilities should include multipurpose meeting rooms and activity spaces, a gymnasium and a weight lifting room. Outdoor facilities should be provided for one or two softball fields, volleyball and basketball courts, handball courts, a jogging track, and additional space for lifting weights. Often, additional facilities are included such as tennis and horseshoe courts, and miniature golf courses.

Space for hobby crafts should also be generous enough to allow for a wide variety of activities. This program is especially important for inmates in middle and older age groups. As the long-term inmate population grows and matures these less athletic leisure-time activity programs will better meet their needs. The variety of items sold in the commissary needs to be expanded, compared to institutions for short-term inmates. This resultant expansion will require more area.

**Other management concepts that are recommended for incorporation in any architectural program include:**

**Enhanced interaction between staff and inmates.**

**Architectural barriers that separate staff from inmates should be minimized so that the program and the physical environment will encourage staff and inmates to discuss problems and find solutions before the problems become critical and sometimes explosive. The difference between observation and supervision of inmates is often a wall.**

**Decentralized inmate management.**

**A staff team, sometimes called a unit management team, should be permanently assigned to supervise and work with a relatively small group of inmates, and their offices or work stations should be located in individual housing units. The arrangement will encourage better interpersonal relationships, improve decision-making concerning individual inmate programing and activities, and facilitate crisis intervention.**

**Normalized environments.**

**Consistent with the orderly management of the institution, both the social and physical environment should attempt to convey a sense of life outside the institution.**

**Standards.**

**Comprehensive minimum standards have been developed by the American Correctional Association in cooperation with the Commission on Accreditation for Corrections. An accreditation program is built around these standards, and it is administered by the Accreditation Commission. Agencies are encouraged to follow these standards when developing programs and designing new institutions.**

**Operational policies and procedures.**

**A sound set of operational procedures is important for any type of correctional institution. It becomes more critical with each higher level of custody particularly the management of long-term inmates some of whom "have nothing to lose." In order to maintain proper security and integrity of the program it is vital that procedures are well documented and understood by staff, and that consistency of implementation is ensured.**

## Site Planning

The location of buildings and their relationship to each other should strike a balance between good supervision and sound functional relationships in as normal an environment as possible.

Institutions for long-term inmates must be more restrictive than other facilities. Many correctional administrators believe that all inmate traffic between functions, other than to outdoor recreation, must be through an indoor secure corridor system. Inmate circulation is thereby strictly controlled.

This position is widely accepted for maximum custody\* confinement, and for perhaps a small percentage of those who are confined in a close custody institution. This latter group would be housed in a special facility, sometimes called a Control Unit, where virtually all necessary services are self-contained or delivered to the inmates.

Concerning close custody facilities, there is a growing acceptance of modified campus schemes. When campus schemes are used, the various buildings are located so that outdoor inmate circulation is "contained" and easily observed by officers on the compound and by casual supervision of other staff. Typically, the buildings circumscribe a central court, or perhaps separate courts, and define the boundaries of permissible traffic. Surrounding buildings might abutt, thus creating a solid wall around a court, or buildings that are located some distance apart may be connected by a masonry or concrete wall, or by a chain link fence. In some cases, no fence or wall connects the buildings and staff rely on well published and strictly enforced rules concerning out-of-bounds areas.

Regardless of the method employed for controlling circulation and preventing inmate traffic from being close to the outer compound perimeter, the provision for outdoor circulation has certain advantages. The daily outdoor walks, frequent exposure to the natural climate, breathing fresh air and observing the landscape, albeit limited, have a positive impact on the mental attitude of the long-term inmate, helping to reduce tensions, and make easier the orderly management of the institution. It must be remembered that for many individuals serving a significantly long sentence that the institution in which they are confined will be there "home" for the better part of their adult life.

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\* Maximum Custody, as defined for the purpose of this document, consists of one to five percent of a typical correctional system's incarcerated population.

## Perimeter Security

A strong perimeter security system that helps prevent escapes is of paramount importance. This reality must be well perceived by inmates particularly offenders, who because of a long sentence require a secure perimeter to deter any escape attempts. Staff must also have confidence in the system

Traditional facilities often employed high, thick masonry or concrete perimeter walls, topped with guard towers located at corners and other strategic places. This practice has become rare in recent decades because of the exorbitant expense involved and the availability of relatively low-cost alternatives. When walls are used today, it is usually because of severe site limitations and the absence of enough space to develop proper buffer zones around fence systems.

For close or maximum long-term security institutions, the more common practice today is to surround a compound with two chain link fences, spaced 20 to 30 feet apart, and a minimum of 14 feet high. At least one roll of barbed security tape is placed at the top inside face of the inside fence. Nine or ten additional rolls are placed between the fences, located so that some are hung on the inside face of the outside fence. Others are placed on the ground, with some stacked on top of them

Additional protection from climbing over the fence can be obtained by placing 3/8 inch or smaller mesh at the top four to six feet, either integrated in to the fence fabric or applied on top of the normal fence fabric.

Sub-surface concrete barrier beams are placed beneath one or more of the fences. If only one barrier beam is provided, it is placed under the inside fence.

It is also crucial to utilize a reliable electronic perimeter "intrusion" detection system. There are numerous systems available, and the correctional agency should carefully investigate the experience of others before deciding which system to use, as sometimes performance criteria are not carefully thought out or not properly communicated to the designers or manufacturers. In some cases, agencies have not committed themselves to adequate maintenance, either because they were unaware of its importance or they lacked the resources.

For most long-term custody institutions, guard towers are usually provided outside the perimeter fence, since most administrators believe towers are vital for adequate security. The debate continues, however, as to whether towers vis-a-vis mobile vehicular patrols are more effective. Administrators



and planners should continue to evaluate the efficacy of these two alternatives as they plan new facilities.

Towers are more secure from assault, but there are several advantages to the use of mobile patrols. Manpower requirements are less and, therefore, more personnel can be diverted to other security or program activities. Many believe the relatively boring tower watch causes tower personnel to be less alert and responsive, compared to those on mobile patrol duty. Patrol personnel can more readily apprehend potential escapees without deadly gunfire. The capital and operating expenses of mobile patrols are far less than they are for towers.

The perimeter ordinarily has only two points of entry or exit; the main entrance, which may be incorporated into an Entrance Building, and the service entrance which is usually a fenced vehicular sallyport. Special security features must be included in the design of these entrances.

Finally, adequate perimeter night lighting is crucial to a sound and secure perimeter system. Lighting should be sufficient to illuminate all "blind spots" and shadows and in essence to make the perimeter appear as it would in daylight.

### Building Security

The building envelope - walls, floors and ceilings or roofs - of many buildings or functional areas need not be "secure." That is, ordinary construction materials and building systems are adequate. These areas include space for general administrative functions, certain program and service facilities, and maintenance programs. For maximum custody long-term institutions, some additional security for or around these areas is appropriate, particularly to establish "zones of containment" in the event of potential or real disturbances.

There are a number of functions that require very secure construction for both close and maximum custody long-term programs. These include the control room, armory, locksmith, pharmacy, commissary, all inmate records rooms, buildings whose walls are integrated with the perimeter system (usually, the entrance or combination entrance-administration building), the cashier's office, mail room and all inmate housing.

### Inmate Housing

While the housing requirements for long-term offender institutions will vary with the specific custody classification of the inmates, and the number

of those in each category, there are certain fundamental requirements common to both close and maximum custody facilities.

All inmates should be housed in individual rooms. Groups of rooms, or modules, should be designed for no more than 60 to 65 inmates. For maximum custody, the size of modules may need to be as small as 16, depending on the specific nature of the inmate body and the overall size of the institution.

Using the best available classification tools, inmates should be assigned to modules so that similarly classified individuals will be housed together. Frequently, two modules are located contiguous to one another so that a single unit staff team can manage both modules. A unit manager and secretary/clerk should have offices located centrally. Another office is frequently provided for use by other institutional staff who are not permanently assigned to the unit team.

Offices for a caseworker and a counselor for each module are located so that close interaction with the inmates is possible, and these staff can also help supervise the inmates. A station for correctional officers, who provide 24 hour supervision, is also provided in each module. It should be positioned so that, without having to move about significantly, it is possible for the officer to readily see all circulation areas within the module, and at least the face of all doors to inmate rooms.

Facilities should be included within each module for both active and passive recreation, including television viewing. It is good practice to designate two or three rooms specifically for television viewing in order to contain noise and avoid disturbing activities in other areas.

The size of inmate rooms should exceed minimum standards if at all possible, and storage space should allow for extra personal property and hobby craft material. Many systems also allow personal radios and television sets to be used in individual rooms. Again, these provisions help to reduce stress and maintain calmer environments, which in turn helps preclude disruptive and violent behavior.

Inmate rooms should be located on outside walls in all general housing units, and in segregation facilities for close custody institutions. In maximum custody facilities, some administrators may prefer "inside" rooms for certain types of offenders, but with current building technologies it is possible to place most maximum custody inmates in rooms with outside exposures without sacrificing good security. The exception may be for those inmates who, for at least a period of time, must be placed in special purpose units or "Control Units."

Designs for Control Units, which are for high risk inmates who are violent or seriously disruptive, are unique. These facilities differ from

**administrative or disciplinary segregation housing units in that they are used for longer periods of confinement.**

**While it is outside the scope of this document to explore Control Unit design features in detail, certain fundamental criteria should be observed. Individual rooms should be sized to meet the minimum American Correctional Standards when inmates are expected to be confined to their rooms for more than 10 hours during a 24 hour day. The current minimum size is 80 square feet of space. Toilet and lighting fixtures should be vandal-proof and destruction-resistant, as should other furnishings. Walls and partitions are relatively unpenetratable, and hardware should be heavy detention quality. Provisions are made for inmates to eat in the units, and even in their individual rooms in some cases.**

**Facilities are provided for programs that are largely self-contained, often including small scale, labor intensive industrial work. Closed-circuit television is sometimes used to deliver certain programs, such as for educational or religious services.**

**Control units, as well as segregation units, should be located so that there is both visual and sound isolation from circulation paths outside the units.**

**Opinion varies as to whether control rooms are appropriate to remotely operate doors, or door locks. For a small percentage of the high-risk inmates, control rooms may provide an extra measure of security that is justified by the potential violence of the inmates, and they may afford some degree of added safety for both staff and inmates. It is recommended, however, that these control rooms which erect both psychological and physical barriers between staff and inmates be held to an absolute minimum**

### **Other Inmate Services, Programs and Support Facilities**

**Provisions for other inmate programs and support activities will, in large measure, parallel those for comparably sized institutions rated for lower levels of custody. Special consideration must be given to zones of security, traffic flow and degree of inmate movement, however, depending on the custody rating of individual programs and the nature of the inmate population.**

**Services and their physical requirements must be designed for local conditions. For example, the medical program will be affected by whether acute or seriously ill inmates need to be diagnosed or treated within the institution, or transferred to another correctional institution or a community medical facility. As a general rule, programs for close and maximum custody**

long-term inmates provide for a higher level of in-house medical services than is the case for institutions with lower custody inmates.

Facilities for the food service program will also depend on the custody level and degree of inmate movement. In most close custody institutions, virtually all inmates except those temporarily confined in segregation status can take meals in a main dining room that utilizes a cafeteria-style serving system. Serving may be scheduled by units, subject to local policy. In higher custody facilities, movement is more controlled. Multiple dining rooms with smaller capacities may be used, and certain inmates may eat their meals in their units or even in their rooms.

The total area required for a new facility usually ranges from 450 to 600 square feet per inmate. Listed below is an example of the space needed for an average close custody institution for 500 long-term inmates.

<u>Function</u>	<u>Gross Area (In Square Feet)</u>
Entrance Building	3,500
<b>General Administration</b>	
Central Administrative Offices	2,400
Program Administration	3,500
Business Administration	2,600
Personnel Administration	900
Training	1,000
Central Records and Data Management	2,300
Staff Assembly and Related Functions	2,700
Control Center	700
<u>Function</u>	<u>Gross Area (In Square Feet)</u>
<b>Inmate Housing</b>	
Central Records and Data Management	2,300
Staff Assembly and Related Functions	2,700
Control Center	700
<b>Inmate Housing</b>	
General Housing	120,000
Segregation*	11,000
<b>Inmate Programs</b>	
Education/Library	7,000

<b>Vocational Training</b>	<b>10,500</b>
<b>Religious and Multi-Purpose Activity Center</b>	<b>6,300</b>
<b>Arts and Crafts</b>	<b>800</b>
<b>General Recreation and Gymnasium</b>	<b>14,500</b>
<b>Visiting Facilities</b>	<b>4,800</b>
<b>Industrial Program</b>	<b>35,000 - 50,000</b>

**Inmate Services**

<b>Medical/Infirmary*</b>	<b>6,200</b>
<b>Inmate and Staff Dining</b>	<b>7,500</b>
<b>Food Preparation</b>	<b>8,000</b>
<b>Commissary</b>	<b>2,500</b>
<b>Barber Shop</b>	<b>300</b>
<b>Receiving and Discharge</b>	<b>2,300</b>
<b>Laundry</b>	<b>2,000</b>
<b>Quartermaster</b>	<b>3,000</b>

**Physical and Service Support**

<b>Maintenance, Fire Safety, and Sanitation</b>	<b>7,500</b>
<b>Warehouse</b>	<b>15,000</b>
<b>Maintenance Garage</b>	<b>3,200</b>

**Total Gross Area** -----  
**287,000 - 302,000**

- NOTES:**
- 1. The number of beds provided in the infirmary and in segregation facilities are in addition to the 500 beds for general population.**
  - 2. Allowances for mechanical spaces are included in the above gross area listing.**

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