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Note 2

Following several of the yes/no questions, the respondent was asked to elaborate on the response by providing more specific information or indicating the reason for the response. Due to the wide range of information provided, we have not included a detailed list of those responses.

STATE OF ALASKA

JAY S. HAMMOND, GOVERNOR

DEPT. OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER

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November 30, 1979

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LEGISLATIVE
AUDIT

Gerald L. Wilkerson, CPA
Legislative Auditor
Division of Legislative Audit
Pouch W
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Mr. Wilkerson:

The following comments respond to the Findings and Recommendations contained in your Preliminary Audit report on:

A Performance Review of the Department of Health and Social Services Juvenile Confinement Programs September 28, 1979.

Recommendation No. 1

The Department of Health and Social Services should combine all juvenile functions into a single juvenile services section within the Division of Social Services.

The Department recognizes the need to improve and coordinate the delivery of youth services and therefore we agree with your finding in concept. We question though whether a separate section within the Division of Social Services is the most appropriate approach to solving this problem. We are presently investigating another approach of combining the youth services from those two divisions into a new Division of Youth Services. Placing youth services on a divisional level will give those programs the emphasis that they deserve and allow for other services such as those in drug abuse, mental health, alcoholism, and public health, to be added at a later date, if the Department's investigation finds it advantageous.

Two major hurdles must be crossed before a new Division of Youth Services could be formed. First, the Division of Correction's Master Plan strongly recommended against a new combined Youth Services division for a number of reasons, including that the idea of combining non-delinquent and delinquent youths in the same programs may not be in the best interest of the children involved nor address the special needs of the children with serious behavioral problems who come in contact with the legal system.

Second, we, in dealing with the problem of coordinating juvenile services, must also respond to the problem of how to handle the remaining adult services in the Divisions of Corrections and Social Services as well as those adult services provided by the Office of Aging. The issue of combining aging services throughout state government is currently being addressed by a special interim legislative committee on services to the elderly. We are interested in receiving and responding to that committee's recommendation in our reorganization plan. We have been told such recommendations will be offered no later than early January.

In summary, the Department recognizes the need to coordinate youth services and already has formed a standing committee to look further into this issue. We intend to have a specific plan to implement this finding during the early part of the 1980 legislative session.

Recommendation No. 2

The Department of Health and Social Services should improve the management of juvenile cases.

The Department recognizes the need for the improvement of management of its juvenile cases. Several recommendations in the letter had, in fact, already been in the implementation stages at the time of the audit. For example:

Recommendation No. 2, A. Supervisory review of juvenile cases. Division of Social Services supervisors do review casework files, but it was only this past spring that those supervisors were directed to sign files, thus indicating review had taken place. We therefore expect the 47% figure to rise continuously until it reaches 100% within a year.

No. 2, B. Case file organization and completeness. The Division of Social Services has a case format which was instituted this summer. Staff open new cases under this format and review open cases on a time available basis. The new format is concise and materials are replaced appropriately.

No. 2, G. Evaluation of juveniles' progress. Beginning in August, 1979, payment of care for Division of Social Services' children placed in outside institutions will be dependent upon receipt of progress reports on individual children:

Overall the objectives and goals of this section of the audit letter coincide with those of the Department. A few comments though should be offered to clarify some of the issues raised in this section:

1. Travel funds in both divisions were cut for FY 80. Regional Supervisors are seriously restricted in their ability to do timely case reviews within their respective regions, if they do not have adequate travel funds for this purpose. (Recommendation 2, G.)

2. Although the auditors may not have found sufficient legal documentation in all cases in the files indicating the Department's custody as supervision, neither Division knows of any cases where it has provided services to juveniles which were not in legal custody of the Department or legally entitled to such services. We are making efforts at improving the case file documentation in such instances. (Recommendation 2, C)

The letter states that "with the addition of 19 new social workers in FY 80, it is much more important that supervision and management of juvenile cases be improved." While it is true that 19 new positions were provided, the money to pay for all of them was not. Therefore, some positions have had to be delayed being filled for several months, while a few cannot be filled at all this year. While we continue to stress better management, it should be emphasized that not all 19 positions were available for the full fiscal year as the letter implies and thus our efforts may be hampered toward this goal. (Recommendation 2. G.)

In conclusion, we wish to emphasize that due to tight budgetary constraints and limited staff, at times conscious tradeoffs were made to emphasize direct client services at the expense of a lower prioritization of certain administrative and paperwork duties. We recognize that this is not the ideal. We do believe that in terms of weighing of the results of these decisions that no client was adversely impacted and we were able to supply more direct client services during certain peak demand times that could have otherwise been able to be done if such a prioritization and emphasis of direct services had not been made.

Recommendation No. 3

The Department should ensure that child care facilities conform with state licensing standards.

The Department acknowledges the need to improve its monitoring and surveillance of child care facility licensing standards. The Department intends to improve its management efforts in this area, subject to available staff and travel funds.

The auditors note a key problem in the lack of review of rural facilities. Increasing frequency of rural reviews would require the Division of Social Services' staff to make more frequent site visitation to rural facilities. As the Legislature reduced field travel by more than 25% this fiscal year, such a recommendation may be difficult to implement at the present time. (Recommendation 3, B.)

The auditors noted that "in smaller regional offices the licensing specialist also carries a caseload. The primary responsibility of licensing specialist should be ensuring that facilities comply with licensing requirements. Casework should be assigned on to the extent licensing responsibilities are not hindered." In small regions, with small staff, duties have had to be shared. In most small regions these

positions are filled by a social worker, not a licensing specialist. The emphasis, therefore, is on direct casework, rather than regulation. We suggest, however, that this policy meets with legislative intent: it has not been demonstrated to the Department that the Legislature wishes to emphasize regulation of facilities, particularly if that would result in reduction of direct services.

Recommendation No. 4

The Department of Health and Social Services should increase efforts in reviewing child care facility programs.

The Department agrees that it should improve its management efforts in evaluating the resources and quality of treatment available at in-state and out-of-state facilities.

Efforts have been made, within allocated budgets, to address this need. A departmental committee is in the process of developing an audit manual for use in the review of private juvenile institutions. At the conclusion of this committee's activities, a uniform Department review process will be implemented.

Recommendation No. 5

The Department should develop expenditure policies and controls which afford juveniles the best treatment and care within budgetary limitations.

The Division of Corrections has undertaken an intensive study of treatment and care placements in various facilities. Through the use of the juvenile offender tracking system, the division will attempt to evaluate treatment models which are objectively more successful. The resultant data will enable us to place our wards in the most appropriate facility.

We must note that there is a lack of consensus among correctional authorities regarding the effectiveness of treatment modes. Judgements are made largely upon the subjective opinions of experienced caseworkers. However successful our attempts at objective evaluation, subjective factors will continue to be a significant factor in this area.

Recommendation No. 6

The Department of Health and Social Services should increase efforts in developing alternatives to institutionalization.

The Division supports and recognizes the need for the development of alternative juvenile placements. The effectiveness of the incumbent Alternative Care Coordinator has been limited by the insufficient funding for three positions requested in FY 80 (regional development of alternative care placements) and funding for support activities. A CJPA grant now being administered by the division has shown positive results in the development of alternative juvenile placements. Efforts to expand this program will continue.

Recommendation No. 8

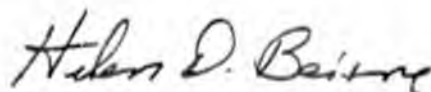
The Department of Health & Social Services should improve the auditing of child care facilities in order to determine actual cost of care rates.

The Audit Unit has been transferred to the Administrative Services Division under the direct supervision of the Department Finance Officer. The auditing schedule is in the process of being improved and expanded.

The Department proposal for an allowable cost system will be the subject of public hearings this fall. Continued improvement of the audit system is expected to provide complete and accurate data which will facilitate the calculation of the cost of care rates.

In conclusion, the Department, in general, concurs with the findings of the audit. We appreciate the time and efforts expended by your staff. We shall continue to follow up, as much as time and money allow, on all recommendations.

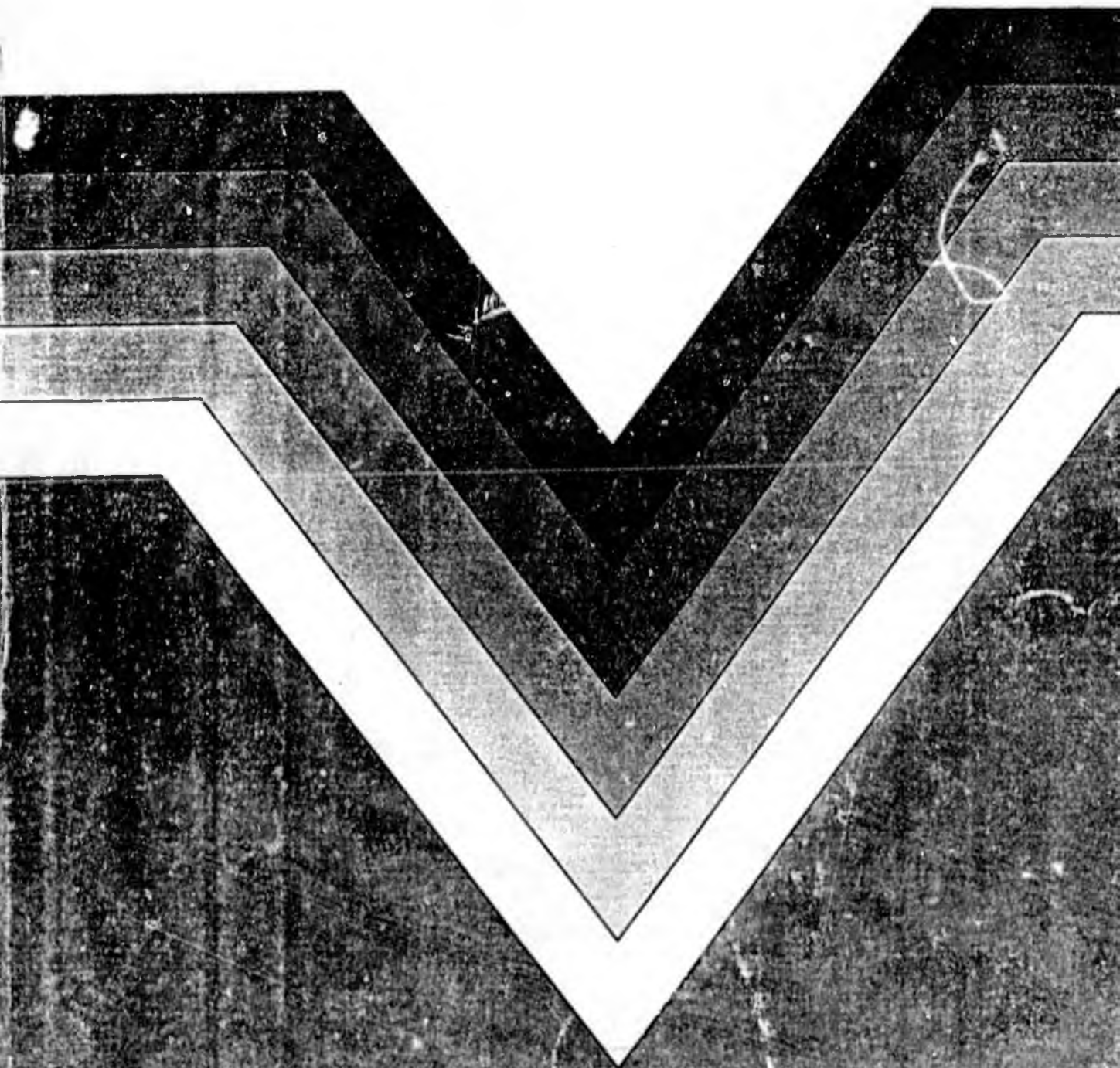
Sincerely,



Helen D. Beirne
Commissioner
Department of Health & Social Services

Corrections

Walt Jones



Chapter 6

Classification of Offenders

Theoretically, classification is a process for determining the needs and requirements of those for whom correction has been ordered and for assigning them to programs according to their needs and the existing resources. Classification is conceptualized as a system or process by which a correctional agency, unit, or component determines differential care and handling of offenders. To date, however, there has been considerable confusion about classification systems in corrections.

One of the basic problems experienced by corrections in adopting the concept of classification as a useful correctional tool is that too often the purpose which a classification system might serve has not been specified.

Most correctional classification schemes in use today are referred to as classification systems for treatment purposes, but even a cursory analysis of these schemes and the ways in which they are used reveals that they would more properly be called classification systems for management purposes. This judgment does not imply that classification for management purposes is undesirable. In fact, that may be the only useful system today, given the current state of knowledge about crime and offenders. It is important, however, that corrections begin to acknowledge the bases and purposes of classification systems that are in use.

There is another problem with trying to answer the question: Classification for what? While it is often conceded that no generally valid and useful system of classification for treatment now exists, there seems to be broad agreement within the corrections field on the desirability of finding such a system. It is also pointed out that a number of serious and dedicated social science researchers have been working for years on developing "treatment-relevant typologies" of offenders, and there is a possibility that they will reach a consensus on the basic components of a classification system and types of offenders fairly soon. It is one of the ironies of progress that just as the development of "treatment-relevant typologies" at last appears likely, there is growing disenchantment with the entire concept of the treatment model.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLASSIFICATION

Classification may be said to have developed in response to demands for the reform of corrections that began to be heard in England in the mid-16th century. Blasphemy, gambling, drunkenness, lewdness of officers and keepers, and their cooperation in supporting prisoners' vices were reported as commonplace in the jails and prisons. To overcome these practices, committees from time to time rec-

commended that neophytes should be separated from hardened offenders, and that prisoners should be separated by sex, age, and type of offense. Crude as it was, this was the beginning of classification.¹

Both elements of the prison reform movement—Christianity, especially the Quakers, and Utilitarianism under the leadership of Bentham and others—were interested primarily in abolishing the more brutal methods of correcting prisoners. Their interest led also to the introduction of methods of classifying offenders.

The first practical efforts toward classification were based less on theoretical concepts regarding the cause of crime and possible ways to correct it than on the practical necessity of managing people. The early classification schemes did, in fact, eliminate many abuses of the Bedlam type of institution that preceded the modern prison. But like most innovations, this solution itself generated problems.²

Segregation as Classification

Traditionally, administrators of correctional agencies have taken the position that men and women and youths should be separated from each other. The "Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners" adopted by the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, August 30, 1955, provides an example of an allocation scheme that is characteristic of what is normally accepted as classification.

Separation of Categories. The different categories of prisoners shall be kept in separate institutions or parts of the institution, taking account of their sex, age, criminal record, the legal reasons for their detention, and the necessities of their treatment. Thus, (a) men and women shall so far as possible be detained in separate institutions. In an institution which receives both men and women, the whole of the premises allocated to women shall be entirely separate; (b) untried prisoners shall be kept separate from convicted prisoners; (c) persons imprisoned for debt and other civil prisoners shall be kept separate from persons imprisoned by reason of criminal offense; (d) young prisoners shall be kept separate from adults.³

Specialization not Classification

One of the obvious trends in the history of American jails and prisons was the development of specialization as various groups of prisoners were withdrawn from the first penal institution, the jail,

¹ Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, *Principles of Criminology*, 6th ed. (Lippincott, 1960), p. 327.

² John P. Conrad, *Crime and Its Correction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), p. 17.

³ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and Related Recommendations* (New York: UN, 1958).

for incarceration in specialized institutions. Vagrants were placed in houses of correction. State institutions, under various names, were established for juvenile delinquents, insane offenders, young adults, women, Negroes, defective delinquents, misdemeanants, the sick, and others labeled as criminals.

In development of the specialized institution, the criteria for selecting inmates have included political status, seriousness of the crime, age, race, sex, and the offender's mental or physical condition. Supporters of specialization were motivated mainly by two principles: prevention of contamination of one type of offender by another; and adaptation of work methods and facilities to the characteristics of special offender groups.

Although the trend toward specialization may be desirable, the principle cannot go unquestioned because the most prevalent example is assignment of offenders on the basis of the seriousness of their offense rather than the availability of programs or their individual needs. State institutions generally care for felons, county and municipal institutions for misdemeanants. This differentiation is far from satisfactory, for current knowledge dictates that offense is not a suitable index of an offender's character, dangerousness, or needs.

Rise of the Treatment Model

The adoption of the treatment model in corrections has been trenchantly described in *Struggle for Justice*, prepared for the American Friends Service Committee:

... the concept of reformation as something achieved through penitence or the acquisition of working skills and habits has been de-emphasized because of developments in social and behavioral science. Varying scientific or pseudo-scientific approaches to crime, although in conflict with one another and unconfirmed by hard scientific data, view criminals as distinct biological, psychological, or social-cultural types.

Such theories all share a more or less deterministic premise holding that man's behavior is caused by social or psychological forces located outside his consciousness and therefore beyond his control. Rehabilitation, therefore, is deemed to require expert help so as to provide the inmate with the understanding and guidance that it is assumed he cannot achieve on his own.

The individualized treatment model, the outcome of this historical process, has for nearly a century been the ideological spring from which almost all actual and proposed reform in criminal justice has been derived. . . . Like other conceptions that become so entrenched that they slip imperceptibly into dogma, the treatment model has been assumed rather than analyzed, preached rather than evaluated.⁴

⁴ *Struggle for Justice*, A Report on Crime and Punishment in America prepared for the American Friends Service Committee (Hill and Wang, 1971), pp. 36-37.

Adoption of the treatment model has had major implications for correctional operations. As it gained prominence, the stated purpose of classification moved from segregation of various categories of offenders from each other to that of implementing different rehabilitative strategies. Under the new model, prisoners are received in the correctional system, diagnosed, classified, and assigned to treatment based on their classification.

In the process of trying to implement this model, correctional systems turned to the social work profession for assistance and introduced the caseworker into the penal situation to diagnose and treat the offender. This attempt to incorporate casework theory into penal institutions has been warped, however, by a failure to absorb two of the most basic tenets of social work. The first of these is that, for casework to be effective, the individual must perceive that he has a problem and be motivated to seek help; this is the principle of voluntarism. The second is that the goals of the casework process must be established by the client; this is the principle of self-determination. In its zeal to "help" those in charge, corrections made the assumption that all offenders are "sick" and that all can thus benefit from casework services. With this assumption apparently came the belief that the two basic social work principles could be ignored. The result has been a treatment system in which virtually all offenders are forced to accept "help" (or at least subjected to classification for treatment as if they were going to get help) and in which the goals of that help are set by correctional staff.

Although faced with an enormous and growing body of evidence of its ineffectiveness, corrections has refused to reexamine this mode of operation. Instead it has continuously complained about the ungratefulness and recalcitrance of its clients who refuse to change while so many generous attempts are being made to change them.

Current treatment concepts in penal settings put the offender in a "Catch 22" situation. In order to use them as a foundation for practice, it is necessary to assume that all offenders are sick. That is, "We know you're sick. If you deny that you're sick, you're really sick. But if you acknowledge that you're sick, then you really must be sick or you wouldn't admit it."

The fact that there is so little knowledge about causes of criminal behavior and how to eliminate it means that systems of forced treatment based on that small amount of knowledge will necessarily be extremely subject to abuse. Furthermore, since the overriding goal of institutions remains that of maintaining order and control, it is not surprising that in large measure classification schemes are

based on this objective and are used to the extent that they coincide with it.

For the offender, on the other hand, the main goal is release. Thus his secondary objective becomes that of trying to figure out what he is supposed to do to obtain release and then do it, or appear to do it. Most get bogged down on the first part; that is, trying to figure out what they are supposed to do. Given the fact that the offender is classified and assigned on the basis of subjective judgments by the treatment staff and that their judgments tend to shift as it is administratively convenient to do so, the individual can feel no confidence that whatever course of behavior he may try to follow will in any way help him to reach his goal. Furthermore, he is likely to be judged less on his behavior than on his "attitude," his demeanor, his degree of "contrition," his "desire to change," or some other subjective factor.

In addition, "diagnosis" and "treatment" concepts tend to lead staff to focus on intrapsychic problems when most offenders' crimes are probably at least equally related to such environmental factors as poverty and lack of education or other opportunity. And when the problem actually is mainly internal and psychological, correctional institutions are seldom an effective place to deal with it.

Originally hailed as a major revolution in the field, adoption of the treatment model in corrections has undoubtedly had positive impact in moving the system from one in which virtually no individualization occurred to one in which some attempt is made to account for individual differences. However, corrections has failed so miserably to improve its use and understanding of such tools as classification and advanced social work theory that their mode of application today is increasingly being recognized as counterproductive.

SOME CLASSIFICATION PROBLEMS

Running a Smooth Ship

It is around the problem of agency and personnel convenience, or "running a smooth ship," that a classification system supposedly geared to offenders' needs runs headlong into preoccupation with administrative order and convenience. Organizationally, it is difficult for correctional programs responsible for offering services to many persons to individualize services for a specialized few. In public education, this problem frequently is expressed by the classroom teacher, who says he cannot deal with the disturbing or distracting child because he upsets the routine designed to accommodate the other 29 students in the classroom.

Traditionally, security and custody have been primary concerns in establishing the direction of a correctional program. In recent years, development of greater skills and availability of more sophisticated information about offenders have made it possible to view security requirements from a new perspective, but much more progress is needed if successful reintegration of offenders into the community is to be a realistic goal.

A classification system or scheme cannot be adapted to an organization until the agency has spelled out its goals realistically and in a language clearly understood by offenders and staff. Within the framework established by these goals, a classification system can be devised to select those persons whose needs can be met within the agency's goals. Each agency then can tailor its programs to support the goals.

Involving the Offender

Offenders should be involved in assessing their own problems and needs and in selecting programs to resolve them. Almost without exception, classification systems exclude the offender himself from their operations. He is an object, subject, or ward; seldom is he given an opportunity to participate in assessing the problems he presents to himself and others. His conception of the classification process imposed on him greatly affects results of programs offered him. Whether or not correctional agencies see themselves as offering meaningful opportunities for offenders, the latter often view such opportunities as further actions of a vengeful society.

Even superficial analysis of most current classification programs in correctional services would indicate that decisions regarding offenders' needs are made on the basis of court policy, agency policy, and management convenience. So much emphasis is placed on the attitude of the committing court, the public relations of the agency, bedspace requirements, and release quotas that correctional staff seldom involve the offender in determining what might meet his needs for growth and development. These practices completely frustrate and nullify the purposes of classification and turn the entire process into an exercise concerned with form rather than substance.

Discriminatory Decisions

Discriminatory program decisions are made on the basis of ethnic background, offense pattern, and staff reactions to the offender's personality quirks. These discriminatory practices, planned or not, tend

to be inimical to effective classification systems that would organize resources around the offender's needs and not around the needs of the agency's administrative structure or its employees.

A thorough analysis should be made of those factors that influence decisions affecting the offender. Subjective and irrational influences must be eliminated where possible. If subjectivism is the only available basis for action at the moment, it should be recognized and research initiated to replace ignorance with knowledge.

Difficulties in Application

One of the difficulties with classification is that, even after agency goals have been clearly established and commitment has been made to a specific classification program, there continues to be a wide range of latitude for response to overall decisions by agency personnel. Because of this latitude the classification process frequently breaks down.

Correctional staff by necessity are concerned with making judgments as to appropriate levels of custody, needs for education or vocational training, suitability for counseling, and readiness for parole. In making these judgments, the staff plan the offender's education or training program on the basis of academic achievement scores, vocational preference inventories, and other devices that really provide little information on how to change an offender into a nonoffender. Security classification decisions are made on the basis of escape records, coupled with an appraisal of the seriousness of the commitment offense, even though this information never has been proved a reliable indicator of the inmate's custody requirements or potential for future violence.

Amenability to a counseling program is determined by the availability of the program, the offender's willingness to participate, and the counselor's willingness to make his services available. In practice, it has been demonstrated that certain forms of counseling are of little value to some inmates and actually detrimental to others.

Need for Comprehensive System

A major difficulty with present classification procedures is the need for lengthy interviews with each subject. It is extremely difficult to impart to staff the degree of knowledge needed to make reliable evaluations and program plans. Needs for staff training have taxed the capacity of correctional agencies. Additionally, many classification decisions at reception centers have not proved accurate or

consistent from one center to another. Persons wishing to use a given classification system in another geographical area experience difficulty in arriving at meaningful program plans from interviews. Consequently, many correctional administrators and researchers are seeking ways to standardize and computerize the classification approach.

A uniformly applied classification system can lead to more effective management, assignment, and programming decisions. It can add precision to evaluative research in the corrections field. Current evidence indicates that the most efficient ways to combine data for making classification decisions and for predicting problems are based on actuarial or mechanical (computer-based) methods combined with sequential classification rules.⁵

Corrections personnel from necessity have become interested in the possibility of dealing with programs and persons simultaneously; that is, utilizing a classification system that would make it possible to match subjects and programs. Experience suggests that when such differential programming is inaugurated, the overall success rate achieved by offenders may be increased, particularly when the offender is included in determining the direction and extent of his own program.

Ultimately, the full utilization of classification systems requires a better application of technology. For too long, the correctional system has maintained an archaic system of keeping offenders' records. This traditional paper system provides relatively little useful information on the offender but a great deal of information about the prejudices and perceptions of correctional workers. Effective utilization of objective data, made more usable by modern electronic data processing, could substantially move the art of classification to its next level, wherein the primitive art form is converted into a rudimentary science.

In considering the significance of classification systems, it is important to recognize that the process begins in the community and that judges, probation officials, and intake workers of voluntary social agencies make decisions important to classification every day. In most cases, these decisions are made on the basis of subjective data, formulated within a framework that has little consistency with or meaning to the total correctional system. Any classification system must consider influences and input from the entire justice system and not just a single component such as corrections.

A basic problem with classification procedures today is that usually they are not conducted until

after an individual's basic dispositional and program assignments have been made. Persons assigned to an institution are classified among themselves; persons assigned to probation are classified among themselves, etc. Thus one of the most productive and relevant opportunities for use of a classification system has already been bypassed. For classification to have any real meaning, it should take place before the offender's commitment to a formal correctional agency.⁶

It is imperative that classification systems be developed for the whole of the correctional system. Classification systems that operate effectively at the community level will help select those offenders whose needs can be met best through specific programs in the community setting. They will allow only those who need 24-hour control to pass on to correctional institutions.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF CLASSIFICATION

Classification systems can be useful in a number of ways. Foremost is the requirement that the agency or program adopting a classification scheme conceptualize the problem with which it is dealing in terms of the complex issues it presents. Simple solutions are no longer acceptable. The act of conceptualizing, by its very nature, forces the development of a language and a system by which problems are approached. In effect, it should render rational that which otherwise is a random operation.

Another advantage is that classification can make handling large numbers of offenders more efficient through a grouping process based on needs and problems. From an administrative standpoint, classification systems can provide for more orderly processing and handling of individuals. From a financial standpoint, classification schemes can enable administrators to make more efficient use of limited resources and to avoid providing resources for offenders who do not require them. From a research standpoint, they can permit comparative studies.

One of the basic characteristics of an effective classification system is its potential usefulness as a communications device. No part of the correctional system is an end in itself. The goal of developing a continuum of assistance, care, and supervision cannot be accomplished until the various parts of the system are able to communicate intelligently. This statement is true within segments of an institution or parole operation. It is equally

⁵ Carl F. Jesness, *Development of a Sequential I-Level Classification (Project SEQUIL)* (Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1970).

⁶ Allen F. Breed, "The Significance of Classification Procedures to the Field of Corrections," unpublished consultant's paper prepared for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967.

true of communication between probation departments and courts, courts and State correctional agencies, and correctional agencies and private organizations that have resources to meet offenders' needs outside the criminal justice system.

Classification affords administrators a system for bringing order to a series of multiple and often unrelated activities. When used properly, it can help overcome a tendency for various elements of the correctional bureaucracy to operate in a vacuum with little effort to unite independent but complementary components.

Organizationally, the classification system can be used to link administration, staff, and offender with a program providing planned experiences for the offender. These experiences must reinforce each other to move the client toward a planned program objective. This feat is not possible unless there is a basic theoretical plan that can be translated into program strategies and communicated in language common to all persons involved with the offender.

Essentially, classification should insure a more effective pooling of relevant knowledge about the offender and the development of a more efficient method by which all important decisions and activities affecting him may be coordinated.⁷ Ideally, it should provide offenders with a means for changing themselves rather than subjecting them under coercion to so-called "treatment."

An ideal correctional system would match offender types successfully with program types. Society must be protected against incorrigible offenders, but it should not aggravate the problem by locking up those who would do better in the community. A need to isolate offender types works both ways. An effective classification process would identify offenders who must be kept out of community programs, as well as those who should be kept in them. It would acknowledge that a screening process is sufficient for the decisions needed for most offenders and that classification as theoretically conceived is needed only for a comparative few.

CLASSIFICATION FOR MANAGEMENT PURPOSES

Classification systems useful solely for management purposes are distinguishable from those designated as useful for treatment. The term "management" means effective control of offenders to avoid further law violations while the agency is responsible. In contrast to management, the term "treatment" refers to attempts to change the individual offender or aspects of his environment to assure

⁷ Breed, "The Significance of Classification Procedures."

long-term lawful behavior, beyond the period of direct agency responsibility. Most if not all classification schemes in use today are geared in actual practice chiefly to assessing risk and facilitating the management of offenders.

In a community setting, management primarily involves control of offenders to prevent further law violations while protecting society and the offender. This protection means, for example, that high surveillance should be employed only for those who require it to prevent further offenses, low surveillance for those who represent little or no threat to others. All these management decisions require an implicit or explicit classification system. The difficulty with an implicit classification system, of course, is that it offers no way of checking the system's accuracy. There is no built-in self-correcting process.

Prior probability (base expectancy) approaches are examples of classification systems useful for management purposes. Decisions on whether groups of offenders are to be handled in the community or in an institutional setting can be made most rationally by considering, among other things, the risk of further violation. Surveillance level on probation or parole and related aspects of caseload may be determined in part by knowledge of violation probability. Prior probability classification systems may be used not only as an aid to administrative decisionmaking but also as a check on whether or not management decisions have a desired effect.⁸

A number of studies using this approach in conjunction with psychiatrically oriented classification systems have implications for selection of settings in which various offender subgroups can be handled best. The Borstal studies described by Simon and the Highfields study⁹ are examples of research testing the differential response of selected offenders exposed to different correctional settings.

Courts, like other components of the justice system, are reluctant to depend on assessment devices that may suggest action contrary to their own experiences and beliefs. Judges, like parole boards, correctional administrators, and caseworkers, continue to base decisions on hunch, prejudice, and personal belief rather than fact or the need of the offender.

Understandably, criminal justice workers need to be reassured that classification devices are reliable before they are willing to stake part of their success or professional status on how such devices work. Base expectancy (a probable success pre-

⁸ Francis H. Simon, *Prediction Methods in Criminology, Including a Prediction Study of Young Men on Probation* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1971.)

⁹ H. Ashley Weeks, *Youthful Offenders at Highfields* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963).

diction device) is a classic example of increased mechanical efficiency for large numbers but has only marginal reliability for individual prediction.

The case management system (RAPS) used by the Federal Bureau of Prisons is a modified operational version of this classification approach, although not a prior probability approach in the pure sense.¹⁰ RAPS was initiated several years ago in an effort to develop a descriptive method of classifying inmates in order to allocate resources rationally. Need assessment now is based on four coded elements. "R" is for rating and represents the professional opinion of staff; "A" refers to the age of the offender; "P" refers to the number of prior commitments; and "S" to the nature of the sentence.

Originally, offenders were placed in categories labeled "intensive," "selective," or "minimal," according to staff judgment of the likelihood of change. The bases for these judgments were subjective and, predictably, there was considerable variation in decisions.

The three categories used early in the RAPS program have been replaced by Categories I, II, and III. Category I denotes the greatest expenditure of resources above the essential level; Category II denotes some expenditure above the essential level; and Category III denotes expenditures at the essential level. The revised system is designated to allocate available resources among offenders on the basis of objective assessment of relative need.

The bureau is developing a computer application using objective criteria for determining offender categories. Need assessment is based on the RAPS elements. Each element is given a numerical rating, and the ratings of the four elements are combined to give a code that determines the appropriate classification for each offender and the extent to which available resources will be used for him.

The RAPS system is in the process of evolutionary development. Evaluation of its ultimate value as a correctional classification tool and means of allocating resources will require further testing and experimentation. RAPS is an example of a classification system elaborately designed for the management of offenders rather than for attempting to relate the causes of crime to treatment methods and resources.

Several of the social perception and interaction classification systems have been used in making management recommendations or decisions. Gibbons bases his typologies of juvenile and adult offenders on patterns of social roles as defined by offense, behavior, criminal career, and self-concept or attitude.

Using Warren's interpersonal maturity classification system for juveniles, Jesness conducted a study in which inmates of a boys' training school were assigned living units on the basis of delinquent subtype. An attempt was made to develop and describe the management techniques most useful in dealing with each subtype. Warren and the staff of the Community Treatment Project have developed a treatment model defining nine delinquent subtypes and prescribing both differential management and treatment techniques for various subtypes in the community.¹¹

Classification for Risk

It is stated elsewhere in this report and in many other documents on corrections that perhaps the greatest contribution to corrections today would be development of a scheme or system that would effectively differentiate among offenders as to their risk of recidivism or their potential dangerousness to others. It is argued that such a scheme, applied at the time of sentencing, would greatly increase sentencing effectiveness, cost-effectiveness of correctional programs, and safety of the community.

Although this theory is basically sound, it presents a number of problems. Not the least of these is that sentencing decisions are not made solely on the basis of risk or a desire to protect others. Society also expects the courts to maintain individual liberties, satisfy a common notion of justice in the sense of equal and consistent treatment, maintain an image as "fair" institutions, maintain the declarative and condemnatory functions of the criminal law, seek a deterrent effect, and operate in ways that are reasonably cost-effective. Many of these goals are by no means fully consistent with the goals of protecting society and reducing recidivism. The dilemma created by these conflicting goals of the criminal sanctioning system has been well described in a recent article by *Levin*.

... from what we know about the type of offenders who are most likely to fall into the recidivating group, one clearly could derive the following policy to reduce recidivism: *Incarcerate for the longest terms the youngest offenders, especially if they are black or have a narcotics history.* But such a policy, however effective it might be in reducing recidivism, is obviously unacceptable if the court is to remain in our eyes a fair and nondiscriminatory institution which exercises a due regard for equality and individual liberties. Conversely, the same findings of social science with regard to reducing recidivism would dic-

¹¹ Marguerite Q. Warren, *Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification: Juvenile Diagnosis and Treatment of Low, Middle, and High Maturity Delinquents* (Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1966).

¹⁰ U.S. Bureau of Prisons, Policy Statement, Dec. 16, 1969.

tate that judges *incarcerate for the shortest terms possible under the law whites over 40 who have committed murder or sex crimes!* These groups have extremely low recidivism rates, and such a policy would also save the state money in incarceration costs. But there is little doubt that most people would consider such a policy wrong—both because it discriminates against the young and the black and because it does not sufficiently express society's disapproval of such grave crimes as murder or rape.¹³

Thus, society is faced with a number of crucial social policy determinations. Given the facts stated above, a common response is to declare that the public policy must be to continue to incarcerate large numbers of offenders for purposes of punishment, retribution, deterrence, or condemnation, even though they do not present a high risk to the safety of others.

There are other alternatives that can be entertained, however. If current sanctions in use other than imprisonment do not serve to deter or punish adequately, then new sanctions should be explored. Just as society devised use of imprisonment as a response to the ineffectiveness and brutality of cutting off the hands and feet of offenders, so other forms of sanction can be tried. Particularly in view of the fact that imprisonment appears to serve fully only one of the above listed purposes—punishment—surely more effective and less brutal alternatives can be found. An institutionalized response to crime is a necessity; incarceration is not.

This may be a major challenge to classification in the future—to find alternatives to incarceration for various types of offenders which will better serve to punish, to deter, to express disapproval, or to reduce the probability of recidivism.

CLASSIFICATION STUDIES INCREASE KNOWLEDGE

Offender typologies are an important basis for integrating and increasing knowledge in the corrections field. Currently, there is considerable interest in the possibility of systematically developing differential programming for various offender types.

The "treatment-relevant typologies" being investigated in the correctional world vary considerably in complexity. At the middle range of complexity are offender groupings based on causes of criminality and on attitude assessment. The British Home Office has been attempting to develop a typology based on the nature of offenders' problems. Probation officers have identified such problems in terms of personal inadequacies, psychological disturbance, or social stress. The study seeks to deter-

¹³ Martin A. Levin, "Crime and Punishment and Social Science," *The Public Interest*, 27 (Spring 1972).

mine how each type of problem interacts with the others, with the "treatment" given, and with the probability of reconviction.¹³

O. S. Belle of Manitoba Penitentiary, Canada, is studying prosocial and antisocial inmates.¹⁴ Several studies have been conducted utilizing the Schrag model, which includes grouping inmates into prosocial, antisocial, asocial, and pseudosocial types on the basis of their attitudes toward others. A number of studies have used the Quay classification of juvenile offenders into psychopathic, neurotic, subcultural, and immature-inadequate categories.

McCord, McCord, and Zola proposed six different treatment plans for six different offense types.¹⁵ Gibbons suggested differential treatment methods for a variety of subtypes defined by their social role.¹⁶ Freeman, Hildebrand, and Ayre describe a typology with corollary treatment techniques.¹⁷ The underlying dimension of this classification scheme is a continuum of levels of emotional maturity or ego autonomy.

MacGregor develops a typology of family patterns that sets forth propositions by which families may be classified for treatment planning.¹⁸ Hunt and Hardt relate developmental state to delinquent behavior and delinquency orientation.¹⁹ The authors have made some specific speculations on the implications of their theoretical models for specific differential treatments for delinquents.

The work of Warren and her associates in the California Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project is based on the theory of levels of interpersonal maturity,²⁰ a formulation describing a sequence of personality integrations in normal childhood development. This classification system focuses on ways in which the individual is able to perceive himself and the world and understand what is happening among others, as well as between himself and others. The theory identifies seven successive stages

¹⁴ Home Office Research and Statistics Department, *Summary of Research* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1969).

¹⁵ Described in Marguerite Q. Warren, *Correctional Treatment in Community Settings: A Report of Current Research*, paper prepared for the Sixth International Congress on Criminology, 1970.

¹⁶ William McCord, Joan McCord, and Irving K. Zola, *Origins of Crime* (Columbia University Press, 1959).

¹⁷ Don C. Gibbons, *Changing the Lawbreaker: The Treatment of Delinquents and Criminals* (Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 39.

¹⁸ Freeman et al., "A Classification System That Prescribes Treatment," *Social Casework*, 46 (1965), 423-429.

¹⁹ R. MacGregor, "Developmental Considerations in Psychotherapy with Children and Youth," paper presented at the annual conference of the American Psychological Association, 1962.

²⁰ David E. Hunt and Robert H. Hardt, "Developmental Stage, Delinquency, and Differential Treatment," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 2 (1965), 20-31.

²¹ Warren, *Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification*.

of interpersonal maturity, characterized in terms of social and psychological development, ranging from the interpersonal reactions of a newborn infant to an ideal social maturity level.

There is no single obvious or proved way to classify offenders. The decisions to sort out deviance by means of Variable X rather than Variable Y can be made only in terms of some logic or rationale, some argument in defense of a particular choice of variables. It is not possible to be certain in advance of research that a particular system is causally significant. This aspect of classification or typology justifies the use of the term "calculated risk." It is out of this kind of risk-taking by social scientists, theoreticians, practitioners, and correctional administrators that knowledge and skill advance. Eventually a classification scheme should be developed that would seek to explain the cause (or, more likely, causes) of an individual crime while hypothesizing programs that will reduce the potential for further illegal behavior by the offender.

Current research in offender classification is severely limited and inadequate, but it provides evidence of the priority assigned to identifying "treatment-relevant" subgroups in heterogeneous offender populations. Only by some form of grouping is it possible to interpret research findings and test the efficacy of correctional practice. From a theoretical and management standpoint, a desirable classification system would be one that permits an organization to provide planned, specified programs for different types of offenders in ways that allow for program evaluation.

Theoreticians, practitioners, and researchers are constantly seeking some meaningful grouping of offenders into categories to offer (1) a step in the direction of an explanatory theory with a resulting aid to prediction that follows from understanding, (2) implications for efficient management, (3) effective differential programming strategies, and (4) greater precision for maximally effective research.³¹

CLASSIFICATION AND THE COMMUNITY

The determination of action needed to deal with a given offender's antisocial acts varies widely among communities throughout the United States. The decisionmaking process that brings people into the correctional system often is based on divergent attitudes and philosophies, not only of the community's power structure but also of the community itself. All agencies tend to select or reject certain people or problems. The operational policy of each agency in the correctional continuum becomes in effect a con-

³¹Watten, *Correctional Treatment in Community Settings*.

tributing part of the basic correctional classification system.

Each community, through the creation of certain social agencies and the exclusion of others, defines for itself the offender types it is willing to sustain. The degree to which the community will provide care and services for its offender population fluctuates with its basic values, understanding of the problems, and leadership. Over the years, correctional programming has undergone radical changes in emphasis and direction that can be related directly to society's awareness and understanding of the offender's needs. Any change of policy or attitudes toward offenders or development of new programs by a community will alter population projections for correctional institutions, change the normal flow in and out, and modify the types of clients that must be served.

For correctional programs to be advanced, some concerns of the citizenry, the courts, and the political body, as well as those of correctional agencies must be satisfied. Persons in the criminal justice system must undertake massive public orientation and education programs concerning offenders' needs. They must contribute to the refinement of existing selection instruments that help keep offenders in the community unless they are specifically found to represent a serious threat to others.

Many of the issues discussed depend more on program development, attitudinal change, and financial readjustment than on refinement of selection instruments for assessment. Just as staff and administration must understand and accept the logic of a classification system, so too must the public be willing to support the purposes of the agency using the system. Both moral and financial support of the public are required to carry out any comprehensive classification system successfully.

CURRENT CLASSIFICATION PROCEDURES

Classification procedures generally are carried out through one of four organizational arrangements: classification units within an existing institution; classification committees; reception-diagnosis centers; and community classification teams.

Classification within an Existing Institution

The first organizational alternative involves classification clinics or reception units in the institutions to which offenders are committed. In the State systems using this arrangement, there are certain minimum requirements for "diagnosis," orientation, and protec-

tion from contagion through quarantine,²² although the necessity of the latter is being increasingly questioned.

The reception unit is primarily a diagnostic section, administered by professional personnel whose functions are to make diagnostic studies and treatment recommendations. For this process to be of value and utility, it is considered essential that upon admission there be thorough study of offenders by competent staff; differentiation based on methods enhancing utilization of available programs; treatment based on careful study of individual inmates; an effective orientation program for all inmates; and, finally, development of systematic research to explain criminal behavior and determine appropriate treatment programs.

The classification unit system suffers from a number of defects that virtually deprive it of usefulness. Reports typically are submitted to administrative authorities, who may or may not follow the recommendations. Even when high-quality diagnostic work is produced, the results may not be applied, because diagnosis has not been linked directly or operationally with available programs. The system also becomes the victim of institutionalization. Procedures usually are rigid. Too many inmates are kept too long in the reception unit and process. The procedures take on the character of an assembly line, with little selectivity in adapting the process to the individual inmate. Invariably the research component is completely lacking, and there is no check on whether the process really is fulfilling its purpose.

The Classification Committee

The second organizational arrangement is the institutional classification committee, which studies individual case records and collectively makes judgments as to the disposition of inmates in the institution. Professional personnel on the classification committee help develop the diagnostic evaluation and have a direct responsibility for translating this material into recommendations for inmate programs.²³

Although the committee's composition may vary, it generally consists of individuals whose knowledge and skills are relevant to the offender's particular problem. It may include social workers or sociologists, the supervisor of education, a vocational supervisor, a recreational supervisor, a chaplain, a medi-

²² American Prison Association, Committee on Classification Case and Case Work, *Handbook on Classification in Correctional Institutions* (New York: American Correctional Association, 1964.)

²³ Elliot Studt, Sheldon Messinger, and Thomas P. Wilson, *C-Unit: Search for Community in Prison* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968).

cal officer, a psychiatrist, or others. The committee determines inmate security ratings, assigns individuals to educational and vocational training programs, and decides where they will work in the institution.

Like other classification systems in use, the committee procedure becomes institutionalized, and decisions are made with little more consideration than the old deputy warden or yard captain used to give them when he alone had full authority over these matters. Since the classification committee processes all inmates, it works under the pressure of limited time and is necessarily restricted in its discussion of issues and interactions with individual inmates. The committee members are departmental representatives of administrative divisions and seldom know the inmate whose case is under consideration. Therefore, their decisions are based primarily on information in case records.

The demands of time, program routine, and workload—and the institutionalization of personnel themselves—prevent effective performance of service. The result is that a large number of ranking institutional personnel are tied up in a process that accomplishes very little in effective programming for the individual inmate, although the system in its way does promote the orderly management of large institutional populations.

In concept, the effectiveness of a classification committee in carrying out its responsibilities presupposes considerable interaction with the offender, yet rarely does he have an opportunity to react meaningfully with the committee. Even when a brief interview between the inmate and the committee is permitted, the offender is asked to respond to a few perfunctory and ritualized questions and is given little if any opportunity to initiate questions that might reveal a great deal about the way the offender perceives the world and himself. And contrary to the concept that classification decisions must be based on the needs of individual inmates, committees habitually base their decisions on administrative needs and convenience.

Reception-Diagnostic Centers

A third organizational arrangement for the classification function emerged during the late 1940's and early 1950's with development of reception centers.²⁴ By this method of operation, all offenders are committed to a central receiving institution for study, classification, and recommendations for training and "treatment" programs, and the institution to which the individual should be assigned. The process

²⁴ William E. Amos and Raymond Manella, *Delinquent Children in Juvenile Correctional Institutions* (Springfield, Ill.: Thomas, 1966).

presupposes a plan and theory of classification consistent throughout the system. Such an approach places a major responsibility for collecting diagnostic information on one facility, thereby requiring a high degree of specialization.

While the reception center concept was progressive for its time, it has become obsolete. The system is administratively convenient and efficient in that a limited staff can provide services for a large number of offenders. However, this very administrative efficiency is largely accountable for its obsolescence.

Traditionally, the reception and diagnostic center has provided summary reports including information on social background, criminal history, initial adjustment to custody, medical examination, psychological assessment, vocational skills, educational level, religious background and attitudes, recreational interests and abilities, and psychiatric evaluation. Today, it is not necessary that any of these components of the diagnostic report be completed in a diagnostic or reception center. A number of the items usually are produced by probation and parole officers in the community. Although medical examinations and psychological and psychiatric evaluations require professional services, these services also are available in the local community through both contract and public agency programs.

The reception center, because of the ceaseless repetition in the nature of its work, becomes even more institutionalized than other forms of the classification process. Schedules are adhered to rigidly, and offenders are kept too long in the centers waiting for the diagnostic skills or services of a limited number of persons. The process itself is uniformly extensive and thorough for most offenders, and more information is produced than can be used effectively for classification purposes, considering the current lack of correctional knowledge and resources.

The futility of much of this work is evident in the separation of the study and diagnostic process from operational units. Independent institutions usually do not rely on information developed at the diagnostic center and may repeat clinical evaluations and studies.

The anonymity of inmates in the reception center is pervasive. The impersonality of the assembly line procedure permits them little opportunity to feel that they have any role or individual involvement in the process. (For a description of varying reception centers, see Chapter 11, Major Institutions.)

Reception and diagnostic centers use whatever resources are available to them in choosing the "rehabilitation" approach for a given offender. Typically, decisions are based on the recommendations of an intake worker who has subjectively weighed a collection of opinions and perhaps employed a few educa-

tion, attitude, and aptitude tests. The basis of the intake worker's judgment may or may not be clear in his own mind. In any case, institution and personal bias are involved, because the worker rarely is apprised of the result of his recommendations. Even if he is, only an experienced worker is capable of rendering such judgments in a manner beneficial to the correctional system. Only when explicit criteria form the basis of recommendations is the system's management able to check assumptions, analyze relationships, and pass along pertinent data to inexperienced workers.

The central diagnostic facility is also in conflict with current theory over the importance of developing and programming correctional efforts at the community level. Many theorists in the field argue that a valid classification system, universally applied throughout the whole of corrections, would be more useful.

Community Classification Teams

Another organizational arrangement for classification that is now emerging suggests that with development of a realistic classification system used throughout a correctional system, the classification function can involve a much wider range of personnel and resources than previously supposed. For instance, a classification team consisting of parole and probation officers might collect the social history, while local practitioners could provide necessary medical and psychiatric examinations. State and local institution personnel, in cooperation with the other members of the community classification team, in turn would review the appropriate correctional programs available to meet the offender's needs.

The community-based classification team concept is superior to current practice. It has already begun to emerge within the correctional system and may be generally realized within the next 5 years. Indeed, to the extent that community correctional programs become the pattern, offenders should not have to be removed to a State diagnostic center or institution for review and study. The classification process itself can be adapted to the needs of offenders, most of whom, for the purposes of community-based programs, require little more than screening for risk and matching to resources.

A Uniform Classification System

A widely accepted classification system could serve a vital research function. At present, persons in the corrections field are frustrated in their attempts to build an empirically based body of knowledge,

partly because research findings are not comparable. Availability of a reliable, valid, commonly accepted classification procedure that is simple to apply could improve this situation vastly.

The need for an efficient, reliable classification system generally is conceded by practitioners and researchers alike. Such a system would lead to more effective assignment and management decisions. It would enable correctional administrators to guide inmates into programs that have been found appropriate for others with the same characteristics. It also would help minimize the "shotgun" approach that assumes that all inmates derive equal benefit from program innovations.

A large number of classification schemes are in existence today. They have been fully described and summarized in other works and will only be highlighted briefly here to give some indication of their variety and orientation. Contemporary classification schemes include several different systems that may be grouped according to the underlying dimensions of the system's logic.

1. Prior probability approaches represented by the Borstal studies, the base expectancy studies of the California Youth Authority and Department of Corrections, Glueck prediction tables, and configuration analysis procedures developed by Glaser.

2. Reference group typologies represented by Schrag and Sykes and the social class typologies represented by Miller.

3. Behavior classification covering a wide range of groupings varying in specificity from those based on offense types to conformity/non-conformity dichotomies represented by Roebuck; McCord, McCord, and Zola; Ohlin; and Reckless.

4. Psychiatrically oriented approaches represented by the works of Jenkins and Hewitt, Redl, Erickson, Aichhorn, Makkay, Reiss, Argyle, Bloch and Flynn, and the Illinois State Training School Treatment Committee.

5. Social perception and interaction classifications of Gough and Peterson, Hunt and Hardt, Sarbin, Peterson, Quay and Cameron, Gibbons, Studt, MacGregor, Sullivan, Grant and Grant, Warren, and Russon.

In addition to the five groupings, some investigators, using a more eclectic approach that includes combinations of several of the dimensions listed, have produced empirical-statistical typologies. Among these investigators are Hurwitz, Jesness, and Palmer. In a recent paper, the Gluecks make a case for this approach and appear to be moving toward development of such a typology.¹³

¹³ For publications see Bibliography at the end of this chapter.

Cross-Classification Approaches

Sociologists and psychologists continue to be in conflict over the appropriate theoretical basis for various approaches. Sociologists accuse psychologists of taking insufficient cognizance of environmental factors, while psychologists accuse sociological typologists of having insufficient regard for intrapsychic factors. Nevertheless, a few investigators are attempting to link theoretically the sociological and psychological situational variables necessary for a satisfactory classification system.

In an effort to explore the feasibility of developing a more uniform basis for classification, a conference on typologies was held in 1966 under sponsorship of the National Institute of Mental Health. Conference participants, including many of the foremost theorists in behavior classification and typology, identified many areas of agreement. On the basis of review and cross-tabulation of a number of classification systems, preliminary consensus was reached on the validity of six broad bands that cut across the various systems. These six bands distinguish the following major types of offenders: asocial, conformist, antisocial manipulator, neurotic, subcultural identifier, and situational.¹⁴

It should be noted that most of the typologies discussed were based on studies of juvenile boys. Only Hunt, Schrag, and Warren¹⁵ specifically included girls or women, but these investigators have found the bands to be equally appropriate for females. Schrag's typology is based primarily on adult offenders, although it has been applied successfully to institutionalized juveniles by some of Schrag's followers. The original form of Warren's typology (interpersonal maturity levels without subtypes) was found to be appropriate for adult as well as juvenile offenders.

The fact that cross-classification is possible is even more impressive when one considers the varieties of methods used for deriving the subtypes—theoretical formulations, empirical observation methods, and multivariate analysis procedures. Additionally, it is important that similarities are evident in the descriptions of the etiological and background factors and the "treatment" prescriptions for similar subtypes, as well as in the descriptions of offender characteristics across typologies.

There is evidence at both the theoretician and practitioner level that the field is ready to move toward developing programs based on categorizing the range of problems represented in the offender population. Not only is there a ready ear for conceptualiz-

¹⁴ Marguerite Q. Warren, "Classification of Offenders as an Aid to Efficient Management and Effective Treatment," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 62 (1971), 239.

¹⁵ Warren, "Classification of Offenders."

ing, but it also appears that a time of consensus among typologists, in which a rational correctional model may be begun, is approaching.

Offender typologies represent an important method of integrating and increasing knowledge in the correctional field. Ultimately, typological approaches will flourish in relationship to their fruitfulness in producing improved management, differential programming, and schemes for crime prevention. In the last analysis, a good classification system is one that enables a correctional agency to utilize its limited manpower to maximize its impact on offenders.

Much more extensive research is needed to develop an effective and theoretically sound classification system for the small proportion of offenders who require more than basic screening and assessment. Corrections will have to depend on the behavioral sciences to produce a more consistent theoretical basis, and corrections itself will have to engage in research and experimentation to devise programs and resources that will be related directly to causation theory. Only with the successful outcome of such efforts will it be possible to develop a classification system that will dispel the present mythological character of correctional "treatment."

Standard 6.1

Comprehensive Classification Systems

Each correctional agency, whether community-based or institutional, should immediately reexamine its classification system and reorganize it along the following principles:

1. Recognizing that corrections is now characterized by a lack of knowledge and deficient resources, and that classification systems therefore are more useful for assessing risk and facilitating the efficient management of offenders than for diagnosis of causation and prescriptions for remedial treatment, classification should be designed to operate on a practicable level and for realistic purposes, guided by the principle that:

- a. No offender should receive more surveillance or "help" than he requires; and
- b. No offender should be kept in a more secure condition or status than his potential risk dictates.

2. The classification system should be developed under the management concepts discussed in Chapter 13 and issued in written form so that it can be made public and shared. It should specify:

- a. The objectives of the system based on a hypothesis for the social reintegration of offenders, detailed methods for achieving the objectives, and a monitoring and evaluation mechanism to determine whether the objectives are being met.

- b. The critical variables of the typology to be used.

- c. Detailed indicators of the components of the classification categories.

- d. The structure (committee, unit, team, etc.) and the procedures for balancing the decisions that must be made in relation to programming, custody, personal security, and resource allocation.

3. The system should provide full coverage of the offender population, clearly delineated categories, internally consistent grouping, simplicity, and a common language.

4. The system should be consistent with individual dignity and basic concepts of fairness (based on objective judgments rather than personal prejudices).

5. The system should provide for maximum involvement of the individual in determining the nature and direction of his own goals, and mechanisms for appealing administrative decisions affecting him.

6. The system should be adequately staffed, and the agency staff should be trained in its use.

7. The system should be sufficiently objective and quantifiable to facilitate research, demonstration, model building, intrasystem comparisons, and administrative decisionmaking.

8. The correctional agency should participate in or be receptive to cross-classification research toward

the development of a classification system that can be used commonly by all correctional agencies.

Commentary

A good classification system should be able to ask three basic questions: (1) What caused the offender to break the law? (2) What kinds of help, if any, does the offender need to keep him from further law violations? and (3) If he needs assistance, where can the offender best receive the help he needs?

All three questions are of major importance and are listed in the sequence in which they should be answered. Unfortunately for the offender, most classification systems seek only the answer to the third question, and even then consideration centers chiefly on the resources available where the offender will be assigned. The field of corrections does not yet have the knowledge or the techniques to answer the first question by other than educated guesswork, and deficiencies in correctional resources and initiatives discourage attempts to answer the second question adequately.

Therefore, correctional administrators should (1) acknowledge handicaps of the field in devising a truly scientific classification system and (2) adopt the realistic view that the only objectives obtainable with present knowledge and techniques are assessment of risk and efficient management of offenders.

The same intellectual honesty should be used to acknowledge that involving the offender with the corrections system actually is experienced by him as a form of punishment, despite the most sincere motives of correctional personnel to offer "rehabilitative treatment." And "rehabilitative treatment" too often is an exercise in semantics lacking in substance. Therefore, to subject the offender to more surveillance or security than he requires, and to coerce him into subjecting himself to "treatment" that he does not want, and perhaps does not need, may produce results counter to those intended by the classification system.

The correctional agency should develop its classification system with the assistance of all possible advice—from lawyers, offenders, community representatives, professionals, etc.—as indicated in Chapter 7. The result should be issued in written form, so that everyone concerned will know its objectives, its assumptions, and its policies and procedures. The critical variables should be identified because the logic represented by selection of these variables is derived from certain behavioral assumptions. Detailed, specific indicators of the components of the classification categories also should be presented, so that the

system's utility can be verified by empirical evaluation.

Furthermore, a contemporary classification scheme must have a clear hypothesis (a reasoned guess) concerning what is needed to achieve the social reintegration of the offender, along with a plan of care, custody, and programs that should be checked or reexamined continuously to determine the scheme's effectiveness and appropriateness.

Finally, the system should be sufficiently objective and quantifiable as to facilitate research and decisionmaking. It also should be flexible enough to contribute and be adaptable to cross-classification research that will enable corrections eventually to adopt a common classification system. Until offender classification is handled in some generally acceptable way, it is impossible to compare programs used in various parts of the country. Cross-classification agreements by leading typologists will open the path for significant advances in correctional programming. They can become a means by which the community-based program is encouraged and central diagnostic facilities, institutions, and procedures deemphasized.

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Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 6.1.

- 2.9 Rehabilitation.
- 9.8 Local Correctional Facility Programming.
- 11.3 Social Environment of Institutions.
- 12.7 Measures of Control.
- 13.1 Professional Correctional Management.
- 14.7 Participatory Management.
- 15.5 Evaluating the Performance of the Correctional System.
- 16.1 Comprehensive Correctional Legislation.

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Standard 6.2

Classification for Inmate Management

Each correctional agency operating institution for committed offenders, in connection with and in addition to implementation of Standard 6.1, should reexamine and reorganize its classification system immediately, as follows:

1. The use of reception-diagnostic centers should be discontinued.
2. Whether a reception unit or classification committee or team is utilized within the institution, the administration's classification issuance described in Standard 6.1 also should:
 - a. Describe the makeup of the unit, team, or committee, as well as its duties and responsibilities.
 - b. Define its responsibilities for custody, employment, and vocational assignments.
 - c. Indicate what phases of an inmate program may be changed without unit, team, or committee action.
 - d. Specify procedures relating to inmate transfer from one program to another.
 - e. Prescribe form and content of the classification interview.
 - f. Develop written policies regarding initial inmate classification and reclassification.
3. The purpose of initial classification should be:
 - a. To screen inmates for safe and appro-

priate placements and to determine whether these programs will accomplish the purposes for which inmates are placed in the correctional system, and

- b. Through orientation to give new inmates an opportunity to learn of the programs available to them and of the performance expected to gain their release.
4. The purpose of reclassification should be the increasing involvement of offenders in community-based programs as set forth in Standard 7.4, Inmate Involvement in Community Programs.
5. Initial classification should not take longer than 1 week.
6. Reclassification should be undertaken at intervals not exceeding 6 weeks.
7. The isolation or quarantine period, if any, should be as brief as possible but no longer than 24 hours.

Commentary

This standard is intended only to supplement Standard 6.1, Comprehensive Classification Systems, with particular applicability to major institutions. It frankly recognizes the corrections system does not now have the knowledge to identify the causes of

crime with any precision, or either knowledge or resources to relate correctional programs specifically to these causes. Under such circumstances the goal of classification is set realistically as the screening of inmates for risk and their appropriate placement in programs involving increasing degrees of community involvement.

The medical model of treatment, which many correctional agencies have attempted to follow in structuring classification, is rejected as inappropriate and incapable of fulfillment due to corrections' lack of knowledge and resources. On the other hand, corrections has the capability to screen offenders for risk and to place them appropriately in programs involving different degrees of risk and to use classification as a method for managing offender populations. The traditional "treatment" programs—education, vocational training, employment—are not seen as necessarily rehabilitative in themselves. But these learning experiences may be useful assets in enabling offenders who are given opportunities to change their own behavior and who benefit from them to persist in a lifestyle that will avoid future involvement with the criminal justice system.

In view of this rejection of the treatment model and in consideration of the characteristics of today's reception-diagnostic centers as discussed in the narrative of this chapter, the use of such centers should be discontinued. They are unrealistic in concept, considering the handicaps of corrections in making accurate evaluations and program plans. And they consume resources and time that can be put to better use.

No position is taken here as to the respective merits of the use of reception units within institutions or classification committees and teams. Undoubtedly the methods to be used for at least several more years will involve some variation or combination of these arrangements. However, their objectives should be set forth specifically and related directly to assessment for risk and appropriate program placement.

To reduce the unproductive expenditure of time on classification, the period allocated to this procedure should be reduced to a minimum, no longer than 24 hours for quarantine and no longer than 1 week for initial classification or screening. The recommendation for reclassification—at intervals not exceeding 6 weeks—will require more effort on the part of many correctional agencies. The intent is to provide a continuous followup and reassessment of inmates, with a view to making program changes as quickly as possible and involving inmates increasingly in community programs.

The objectives of this standard, taken with Standard 6.1, are to:

1. Generate ways to improve management practices.
2. Differentiate among offenders by needs and problems rather than traditional classification categories.
3. Provide for efficient management grouping of offenders.
4. Enable staff to offer consistent, planned assistance and facilitate the individual training and behavior change of the offender.
5. Pool relevant knowledge more effectively, advance theory, and enable an agency to maximize the impact of research.

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Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 6.2.

- 2.9 Rehabilitation.
- 2.13 Procedures for Nondisciplinary Changes of Status.
- 6.1 Comprehensive Classification Systems.
- 11.3 Social Environment of Institutions.
- 16.4 Unifying Correctional Programs.

Standard 6.3

Community Classification Teams

State and local correctional agencies should establish jointly and cooperatively by 1978, in connection with the planning of community-based programs discussed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 9, classification teams in the larger cities of the State for the purpose of encouraging the diversion of selected offenders from the criminal justice system, minimizing the use of institutions for convicted or adjudicated offenders, and programming individual offenders for community-based programs. Establishment of community classification teams should be governed by Standard 6.1, Comprehensive Classification Systems, and the following considerations:

1. The planning and operation of community classification teams should involve State and local correctional personnel (institutions, jails, probation, and parole); personnel of specific community-based programs (employment programs, halfway houses, work-study programs, etc.); and police, court, and public representatives.

2. The classification teams should assist pretrial intervention projects in the selection of offenders for diversion from the criminal justice system, the courts in identifying offenders who do not require institutionalization, and probation and parole departments and State and local institutional agencies in original placement and periodic reevaluation and

reassignment of offenders in specific community programs of training, education, employment, and related services.

3. The classification team, in conjunction with the participating agencies, should develop criteria for screening offenders according to:

- a. Those who are essentially self-correcting and do not need elaborate programming.
- b. Those who require different degrees of community supervision and programming.
- c. Those who require highly concentrated institutional controls and services.

4. The policies developed by the classification team and participating agencies also should consider the tolerance of the general public concerning degrees of "punishment" that must be inflicted. In this connection the participation of the public in developing policies, as discussed in Chapter 7, would be useful.

5. The work of the classification team should be designed to enable:

- a. Departments, units, and components of the correctional system to provide differential care and processing of offenders.
- b. Managers and correctional workers to array the clientele in caseloads of varying sizes and programs appropriate to the clients' needs as opposed to those of the agencies.

c. The system to match client needs and strengths with department and community resources and specifically with the skills of those providing services.

6. The classification team should have a role in recommending the establishment of new community programs and the modification of existing programs to involve volunteers, ex-offenders, and paraprofessionals as discussed in Chapter 7 and elsewhere in this report (see Related Standards). It should also have an evaluative and advisory role in the operation of community programs as they affect the fulfillment of the needs of offenders assigned to them.

7. The organization of the classification team should be flexible and involve rotating membership and chairmen selected on an alternating basis among participating agencies.

Commentary

As they operate at present, most classification schemes are designed to decide what should be done with those persons who are committed to institutions. Few systems are intended to determine which offenders need not be processed into or through the existing correctional system, or what specifically should be done for those adjudicated or convicted and immediately or subsequently placed in community-based programs.

It is assumed that the present criminal justice system is so harmful that any alternative which diverts selected offenders from it is better than one which moves them farther into it. In the current literature and knowledge of the field there is more than ample evidence to support this assumption. However, a rational method is needed by which choices can be made to exclude offenders who do not need a correctional agency's services. As yet, no system has been devised to serve this purpose, except those described as prior probability theories (base expectancy approaches) or in connection with individual pretrial intervention programs.

Also, when an offender is placed on probation or eventually is paroled, it is left largely to the initiative and resources of the probation or parole officer to determine what should be done with him. Similarly, when institutionalized offenders in a preparole or prerelease status are placed in institutionally sponsored community-based programs, there usually is little coordination with other existing community-based programs. It is useful now to advocate a classification scheme that would assist all such efforts. The scheme should identify offenders who represent low risks to others and who do not require expensive custodial or correctional programs, following these principles:

1. No offender should receive more surveillance or "help" than he requires.

2. No offender should be kept in a more secure condition or status than his potential risk dictates.

3. Strategies should be developed by which traditional court, probation, and institutional decisions may be changed to accomplish correctional goals.

4. Training should be implemented to insure that correctional workers commit themselves to a planned correctional process based on the offender's needs and not on age, sex, race, or offense.

5. Consideration should be given to the real restrictions imposed by law, resources, or manpower.

As with other efforts involving the community, the planning and operation of community classification should be accomplished with the assistance of affected and interested groups—police, courts, and public. Their support is essential to the successful operation of community-based programs, and they can assist in opening the doors to further resources.

For full effectiveness, the teams should participate in all types of processes that channel offenders into community-based programs—diversion, sentencing and disposition, and placement decisions of correctional agencies. The program resources of a community need coordination and consistency in operation as well as the increased flexibility that a classification team would make possible.

For efficiency, and to avoid counterproductive and needless interference in the lives of offenders, the classification team should adopt realistic criteria to prevent allocation of resources to offenders who do not need them and to assure that expensive, inherently damaging institutional controls are imposed only upon those offenders who require them in the interest of public safety.

As with institutional classification, the community classification team is intended primarily as a means for screening offenders for risk, with appropriate placements, and for managing large groups of offenders. The objective is to give offenders opportunities to change themselves rather than to attempt, as has been done so unproductively in the past, to coerce behavioral changes.

In addition to its responsibility for assigning offenders to various community programs, the classification team should have a role in observing the operation of these programs and recommending new programs, changes, or innovations that may be more responsive to the needs of offenders. These programs are largely in the initial stages of development, and many adjustments should be anticipated as experience and research accumulate.

The membership of the classification team should not be fixed, but made up of changing representatives of the participating agencies. This arrangement

would be a useful device in the training of agency personnel and in insuring wide participation in and the harmonious functioning of community classification and community-based programs.

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Related Standards

The following standards may be applicable in implementing Standard 6.3.

- 2.9 Rehabilitation.
- 3.1 Use of Diversion.
- 5.9 Continuing Jurisdiction of Sentencing Court.
- 6.1 Comprehensive Classification Systems.
- 7.1 Development Plan for Community-Based Alternatives to Confinement.
- 9.4 Adult Intake Services.
- 9.7 Internal Policies.
- 9.8 Local Correctional Facility Programming.
- 10.2 Services to Probationers.
- 12.6 Community Services for Parolees.
- 14.8 Redistribution of Correctional Manpower.
- 16.14 Community-Based Treatment Programs.

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Part IV

Directions for Change

Chapter 17

Priorities and Implementation Strategies

This report presents a strategy to change the face of corrections. It recommends a dramatic realignment of policies, resources, and practices to make corrections more effective in reducing crime and more responsive to the needs of a rapidly changing society. While crime cannot be reduced to desired levels without basic changes in American society in relation to poverty, unemployment, illness, ignorance, and discrimination, there is no doubt that corrections can and must make a greater impact on crime than it does now.

Corrections is full of plans, procedures, policies, and laws which have failed to achieve their purposes but have survived nevertheless. Corrections has consistently pursued inappropriate concerns and ineffective solutions. It has emphasized the banishment of offenders to huge, isolated institutions where inmates are dehumanized into mere numbers. It has overemphasized custody and imposed restrictions on the great majority of offenders, when these measures were needed by only a relative few. It has sought to cure the offender of the disease of criminality although few offenders are afflicted with problems not common to nonoffenders as well. Corrections has accepted many types of social problem cases that lie outside its proper scope and competence, cases that could be handled far more effectively by other human service agencies.

This report is based on the premise that corrections can no longer serve as society's dumping ground. Corrections is indeed only a part of the larger community that is responsible for reduction of crime.

The report addresses the spectrum of the criminal justice process as it affects corrections, from the first involvement of alleged offenders to reintegration into the community. Considerable attention is devoted to the interrelationships of corrections with the other parts of the criminal justice system and various segments of the community. This emphasis reflects the belief that corrections must begin to take an active role in guiding and shaping policies that vitally affect it.

The purpose of this report is to provide a program for action. It specifies policy changes that should be made, control mechanisms needed to improve the quality of correctional services, and legislative changes required wherever correctional reform is impeded by existing or absent statutes.

PRIORITIES FOR ACTION

Because the standards set forth in this report are so closely interrelated, it is impossible to rank them in order of priority. All of them relate to basic goals

which the Commission believes to be the proper objectives of corrections as a part of the criminal justice system. From these basic goals, the Commission has selected six as being most pressing and having the greatest potential for significantly improving corrections in this country. Top priority should be given to a concerted program of action to achieve these ends.

- Equity and justice in corrections.
- Exclusion of sociomedical problem cases from corrections.
- Shifting of correctional emphasis from institutions to community programs.
- Unification of corrections and total system planning.
- Manpower development.
- Increased involvement of the public.

Equity and Justice in Corrections

Corrections has been characterized by inhumane conditions, arbitrary decisions, discrimination, lawlessness, and brutality. That a civilized society cannot tolerate such conditions is being increasingly recognized. Recent judicial interpretations of offenders' rights reflect the belief that such practices are unlawful and counterproductive to instilling respect for the law in offenders and other citizens.

Until recently, an offender as a matter of law was deemed to have forfeited virtually all rights upon conviction. Whatever comforts, services, or privileges the offender received were a matter of grace. For the most part, the courts refused to intervene on the grounds that correctional administration was a technical matter to be left to experts.

The past few years have witnessed an explosion of requests by offenders for judicial relief from the conditions of their confinement or correctional program. More dramatic is the increased willingness of the courts to respond. A series of decisions has begun to hold correctional administrators accountable for their decisionmaking, especially where such decisions affect first amendment rights (religion, speech, communication), the means of enforcing other rights (access to counsel or legal advice, access to legal materials), cruel and unusual punishments, denial of civil rights, and equal protection of the law.

While the real ferment for judicial intervention has come in the lower courts, particularly in the Federal district courts, the U.S. Supreme Court decided eight cases in 1971 and 1972 that directly affected convicted offenders and at least two others that have implications for correctional practices. In all eight cases directly involving corrections, the offender's contention prevailed. It is clear that the hands-off doctrine that used to insulate correctional adminis-

trators from judicial accountability is fast disappearing.

Despite the courts' obvious willingness to take action, the major responsibility for protecting and affirming rights must lie with those who administer corrections systems. Implementation of offenders' rights is consistent with good correctional practice. The fact that 99 percent of those persons sentenced to confinement will one day return to free society requires that offenders be prepared for reintegration. The illogic of attempting to train lawbreakers to obey the law in a system unresponsive to law should have been recognized long ago. Forcing an offender to live in a situation in which all decisions are made for him is no training for life in a free society.

In addition, correctional administrators are responsible for the welfare of offenders committed to their charge. Judicial decisions which improve the conditions under which an offender labors should be welcomed, rather than resisted, by correctional personnel.

The corrections profession has a critical role to play in implementing the rights of offenders. It must enlist the support of legislatures, the public, and the rest of the criminal justice system in articulating the rights of offenders and ensuring that their exercise is maximized.

Convicted offenders should retain all rights that citizens in general have, except those that must be limited in order to carry out the criminal sanction or to administer a correctional facility or agency. Applying criminal sanctions is the most dramatic exercise of state power over individuals. Actions necessary for maintaining social order do not require general suspension of basic rights. Since criminal sanctions impinge on the most basic right—liberty—it is imperative that other restrictions be used sparingly, fairly, and only for cause. The strategy for correctional reform must be built on a nondiscriminatory, just, and humane foundation that honors the legal and social rights of its clients.

Exclusion of Sociomedical Problem Cases

The historic tendency to saddle corrections with sociomedical and social welfare cases overloads the system and drastically handicaps any effectiveness it may have. It is beyond the competence and proper scope of corrections to deal effectively with the mentally ill, alcoholics, and drug addicts. In fact, correctional "treatment" often exacerbates the problems of these persons and contributes to the revolving-door syndrome characterizing our jails and other penal institutions.

The propensity for outlawing private behavior that

is fairly common in our society simply because it is (or has been) objectionable to part of the society, has resulted in overcriminalization. Too many laws proscribe too many kinds of behavior. The effect has been to sidetrack the criminal justice system from its mission of protecting society against crime to the uneasy role of policing private morality. As a result of such laws, correctional institutions—particularly jails—are crowded with persons they are not equipped to handle. Types of behavior commonly categorized as "victimless crimes," which are defined as crimes without an effective complainant other than the authorities, are considered in the Commission's summary report.

Attempting to control such behaviors by criminal law is not only ineffective but also expensive in economic and social terms. It is a major obstacle to correctional reform—indeed, to reform of the whole system of criminal justice. Here and there corrections is making informal efforts to rid itself of problems which are unrelated to public safety. Success in these efforts would strengthen the system by permitting more effective use of resources and personnel to fight more serious crime. It would also allow society to find more effective ways to deal with troublesome behavior.

The criminal justice system must embrace a philosophy of diversion that effectively excludes persons who behave in ways that may be counter to prevailing social norms but are of doubtful criminality. Current innovative efforts in this area should be supported, and further development of a legitimate, formalized system of diversion should be encouraged.

Shift of Correctional Emphasis from Institutions to Community Programs

The prison, the reformatory, and the jail have achieved only a shocking record of failure. There is overwhelming evidence that these institutions create crime rather than prevent it. Their very nature insures failure. Mass living and bureaucratic management of large numbers of human beings are counterproductive to the goals of positive behavior change and reintegration. These isolated and closed societies are incompatible with the world outside. Normally desirable characteristics such as self-confidence, initiative, sociability, and leadership are counteracted by the experience of incarceration. Individuality is lost and the spirit of man broken through the performance of deadening routines and endless hours of idleness.

The blame for this insufferable system cannot be placed on the shoulders of corrections alone. Correctional personnel have decried, at great length and in

vain, public apathy and decades of financial neglect. The state of corrections today reflects in no small part society's past expectations as well as its evasion of its responsibilities.

In view of the bankruptcy of penal institutions, it would be a grave mistake to continue to provide new settings for the traditional approach in corrections. The penitentiary idea must succumb to a new concept: community corrections. Therefore, the Commission recommends a 10-year moratorium on construction of institutions except under circumstances set forth under Standard 11.1. The moratorium period should be used for planning to utilize non-institutional means. This planning must place maximum emphasis on expansion of community correctional programs and development of alternatives to incarceration.

At the same time, every effort must be made to phase out existing mega-institutions at the earliest possible time. To do so will require a large and immediate increase in use of alternatives to incarceration, to the greatest extent that is consistent with public safety.

It is especially important to impose a moratorium on construction of institutions for youthful offenders. Current efforts in Massachusetts and Minnesota to halt imprisonment of juveniles are blazing a trail that hopefully will set the pattern for the rest of the Nation.

It is of utmost importance to recognize that the concept of community-based corrections does not imply new institutions and facilities. This point is especially important in light of the flurry of construction plans and projects that have accompanied recent developments in community corrections. While it is recognized that existing facilities may be inadequate for the purposes outlined in this report, replacements should be made only after the planning stipulated in the following section is completed. In its truest sense, community corrections is the widest possible use of noninstitutional correctional programs designed to reeducate and redirect the attitudes and behavior of offenders in order to fully integrate or reintegrate them into the community as law-abiding members of society.

Programs must be given preference over facilities. The blueprint for corrections must read: more alternatives, more programs, more professionals to conduct these programs, and more public involvement in the processes of corrections.

In the absence of a moratorium on traditional construction, corrections in the 1970's could repeat a two-century-old error and fail to benefit from the lessons of history. For it was a similar reform movement in 1787 in which our fledgling country, seeking to establish institutions predicated on the concept of

the dignity of man, embarked on a prison construction program without precedent. The physical and ideological legacy of this movement stands recognized today as one of the major obstacles to correctional reform and a prime example of man's inhumanity to man. So we must guard against embarking on a financially ruinous construction program that merely would replace prisons, reformatorys, jails, and detention homes with facilities bearing more palatable names and wearing more attractive facades but fundamentally unchanged.

The trend toward community-based corrections is one of the most promising developments in corrections today. It is based on the recognition that delinquency and crime are symptoms of failure of the community, as well as of the offender, and that a successful reduction of crime requires changes in both. The compelling reasons for embracing the concept of community corrections and for embarking on a national strategy to move from our current institution-oriented correctional system to one that is community-based are emphasized throughout this report.

One of the most important factors in the transition from traditional to community-based corrections is sentencing, which may determine whether a defendant is incarcerated or returned to the community under a range of nonresidential and residential community-based programs. Sentencing may also set upper or lower limits for duration of correctional responsibility.

Sentencing practices in this country reflect an appalling state of affairs. In too many jurisdictions, the decision to sentence a man to years behind bars is made by judges who know nothing but a man's name and the crime with which he is charged. Sentencing is inconsistent, and in many jurisdictions there is a predilection for imprisonment as opposed to less severe sanctions. The entire problem is compounded by unreasonably long sentences, often with mandatory minimums, which are rarely matched by other Western nations in their severity and harshness.

In light of these facts, the Commission recommends specific statutory changes and enabling legislation to improve sentencing effectiveness. The report recommends expanding sentencing options for a wide range of community-based correctional programs, shorter sentences for less serious offenders, and more selective use of imprisonment. Institutionalization should be reserved for those offenders whose repetitive, destructive behavior patterns seriously threaten the safety of the community.

The confidence and cooperation of the law enforcement and judicial branches of the criminal justice system are critical to the transition to community-based corrections. Furthermore, public involvement and public trust are indispensable to

achievement of such a major change. While total system planning will reduce corrections' traditional isolation and lead to establishment of functional relationships with other parts of the system, gaining public confidence will be far more difficult.

The time has come for fundamental changes in corrections. Improbable as it may sound because of the high cost of prison construction, it would be easier for this Nation to replace its obsolete correctional system with another generation of institutions than to embrace the concept of community corrections. The reasons are as distressing as they are simple. Hiding our social problems behind a progressive-looking facade requires only sufficient funding. Community corrections requires radically changed attitudes toward the offender and a new social commitment.

Unified Correctional Systems and System Planning

It is difficult to conceive of any area more in need of coordinated, uniform planning than the reduction of juvenile delinquency and adult crime. The American criminal justice system is so complex and the interrelationships among its components are so varied that even its supporters view it as a kind of crazy quilt. There are wide variations in the way in which Federal, State, and local governments administer, finance, and operate correctional services. These services may be centralized at the State level, decentralized in municipalities and counties, or shared by the State, counties, and cities in an almost infinite number of ways. In their attempts to create more hopeful alternatives to incarceration, legislatures created reformatorys, probation, parole, and a host of services for delinquent children. These alternatives evolved without central control or direction. The correctional system became a nonsystem.

In short, corrections today is an incomprehensible, inefficient, and multilevel administrative maze, suffering from interpersonal conflicts, interagency jealousies, and duplicating activities. In fact, corrections is such a loose federation that it is impossible to hold any one person or agency accountable for its past failures or responsible for its future planning and direction.

The result is a hopelessly fragmented correctional system and a disastrous disparity in standards, goals, and services that accounts to a high degree for corrections' failure to correct, and for the haphazard use of its meager resources.

To overcome such fundamental problems, effective relationships among the various components of the criminal justice system must be established, and corrections must end its social and political isolation. Beyond these essential requirements, however, lies

the need for uniformity of definition, standards, and practices. This requires an integrated system that is administratively manageable, fiscally sound, and responsive to public needs and scrutiny. Such requirements suggest that planning activities be coordinated to the highest possible degree.

Since State governments already support the vast majority of nonfederal correctional programming, the long-range goal of unification and consolidation of correctional responsibilities into an integrated, State-controlled correctional system is logical. This approach would facilitate the delivery of correctional services in a coordinated and mutually supportive fashion. Streamlining activities would reduce waste and overlap, thereby promoting optimum application of available resources. Development of high personnel and performance standards would be enhanced through uniform staff development, interdepartmental career opportunities, and civil service. Systemwide research and evaluation would increase feedback on program effectiveness, the knowledge base of corrections, and accountability to the public. The implementation of an integrated State correctional system is essential to attain equity, maximum diversion of sociomedical problems from corrections, and utilization of a full variety of dispositional alternatives within the system.

It must be stressed that the concept of a statewide, structurally integrated correctional system is not in philosophical or practical conflict with the concept of community-based corrections. Uniform statewide planning does not imply remote control of operations or banishment of minor and first-time offenders to isolated State institutions. What it does imply is a logical, systematic planning approach which can be responsive to changing problems and priorities and provide a framework for developing more relevant programs. It is system planning as opposed to subsystem planning. It anticipates delinquency and crime control needs rather than simply responding to crises and problems after they have occurred. System planning implies maximum utilization of local personnel and resource to guarantee development of comprehensive service programs responsive to diverse local needs and conditions.

Manpower Development

People are the most important and most effective resource in the fight against crime. They also are the most underused resource in corrections today.

In an effort to bring about change in an area too long characterized by neglect and absence of systematic planning, the Commission recommends that corrections develop a comprehensive nationwide

strategy to improve correctional manpower and that priority be given to the following standards and goals regarding this key issue:

1. Implementation of coordinated State recruitment and staff development programs. Recruitment should be guided by policies and practices that allow fair, effective selection of the person best qualified for each position. Staff development programs should prepare all levels of staff for optimum performance of their tasks. Existing resources from the private sector and the academic community must be utilized more fully. Maximum emphasis should be placed on development of specialized professional personnel and of middle- and upper-echelon managers. The National Institute of Corrections, in conjunction with leading universities, colleges, and private resources, should have a key role in the development of a national strategy to implement this recommendation.

2. Development of a nationwide policy to develop underutilized human resources. Efforts to recruit minority group members for every level of correctional staff and to provide training programs to insure opportunities for career advancement should be intensified. For too long, minority groups have been overrepresented as offenders and underrepresented as staff. Affirmative action is required to alter the situation created by years of discrimination and indifference.

Recruitment of women for all types of positions in corrections should be given high priority. Since women have been discriminated against in hiring and promotion practices, particularly for male institutions, they have been effectively eliminated from management positions in corrections. Corrections remains one of the last holdouts in the national movement to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex. Such a stance clearly is inappropriate for a field that purports to be seeking drastic change and new openness.

Of equal importance is recruitment and employment of qualified ex-offenders. Successful reintegration of offenders, corrections' primary task, requires full employment opportunities. Corrections should take the lead in hiring—and encouraging others to hire—from this underutilized human resource pool.

Finally, the changing role of corrections has led to development of a remarkable variety of new careers on the professional, paraprofessional, and volunteer levels. Because the full potential of this manpower resource has only begun to emerge, a systematic strategy should be developed to recruit and utilize effectively this vital supplement to correctional manpower.

Increased Public Involvement

Implementation of community corrections requires citizen involvement on an unprecedented scale. In fact, the degree of citizen acceptance, involvement, and participation in community-based corrections will decide not only the swiftness of its implementation but also its ultimate success or failure.

The correctional system is one of the few public services left today that is characterized by an almost total isolation from the public it serves. Although public apathy is the predominant cause of this unfortunate situation, corrections has done little to rectify it. In fact, the use of walls, fencing, and hardware has been justified not only in terms of keeping inmates in but also in terms of keeping the public out. The result has been disastrous for the goals of corrections. While institutional administrators developed near-absolute discretion and almost unchecked power, the public was utterly ignorant about the state of corrections and developed little, if any, sense of responsibility for the correctional process.

In view of these facts, the Commission recommends that top priority be given to the involvement of citizens in corrections. Citizen participation must occur at all levels of the correctional system, from determination of policies for the entire criminal justice system to the shaping of specific community-based programs. Furthermore, involvement must come not only in the planning stages but also in implementation and operation of actual programs.

The contributions of dedicated volunteer workers already have left an indelible mark on the face of institutional and community corrections in terms of direct service. But the full potential of volunteerism has yet to be fulfilled. Lay citizens on task forces, advisory boards and study groups can spearhead public information campaigns, pave the way for reforms, implement specific correctional programs, mold public opinion, set policy, create jobs, raise funds, provide guidance in matters of community concerns, and serve in a host of other capacities.

Finally, fellow professionals from human service agencies and the fields of education, medicine, mental health, and the like, need to be involved in advisory, lay, or volunteer capacities. Such an effort will bring their particular expertise to bear on the problems of offenders and the correctional process.

IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

In spite of the seemingly insurmountable obstacles to correctional reform, there is reason to believe not only that the standards and goals enumerated in this report can be substantially attained but also that

corrections, the perennial stepchild of the criminal justice system, at last may be emerging from the Dark Ages.

For the first time in this Nation's history, we are witnessing a concerted, nonpartisan effort to improve the system. Continuing concern over reform by the President and the courts, and sustained support by dedicated members of the House and Senate are providing the impetus needed for comprehensive reform. The 13-point program for corrections developed by the President in 1969, the powerful leadership of the Chief Justice supported by the American Bar Association, the Federal Interagency Council on Corrections, the support and funding of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the President's Task Force on Prisoner Rehabilitation, and finally, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals bear witness to what was aptly described by the Attorney General at the first national conference on corrections as "the most determined and comprehensive approach to corrections ever made in this country."

At the same time, it is obvious that the measures needed to implement the foregoing priorities and the standards set forth in this report will require a major national commitment. Like the standards themselves, the measures are interrelated; the effectiveness of each depends upon the accomplishment of the others.

It also seems obvious that the role of the Federal Government is preeminent in realization of the standards. In recent decades the Federal Government has done much to stimulate improvement of the treatment of the mentally ill and retarded, the rehabilitation of the handicapped, the education of children and young people, the availability of health services, and the support of the aged.

The shocking deficiencies of corrections are comparable in national significance to the other social problems to which massive Federal aid has been given. Legislation and appropriations authorizing corrections to share in the funding programs of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare, and other Federal agencies are evidence of the growing interest of the Federal Government in improving corrections.

But considering the magnitude of the problem, what the Federal Government has done so far is not nearly enough. The current Federal leadership must be built upon and translated into more tangible and more fully adequate aid.

Money

In America today, little social improvement can

be accomplished without money. Corrections is in desperate straits in large measure because public funds have been far too limited to support existing programs. There has never been anything for investment in change.

Anyone familiar with State and local corrections is painfully aware that pleas for more money addressed to legislators and county commissioners fall upon deaf ears. Corrections remains where it has always been, at the end of the budgetary line in the distribution of State and local tax funds. Although sporadic support for corrections has developed in isolated instances, there is little hope that this situation can be changed substantially. In fact, as matters presently stand, the States, counties, and cities are looking to the Federal Government to finance correctional improvements and postponing such improvements until Federal aid is forthcoming.

The amendment of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1970 to provide specifically for the funding of correctional improvements is a promising vehicle for the massive Federal aid that is necessary. Under the original act, corrections had to share the regular funding program, Part C, with police and courts. The amendment, known as Part E, singles out corrections for special funding. The Part E appropriation in the 1973 fiscal year will make available about \$113 million for the improvement of corrections, supplemented by about \$100 million in Part C funds.

However, since this amount must be spread over the entire spectrum of corrections, the beneficial effects are largely dissipated. So far, appropriation requests for Part E funds have been limited to 20 per cent of the appropriations for Part C. It should be noted, however, that the amendment authorized a funding level of *not less than* 20 per cent of Part C. Obviously, a higher level of funding is permitted by the act.

Normal State and local expenditures to maintain corrections at its present grossly deficient level of operations total about \$1.5 billion a year. The annual Federal funding assistance should approach about the same figure. Otherwise, corrections will not be able to accomplish the shift to community-based programs, obtain the manpower it needs, do the research and experimentation that has been so long neglected, and correct the deplorable conditions that exist generally.

Further, the States and localities find even the 25 percent matching requirement for Federal funds burdensome, owing to the low budgetary priority accorded corrections, and as a result even the Federal funds available often do not find ready takers. The matching requirement should be reduced to 10 percent or eliminated entirely.

Also, demonstration projects generally are funded for one year only. While some projects may be renewed annually by application, few qualified employees are willing to enter into such high-risk situations. Longer funding commitments should be considered, and eventually permanent support should be given corrections efforts, following the pattern of Federal support for vocational rehabilitation.

Implementation of the standards set forth in this report could be greatly facilitated if priority for Federal funding could be given to projects intended to bring correctional programs up to the levels recommended. The Part E amendment contains full statutory authority for the adoption of this policy.

An excellent start has been made by the Federal Government to provide needed financial assistance to the States in the improvement of corrections. But the extent of this assistance must be greatly increased if any nationally significant results are to be obtained. The President's Task Force on Prisoner Rehabilitation in its 1970 report stated flatly that corrections needs a massive infusion of Federal funds and needs it soon. This Commission concurs.

Legislation

The importance of legislation to correctional reform is repeated throughout the standards of this report. While legislation alone cannot bring about the needed changes and cannot even guarantee that authorized changes will be made, a sound statutory base is essential to any significant implementation of these standards. State and Federal correctional and penal codes are a hodgepodge enacted over the generations and follow no consistent pattern or philosophy. They bear a full share of responsibility for the confused, disorganized and ineffective state of corrections today.

The reform of correctional and penal codes cannot be accomplished overnight, and the standards suggest that it should be accomplished within the next 5-year period. Nor can the task be accomplished in the piecemeal fashion of the past. The entire correctional and penal codes of a State should be redrafted and legislatively considered as a package. Their formulation should be guided by a single philosophy and legislative policy, in recognition of the fact that the specific statutory provisions to be made are closely interrelated.

The task should be approached with realistic recognition that the reform of correctional and penal codes, like any legislative reform, is a political process. Each jurisdiction has its own history and traditions regarding the legislative process. Success will depend on careful planning from the initial stage of the effort.

Since many different groups and officials will be affected, failure to involve them may lead to bad feeling from the beginning. In the initial stages a small group should be selected to serve as a drafting committee on the basis of their professional expertise and their commitment to the reform effort. Other interested officials and groups should be notified of the undertaking and advised that they will be consulted. They should include trial judges, attorneys general, prosecutors, police and correctional personnel, interested State senators and house committee members, and a wide range of public and private organizations.

Once the first draft is completed, it should be circulated among the committee members and, after revision, among key State officials whose support is essential to passage. Personal explanations of the philosophy and thrust of the legislation should supplement the circulation of the draft to the extent needed to obtain acceptance. When this has occurred, the other groups having an interest in the matter should be consulted. After consultation, a final draft should be published and given the widest possible distribution.

This procedure was followed by the State of Nebraska and resulted in the successful passage of the Nebraska Treatment and Corrections Act (Neb. Rev. Stat. Sec. 83-170 et seq.) in 1969.

Manpower

Implementation of the standards will depend heavily on the availability of enough educated and trained personnel. The grave deficiencies of correctional manpower discussed earlier in this report are so prevalent that they cannot be remedied on a short-term basis. Recommended solutions are reflected in the narrative and standards of Chapter 14.

It will be easier to educate and train qualified personnel than to attract them to corrections in the first place. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds available for educating and training correctional personnel are more nearly adequate than the financial assistance available for operating correctional programs. But capable persons can be persuaded to enter the field only by improving the salaries to be paid them and brightening the image of corrections itself.

The funding role of the Federal Government will have an indirect effect on salary levels, but significant improvement will depend upon the commitment of the States and localities to corrections. The task of improving corrections' image can be accomplished only by the corrections field itself. None of these assignments will be easy, but a beginning must be made now.

As corrections begins to involve the public in-

creasingly in its work, it should become more politically feasible to raise salaries above the present offensively low level. When our society stops using corrections as its dumping ground, it should be possible to pay correctional personnel salaries consistent with the importance of their work.

Young persons today appear to be more interested than their forebears in entering careers that will enable them to make a contribution toward the improvement of society. No area of public service needs this contribution more than corrections. As corrections opens its doors to the young and accepts their contributions, the image of corrections should become more widely attractive. The image of this field that the young form will have significant impact on the future.

The Federal Model

In a policy memorandum to the Attorney General on November 13, 1969, President Nixon called for a national corrections reform effort and directed that certain steps be taken to develop the Federal system into a model that the States could follow.

The principle is a sound one. However, the Federal system shares the deficiencies of State systems as related in this report. It is fragmented, its programs cannot be demonstrated to be any more effective than State programs, and there is heavy emphasis on institutionalization in both sentencing and correctional programs.

The development of the Federal system into a model would be a powerful influence in assuring the implementation of the standards set forth in this report. But significant changes in Federal legislation, policy, and practice would be required.

This report urges the unification of corrections in the interests of improving and maintaining standards and bringing about more successful results in the reintegration of offenders. In the Federal system, parole field services, probation, and institutions are operated independently of each other.

The report strongly supports the diversion of juveniles and of sociomedical problem cases that do not belong in the criminal justice system. It also calls for a shift in correctional emphasis from institutions to community-based programs. At present the Federal courts are not equipped with diversion programs, as defined in Chapter 3 of this report, and more convicted offenders are committed to jail or prison (including the so-called split sentence) than are placed on probation.

This report urges the discontinuance of major institutions for juveniles and youths, in favor of local programs and facilities. In the Federal system hundreds of juveniles and thousands of youths are

transported each year to institutions hundreds and even thousands of miles from their homes, friends, and communities. Legislation has been introduced in Congress that would remedy this situation as it affects juvenile offenders.

There is no evidence that Federal correction programs, although operated in well-managed institutions, produce any better results than State programs. The Federal system, like those of the States, does not collect statistics on recidivism that can be considered valid. Comparisons therefore are impossible to make. However, Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics on offenders released from Federal jurisdiction suggest a heavy reinvolvement with the law.

The FBI reported in 1970 that 63 percent of the Federal prisoners released to the community in 1965 had been rearrested by the end of the fourth year after release. Of those released on probation, 56 percent were rearrested; of those released on parole, 61 percent; of those released after completing prison terms, 75 percent. Of persons under the age of 20 who were released in 1965, 74 percent had been rearrested by the end of 1969.

While these statistics report rearrests rather than reconvictions, they do suggest failure more than success. They also suggest that this failure of the Federal system is more pronounced with juvenile and youthful offenders than with adults.

A diversion policy and programs to support it should be developed for the Federal courts. A bill to accomplish this purpose was considered favorably in 1972 by the Senate Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on national penitentiaries, but the full committee took no action. A bill with similar provisions should be enacted speedily. The Federal judiciary should reexamine its probation practices, and the Federal probation system should be strengthened by additional probation personnel and related community services and resources. Chief Justice Burger in August 1972 voiced the need for an expansion of Federal probation.

The Federal model also has application in the area of jails. This report urges, at the least, State inspection of local jails and eventual State operation of such facilities. The Federal system has an inspection service, and contracts with some 800 local jails for the detention of Federal prisoners awaiting trial or transportation to Federal institutions. However, contrary to popular belief, the Federal system has no written standards for inspection, and many jails with which it has contracts are fully as disreputable as jails generally in the United States.

Although the Federal System is forced to use substandard jails, the existence of a contract with a local jail is too often interpreted as meaning that the jail is federally "approved." This interpretation by

local officials and the public has the general effect of retarding any effort to bring about jail improvements.

The lack of written standards for Federal jail inspection to be used as the basis for contracts and "approval" is a policy intended to discourage litigation. Few of the jails now being used by the Federal Government would meet any set of minimum standards that might reasonably be devised. Development and publication of Federal standards would undoubtedly be taken as an opportunity by Federal detainees to file suit on the grounds that the facilities in which they are being held are not in compliance.

But, if the Federal model is to have applicability in assisting in the effort to upgrade the disgraceful conditions common to American jails, a different policy and practice must be developed. Standards should be written and published and a rating system on the basis of these standards devised. Contracts should be made on the basis of ratings that reflect actual jail conditions. Also, the Federal system ought to be provided with funds to pay local jails more adequately for the costs of confining Federal prisoners, to help offset the costs of improving jail conditions, to provide programs and to recognize the rights of offenders. It is hardly appropriate for the Federal Government on the one hand to promote the cause of national correctional reform and on the other to continue policies that effectively discourage it.

This Commission wholeheartedly endorses the idea that the Federal system should become a model for the States. The Federal system has the same problems and deficiencies as the States, and if the national reform effort is to have any consistency, the Federal system must be reformed along the lines suggested for the States. However, it must proceed expeditiously if it is to serve effectively as a model, and the Commission urges all possible action toward that end.

National Institute of Corrections

A national academy of corrections has been proposed for many years. In December 1972, at the first national conference on corrections, the Attorney General directed the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the U.S. Bureau of Prisons to work with the States in the establishment of the academy. An interim steering committee was appointed, and pilot seminars have been conducted. The project has now been entitled the National Institute of Corrections.

The precise functions to be fulfilled by the institute have not yet been formally determined. Those proposed include:

1. Service as a clearinghouse for information on crime and corrections.

2. Provision of consultant services to Federal, State, and local agencies on all aspects of corrections.

3. Development of corrections programs.

4. Development and presentation of seminars, workshops, and training programs for all types of criminal justice personnel associated with corrections.

5. Technical training teams to assist the States in development of seminars, workshops, and training programs.

6. Funding of training programs.

7. Coordination and funding of correctional research.

8. Formulation and dissemination of policy goals, and standards recommended for corrections.

A national institute with the authority and funds for this wide range of activities could serve as a powerful force in the coordination and implementation of a national corrections reform effort, and the Commission urges immediate action to make it a reality. At the present time, the expertise and information available to corrections is both limited and thinly dispersed. The institute could provide a center and a pooling of resources from which all States and correctional systems could draw.

At present none of the proposed functions of the institute are being fulfilled effectively elsewhere on a national basis. Technical expertise in corrections is simply not available in any organized form. The wide scope of the proposed functions would remedy this severe deficiency and give the institute the stature, and presumably the prestige, to gain acceptance and a highly influential role in correctional reform.

It is also the view of the Commission that the institute when established should be given the responsibility for updating and revising the standards of this report periodically, in keeping with technical developments and advances in correctional knowledge.

Accreditation of Correction Agencies

An accreditation system for corrections has been given considerable attention in recent years. Accreditation would be used as a means to recognize and maintain standards of service, programs, and institutions, and eventually bring about higher levels of quality.

A program for accreditation was developed by the American Correctional Association and published in 1969 under the title "An Accreditation Plan for Corrections." The plan calls for establishment of a Commission on Accreditation for Corrections, with full autonomy in matters relating to accreditation

policy and process. The commission would be governed by a board selected from the general public, community-based services, detention and institutional services, education and research, the judiciary, law enforcement, criminal defense, business, and labor.

The key duties and responsibilities of the commission would be adoption of standards for accreditation, review of such standards, and recommendation of changes in and the accreditation of programs, agencies, and institutions.

Associated with any system of accreditation that may be established should be a method for holding the correctional administrator accountable for results. Requirements in the past have been minimal. Custodial institutions have been required to keep offenders until ordered to release them. Probation and parole agencies have been called on to list offenders in their caseloads and report violations. In short, if riots, escapes, and scandals did not occur, the task of corrections was accomplished.

But expectations cannot be so limited if corrections is to have any effectiveness in the reduction of crime. The goals of correctional agencies must be defined, and the achievement of goals must be measured. The reintegration of all offenders cannot be expected, but relative successes can be planned for and achieved. The expectation of failure is not acceptable.

If accountability is to be a principle of correctional management, the manager must have the tools by which to measure. Just as the accountant is an essential figure in any business enterprise, so the statistician must be brought into the service of the correctional manager. It is a useless waste of public funds, as well as gross inequity to the offender, when penal terms are imposed and served without having the achievement of the goals which they are intended to accomplish measured.

This transformation of management for process into management for results calls for a change in the administrative culture of corrections. Both top managers and their subordinates will in many cases require retraining. Probably the best device for the massive retraining of policymakers and system managers is the proposed National Institute of Corrections.

The Commission recognizes that an accreditation service would provide another significant dimension in introducing, elevating, and maintaining high standards of performance in corrections and urges the earliest possible implementation of an accreditation plan.

Commitment of Corrections

Commitment of the corrections field to change is

indispensable if there is to be any significant implementation of these standards—two objectives considered by this Commission as virtually synonymous. The task ahead is unquestionably formidable.

That change is overdue is evident on every hand—high crime and recidivism rates, riot and unrest in our prisons, almost daily revelations of brutality and degradation in our jails, increasing litigation against corrections, and indignant public reactions.

Maurice H. Sigler in his address as immediate past president to the meeting of the American Correctional Association on August 10, 1972, said:

To put it bluntly, the field of corrections is experiencing a crisis in public confidence, and the crisis shows no sign of abating. Unlike times past, we can't expect to handle the problem by letting it wear itself out.

There is no need to belabor further in this report the shortcomings of corrections. Many of today's problems are related to the failure of corrections to anticipate the impact of accelerating social change, but the field cannot shoulder the entire blame. Culpability must be shared by virtually every element of our society. The point here is that reform can and must be a built-in continuing process, not a reaction to periodic public outcries. The time has come for corrections to respond to the critical needs of society in a unified, systematic, and totally committed way.

The Commission is fully aware that the recommendations and standards of this report will not be the last word in corrections. But they represent the best distillation of views that can be produced at the present. A substantial number of correctional practitioners have been involved in their development. The recommendations and standards are intended to represent a starting point and a direction. The Commission is convinced that the general direction proposed is the only course open to corrections.

But the state of correctional knowledge will undergo change. Technology and information can be expected to accelerate during the decade of the 1970's, and it should prove possible to set even higher standards and goals for corrections than this report reflects. It remains for someone else at another date to incorporate the new technology and information into another, and hopefully more advanced, set of standards.

As pointed out earlier, corrections cannot accomplish the needed reform alone and in its traditional isolation. It must assume leadership in enlisting the support of legislatures, local officials, law enforcement agencies, community agencies, and various other public and private groups. All elements of our society share the responsibility for the generation of crime and delinquency, and all elements share its consequences. Responsibility for the reduction of

crime and delinquency, and the reform of corrections to assist in accomplishing this objective, must be shared.

After 200 years of painful history, American corrections must step out boldly and purposefully. It must pursue equity and justice with the earnestness that our Constitution intends. It must bring all possible pressures to bear to divest itself of the social problems that have been so wrongfully dumped upon it. It must shift its emphasis from institutions to community services. It must plan these changes intelligently and systematically. Finally, it must compete and, if necessary, fight as other movements do for the resources and support required to carry out the changes that have too long been postponed.

Without this commitment, corrections is destined to remain in its present morass of ineffectiveness, and society must search for another solution to the control and reduction of crime.

Commitment of the Public

The responsibility of the public for the reform of corrections has been discussed throughout this report and particularly in Chapter 7, Corrections and the Community. However, it will be difficult for some segments of society to accept the concept that offenders can be treated with respect for their rights and their condition as fellow human beings.

The concept of retribution and morally just punishment is deeply embedded in social thought. It has been codified in *lex talionis*, the principle of Mosaic law that exacts eye for eye, tooth for tooth. While this is a primitive view of justice, it is important to note that feelings of moral outrage do serve to enhance social cohesion and to measure our regard for accepted social values. It would be irrational to ignore the pervasiveness and strength of natural feelings of revulsion toward particular criminal acts. However, legalizing severe punishment implies a societal retrogression in human dignity. Winston Churchill observed that: "What is done to the criminal is a very accurate index to the quality of any civilization."

It must be conceded that regardless of the rehabilitation mythology and the easy expressions of humanitarian intent that have characterized American corrections throughout its history, the actual treatment of offenders has been harsh indeed. And it hasn't worked. Crime and recidivism continue undiminished.

It also must be conceded that there are dangerous or confirmed criminals who by any light must be considered poor, almost hopeless, prospects for social reintegration. For the safety of the public, they must be locked up until the passage of time at least

has reduced them to the point where they are no longer a threat. There are plenty of prisons for this type of offender, and corrections has proved itself eminently capable of confining them securely. The Commission has not found it necessary to consider them at length in this report, except to recommend extended prison terms.

But there are relatively few offenders of this type. Unfortunately, preoccupation with them has been a major factor in impeding the development of corrections into an effective instrument for expediting the reintegration of the vast majority of offenders, who are neither dangerous nor practiced criminals. It is with this majority that corrections and society must concern itself in the years to come.

The new correctional philosophy is based on at least two major considerations: First, society, in addition to the offender, needs changing; and second, more emphasis should be placed on the offender's social and cultural setting if we are to obtain any substantial relief from recidivism.

While individual differences and individual responsibility will remain important factors in corrections' response to criminal behavior, they will need to be considered within the setting of the community and the culture. To salvage offenders in any great numbers, therefore, will require changes in the offender himself and changes in the community that

will help to bring about his reintegration. Communities must assume part of the responsibility for bringing about these changes, for the problems to be addressed were generated in the community. Once this is recognized, corrections can be removed from its isolation and made a part of the larger social system.

Even though the public is beginning to recognize that the ultimate success of corrections depends on reintegrating the offender into the community and motivating him to refrain from breaking the law, public ambivalence about reform and traditional lack of concern for the criminal offender seriously impede efforts to make corrections more effective. This situation is aggravated whenever change is resisted from within the criminal justice system. In such instances, deliberate appeals may be made to public fears in the interest of preserving traditional practices with all their injustices and futility.

If the philosophy of reintegration is to gain public favor, there must be full recognition on the part of the public that present correctional practices do not serve the long-run interest of societal protection. Legal and economic barriers and social ostracism must yield to commitment, involvement, and sharing of responsibility. Only then will the goals of crime prevention and crime reduction be realized.

INMATE RULES AND REGULATIONS



Department of Health and Social Services
DIVISION OF CORRECTIONS
STATE CORRECTIONAL CENTER ANCHORAGE
P.O. BOX 439, ANCHORAGE AK 99810

COMMUNICATIONS

The normal procedure for contacting persons outside the institution is by mail. Paper, envelopes and postage will be provided by the institution.

If you desire to contact your attorney, a bail bondsman, or another party concerning bail, fill out a request for interview form stating the person to be contacted, the reason for the call, and the telephone number. The shift supervisor will make the determination as to notifying the party of your request or he will make arrangements for you to place the call. All other requests for phone calls will be at the discretion of the on-duty shift supervisor.

If you wish to have an interview with some member of the institutional staff, this will be initiated by filling out a "request for interview" form.

COMMISSARY

Commissary--cigarettes, candy, pipe tobacco, etc., is purchased once each week from the Eagle River Correctional Center. This provides the inmates who have sufficient funds in their account with a wide selection of items at substantial savings. The Commissary Slips are passed out each Sunday evening and must be returned to the Floor Officer not later than 2200 hours. The inmate is required to print his name in the space provided at the top of the form and his dormitory location in the upper right hand corner. A list of the items that can be purchased is posted on the bulletin board in each dormitory. On Monday, the "Request Forms" are forwarded to the Eagle River Correctional Center---Commissary is returned to this institution on Thursday and passed out Thursday evening.

Special Commissary for cigarettes is available only to those who were received into the institution after the commissary was ordered, or for persons who have not had funds for commissary and have just received funds.

VISITING SCHEDULEWEDNESDAY

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.
6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.

SATURDAY

6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.

SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS

12:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

VISITING CONTINUED

All inmates are required to use the visiting room for visits. Visits will last 15 minutes or longer, depending on facilities available. Visitors must properly sign the visiting log prior to being permitted to visit.

Visitors under the influence of intoxicants or drugs will not be permitted to visit. No one under the age of 18 years will be permitted unless accompanied by parent or legal guardian; proof of age will be required in doubtful cases. Visitors released from any jail or detention facility in the past 90 days will be refused admittance. If any visitor creates a disturbance or the visit is not otherwise in the best interests of all concerned, the Shift Supervisor will forthwith terminate the visit. (Also, any former inmates presently awaiting sentencing will not be permitted to visit.)

SICK CALL

The Institutional Physician visits the institution twice each week, on Tuesday and Friday at approximately 7:00 p.m. He is legally responsible for all medical services required by an inmate in the institution and makes the final determination as to what treatment or medication an inmate may or may not require.

All new inmates are required to see the doctor, and any other inmates with medical problems will see the Institutional Physician at this time.

Medication prescribed by the physician is done so for the health and well-being of the inmate. Therefore, it is mandatory that the inmate take his medication as prescribed and he will not be allowed to hoard or exchange medication. Violation of this regulation may result in disciplinary action.

CLASSIFICATION

The determination as to custody status, institutional placement, program involvement, etc., is accomplished by classification action.

A classification team meets regularly in the institution to review the individual cases and to make recommendations to the Superintendent on inmate classification.

You will be notified in advance of the date of your hearing before the classification committee.

The Institutional Counselor will be available to help you present your desires to the committee.

The Classification Committee will attempt to see you within 30 days after your arrival at this institution

An inmate will not be eligible for reclassification for a period of 60 days unless so stipulated by the classification committee at the initial hearing.

MAIL REGULATIONS

REGULAR MAIL - All envelopes will be left open for inspection by the Floor Officer in charge. Privileged Mail is an exception to this rule.

All envelopes will be properly addressed. The return address will include the full name, P.O. Box 439, Anchorage AK 99510,. The forwarding address must be zip coded.

Inmates will not be permitted to correspond with anyone under 18 years of age, unless they are in the immediate family. An inmate may be permitted to correspond with another person under 18 years of age if the Superintendent has received a notorized letter signed by the parents or legal guardian of the person under 18 years of age.

Inmates will not be permitted to correspond with anyone in another institution, unless authorized by the Superintendent.

Inmate abuse of "open correspondence" privileges will automatically result in disciplinary action.

PRIVILEGED MAIL - All inmates of the Alaska Division of Corrections may write to and receive mail from the following individuals in sealed, uncensored, and unopened envelopes:

- GOVERNOR
- ATTORNEY GENERAL
- COMMISSIONER - HEALTH & SOCIAL SERVICES
- DIRECTOR - DIVISION OF CORRECTIONS
- ASSISTANT DIRECTOR - DIVISION OF CORRECTIONS
- PAROLE ADMINISTRATOR
- U.S. SENATOR (s)
- U. S. CONGRESSMEN
- ALASKA LEGISLATOR (s)
- SENTENCING JUDGE
- ALASKA SUPREME COURT JUSTICE (s)
- ATTORNEY OF RECORD
- PHYSICIAN OF RECORD

DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE

The Disciplinary Committee will consist of three (3) correctional officers appointed by the Superintendent or his designee.

This committee will assemble, as needed, and will review and evaluate all misconduct reports to determine the underlying cause of adverse behavior and will thoroughly consider all possible course of actions before reaching a decision. Disciplinary action in all cases will be treatment-centered, with a specific followup program outlined in the decision.

Disciplinary action may consist of reprimand, segregation, loss of privileges, loss of Good Time, and prosecution.

INMATE CONDUCT

All inmates are expected to obey the laws of the State just as free citizens must do, and for violations of the existing statutes are subject to the penalties provided by law, or their equivalent in institutional discipline. Each inmate must comply with the rules and regulations of this facility.

Every rule and regulation, no matter how annoying and irritating it may be, has a definite and valid reason as indicated by experience.

EXAMPLES OF CONDUCT ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. No inmate is authorized to possess or have under his control "Contraband". All items which are not issued to the inmate by the institution; which may not be purchased through the commissary, and which are in excess of the quantity issued or authorized by the institution or authorized by the Commissary regulations, is determined to be contraband.
2. No gambling, trading, buying, selling, donating or exchanging articles between inmates is permitted.
3. Fighting, wrestling, rough play, disorderly conduct, initiating of new inmates will not be permitted.
4. Escape, attempted escape, conspiring to escape is not permitted.
5. Posting of pictures, articles, calendars, etc., on wall, bunks, etc., is not permitted.
6. Rioting, inciting to riot, defacing of personal or public property is prohibited.
7. Spitting on floor, littering dormitory or cell will not be permitted.
8. Drinking, sniffing, injecting, smoking or otherwise taking into the system any kind of substance for the purpose of producing intoxication, stimulation or dizziness is prohibited.
9. Inmates shall not use profane or obscene language, booing, whistling, shouting or other loud disturbing noises, this is prohibited. No inmate shall make sarcastic or insulting remarks to or about other persons. This applies to outside details as well.
10. Insolence and insubordination will not be tolerated. Staff and personnel will be addressed in a respectful manner i.e., Mr. _____, Officer _____ or by their rank. No first names or nicknames will be permitted. Showing of disrespect in any manner shall be cause for disciplinary action.

5

PROHIBITED CONDUCT FOR PRISONERS

7 AAC 60.400 PROHIBITED CONDUCT FOR PRISONERS. (a) Prohibited conduct for prisoners in state institutions is governed by (b) and (c) of this section. Violations shall be punished as either a minor or a major infraction.

(b) Major infractions include the following:

- (1) Homicide;
- (2) Assault upon or fighting with any person;
- (3) Threats to another of bodily harm or of any offense against his personal property;
- (4) Extortion, blackmail, protection; The demanding or receiving of favors or anything of value in return for protection against bodily harm, property loss, or under threat of informing;
- (5) Engaging in sexual acts with others, making sexual proposals or threats, or indecent exposure;
- (6) Escape or evasion of custody;
- (7) Wearing a disguise or mask;
- (8) Setting a fire;
- (9) Stealing, destroying, altering, or damaging government property, or the property of another person;
- (10) Tampering with or blocking any locking device;

- (11) possession, use, or introduction of any contraband;
- (12) misuse of prescribed medication;
- (13) adulteration of any food or drink;
- (14) rioting;
- (15) refusing to work or participating in a work stoppage;
- (16) possession of any staff, or unauthorized civilian clothing;
- (17) counterfeiting, forging, or unauthorized reproduction of any document, article of identification, money, security, or official paper, or the possession or use of such a document;
- (18) unauthorized use of mail or telephone;
- (19) giving or offering any official or staff member a bribe;
- (20) a series of three minor infractions found to have been committed by the prisoner within a 60-day period;
- (21) engaging in a group or individual demonstration or activity, including abusive or obscene language, involving conduct which would potentially disrupt or interfere with the security or orderly administration of the institution, or undermine authority including, but not limited to, refusing to obey a lawful and proper order of any staff member.

(c) Minor infractions include the following:

- (1) giving or loaning property or anything of value for profit or favors;
- (2) possession of anything not authorized for retention or receipt by the prisoner, and not issued to him through regular institutional channels;
- (3) possession of unauthorized prisoner clothing;
- (4) unexcused absence or tardiness from work or any assignment;
- (5) malingering or feigning an illness, injury, or suicide;
- (6) failing to perform work as instructed by any staff member;
- (7) lying or providing a false statement to any staff member;

(8) being in an unauthorized area;

(9) failure to follow posted safety or sanitation rules;

(10) using any equipment or machinery contrary to instructions, posted safety standards, or that which is not specifically authorized;

(11) smoking where prohibited;

(12) using abusive or obscene language directed towards any person which is likely to undermine institutional authority or security;

(13) gambling or possession of unauthorized gambling paraphernalia;

(14) failure to keep one's person and quarters in accordance with posted rules;

(15) tattooing or self-mutilation;

(16) unauthorized communication or contact with the public or visitors;

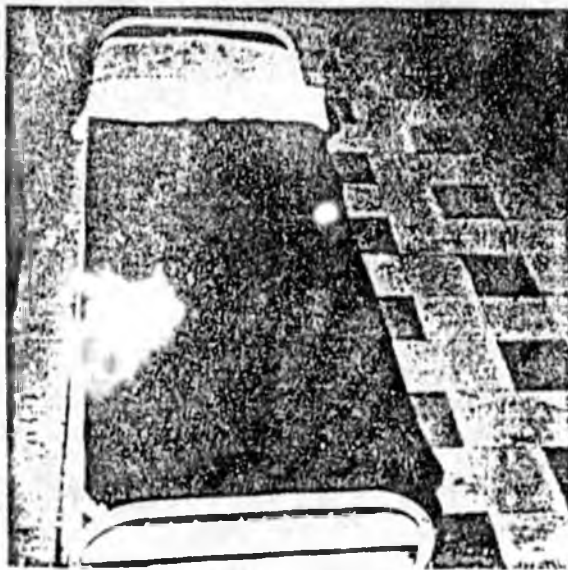
(17) giving or offering money or anything of value to, or requesting or accepting money or anything of value from, any person without prior approval of the superintendent.

(d) Planning or attempting to commit, and aiding or encouraging any prisoner to plan or attempt to commit any infraction in (b) or (c) of this section is considered the same as a commission of the infraction itself.

(e) A list of prohibited conduct set out in (b) and (c) of this section must be provided in writing to each prisoner upon his admission to the institution. If a prisoner is illiterate, the list of prohibited conduct must be read and explained. Any amendment or addition to any institutional rules must be approved by the director and may be put into effect only after proper and reasonable notice is given the population of that institution. (Eff. / / , Reg.)

INMATE HYGIENE

The inmate is required to bathe often enough to provide a good body hygiene. All clothing must be properly worn when outside the dormitory -- inmate should be fully dressed with shirt buttoned and tucked into trousers, etc.



#1



#2

YOUR BED WILL BE MADE EITHER LIKE
PHOTO # 1 OR PHOTO # 2

PHOTO # 2 IS THE BED MADE WITH THE
TOP BLANKET OVER YOU.

ALL BEDS ARE TO BE MADE UP BY 10:00 A.M.

ALL INMATES

FEBRUARY 8, 1978

Vernon D. Caulkins
Superintendent
SCC Anchorage

COMMISSARY

Vernon D. Caulkins

Attached you will find a commissary list. The weekly expenditure is \$15.00 per inmate, per week. Please keep in mind the following regarding commissary purchases.

1. No inmate is permitted to have in his possession or under his control quantities of commissary items in excess of that amount which is permitted to be purchased each week. An excess of commissary items is considered contraband and can be handled as a disciplinary or administrative action, and the violator could possibly forfeit his commissary privileges and surrender all commissary items within his possession.
2. Commissary items are purchased once weekly from Eagle River.
3. Commissary slips are passed out on Sunday evenings and must be returned to the floor officer no later than 2200 hours.
4. The inmate is required to print his name in the space provided at the top of the form and his dormitory location in the upper right hand corner. The current commissary list (with quantity limits) is posted in each dorm.
5. Commissary items are purchased from Eagle River on Mondays and the items are passed out to the individual inmates on Thursday evenings, or as soon as they are received from Eagle River.
6. Only inmates with money on the books are eligible to purchase commissary items.
7. All commissary items will be packaged in either paper or soft plastic containers.

All Inmates
Commissary
February 8, 1978

Page 2

8. Special commissary requests are for particular items (cigarettes & Cigars) which are not found on the standard commissary list or for individuals who were received into the institution after the commissary items for the institution were ordered; or for persons who have not had funds for commissary previously and have now received funds.
9. Remember, commissary is a privilege and not a right. This privilege can be revoked at any time for any number of reasons, i.e., disciplinary, abuse, etc.

VDC:zb

Attachment - commissary list

CIGARETTES 35¢ per pack \$3.25 per carton

Lucky Strike	Kool, filter kings
Salem	Kool, milds
Belair	Camel
Newport	Camel, filter
Raleigh	Marlboro

CIGARETTES 40¢ per pack \$3.50 per carton

Pall Mall, Gold	Benson & Hedges 100, Menthol
Pall Mall, Menthol	Tareyton 100
Winston, Longs	Omega
Benson & Hedges 100	

CIGARS

Roitan Falcons	5 pack	.65¢
Tiparillo	5 pack	.35¢
Tijuana Smalls	5 pack	.45¢
Tijuana Smalls, Aeromatic	5 pack	.45¢
Crockettes	5 pack	.40¢
1386 Queens	5 pack	.95¢
A & C Panetelas	5 pack	.70¢
Garcia of Vega Gallantes		.15¢
Swisher Sweets		.10¢

PIPES & TOBACCO

Amphora	.45¢
Mixture 79	.45¢
Borkum Riff	.45¢

SHAVING SUPPLIES (Plastic containers only)

Magic Shave Gold (kept in personals)	.85¢
Old Spice After Shave Lotion	\$1.80
English Leather After Shave	\$2.30
Brut 33 Splash On	\$1.30 & \$2.20

SUNDRY ITEMS

Afro Queen Comb (plastic only)	\$1.10
Afro Comb (plastic only)	\$1.10
Pocket comb	.25
Comb, barber	.50
Old Spice Stick Deodorant	\$1.20 (plastic container only)
Old Spice Musk for Men	\$1.20 (plastic container only)
Ban Roll On	\$1.10 plastic container only)
English Leather Stick	\$1.15 (plastic container only)
Mennen Speed Stick	\$1.15 (plastic container only)

SUNDRY ITEMS (continued)

Clearsil Acne Medicine	.95¢
Noxzema	\$1.05
Ponds Vanishing Cream	\$1.55
Jergens Hand Lotion	.65¢ & .95¢
Johnson's Baby Lotion	\$1.55
Vaseline Intensive Care Lotion	\$1.30
Vaseline Jelly	.60¢
Fingernail Clippers <i>2/10/11</i>	.35¢ <i>→ w/o file</i>
Shower Shoes (sm., med., lrg.)	.90¢
Playing Cards, Poker & Pinochle	.85¢

CANDY 15¢ Bars

Three Musketeers	M & M Plain
Mounds	M & M Peanuts
Almond Joy	Snickers
Nestle Crunch	Milky Way
Chunky	Big Hunk
Mars Almond	Power House
5th Avenue	Bit-O-Honey
Look	Rocky Road
Pay Day	Baby Ruth

CANDY 20¢ Bars

Mr. Goodbar	Hersheys Milk Chocolate
Putterfinger	Hersheys Almonds
Reese	

CANDY (In Bags)

Sour Balls	.50¢
Spicettes	.60¢
Orange Slices	.65¢
Chocolate Covered Raisins	.65¢
Chocolate Peanut Clusters	\$1.20

CANDY (Giant Bars)

Hershey, Plain & Almond)	\$1.00
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MISCELLANEOUS

Lifesavers	.15¢
Certs	.15¢
Gum	.15¢
Licorice	.15¢

COOKIES

Figs	.90¢
Assorted	.90¢
Chocolate Chip	.75
Granola	.90¢

STATIONARY & WRITING MATERIALS

Paper-Mate Pen	\$1.00
Ruled Writing Tablet	.60¢
Paper-Mate Pen Refill	.75¢
Parker Pencil	\$1.40
Envelopes 100 pack	.60¢
Pencils 6 pack	.35¢
Flair Regal (blue or black ink)	.40¢
Flair Hardhead	.55¢

SOAP (Hand & Bath)

Dial	.40¢
Irish Spring	.40¢
Safeguard	.30¢
Soap Dish	.45¢
Zest	.40¢
Ivory	.20¢
Clearsil	.50¢

DENTAL CARE

Toothbrush	.60¢
Denture Brush	.60¢
Denture Cleanser	.90¢
Close-up	.70¢
Crest	.70¢
Colgate	.70¢
Ultrabrite	.70¢
Macleans	.70¢
Pearl Drops	.90¢

SHAMPOO, CONDITIONER & RINSE (Plastic Containers ONLY)

Protein 21 Shampoo	.85¢
Protein 21 Conditioner	\$1.15
VO 5 Creme Rinse	\$1.00
VO 5 Shampoo	\$1.15
VO 5 Hair Creme	.95¢
Herbal Essence Shampoo	\$1.40 & .85¢
Herbal Essence Creme Rinse	\$1.75
Sulpher 8 Conditioner	.90¢
Prell	.70¢
Head & Shoulders	\$1.05 & \$1.50

Posner Bergament. <i>Plastic. Easy</i>	.95¢
Wella Balsam Shampoo	\$1.65
Wella Balsam Conditioner	\$1.45
Tegrin	\$2.00
Baby Shampoo	\$1.40
Vaseline Hair Creme	.25¢
Vitalis Dry Lock	.95¢
Brylcream	.75¢
Posner Young Braid	\$1.15
Hairsheen Spray	\$1.15
Protein 29 Clear gel	\$1.10
English Leather Brillatine	\$1.00
Ultra Sneen Protein Shampoo	.85¢
Afro Sheen Comb Easy	\$1.30

SNACKS

Potato Chips	.65¢
Potato Chips, Barbeque	.65¢
Cheese Bops	.65¢
Corn Chips	.80¢
Pretzels	.65¢
Hot Sticks	.15¢
Fat Freddie	.35¢
Jerky	.40¢
Pistachios	.50¢
Mixed Nuts	.40¢
Peanuts	.15¢
Cashews	.15¢ & .50¢
Corn Nuts	.40

A. Head
10/10/64

REPORT: Division of Corrections, State of Alaska, Department of Health and Social Services

FROM: Esther Heffernan, Postdoctoral Fellow, Boys Town Center for the Study of Youth Development, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

RE: Women Offenders in the Alaska Criminal Justice System

DATE: Field Visit - June 24, 1979 thru July 2, 1979
Report Date: July 15, 1979

During the nine day field visit with the Division of Corrections in Alaska I had the opportunity to speak with a wide range of persons holding positions within the Department of Health and Social Services and the Division of Corrections; with members of the judicial branch; the governor's office; members of the criminal justice faculty at Anchorage; and with citizens and volunteer groups concerned with corrections in the state. During the period I also visited the probation and parole offices at Anchorage, and the facilities at Eagle River, the Anchorage Annex, Ridgeview, McLaughlin Youth Center and the Juneau Correctional Center. At Eagle River and at Ridgeview, with several visits, it was possible to interview a limited number of both staff and inmates. On June 27, I spoke with the Ridgeview Citizen's Advisory Committee, while on June 26 and June 29, I was able to meet with the newly forming advisory group for planning for the women offender developed by the Division of Corrections.

In every contact, I experienced a real sense of hospitality and cooperation in discussing both the problems and possibilities regarding corrections in general in Alaska, and for women in particular. In addition, I was provided with materials on the composition and backgrounds of the offender population in Alaska, reports on the Eagle River Correctional Center, the portion of the master plan covering female inmates and co-corrections; the Correctional

2

Academy Program Review: Year Three Report; "Alaska: A Corrections Challenge," by William Huston and Michael Gilbert; the Report of the Statewide Conference on Incarceration and Re-entry Alternatives in 1978, and the 1977 Preliminary Study: The Status of Women in Alaska.

During this period I was continually impressed with the quality of both the persons serving the State of Alaska and of the citizen groups, and of their mutual interest in providing good services within the context of citizen safety and inmate needs and rights. I was also very much aware of different emphasis on priorities among services provided both to the general public and inmates, and on appropriate types and levels of security required. Upon reflection, I realize that this may be a function of the unique responsibilities of the Division of Corrections in Alaska.

Overview and Background:

Alaska's territorial and late statehood status appears not to have provided the same degree of diversity, flexibility and "buffering" in contacts between the division of corrections, the judiciary and local law enforcement agencies present in "the lower forty-eight" states. In most jurisdictions, local law enforcement agencies are responsible for detention facilities and administer both pre-trial and misdemeanor cases. As a consequence there are significant differences between jurisdictions in size, policies and laws enforced, alternative services, and security levels, which relate quite directly to local community, not state or federal standards. In turn, ordinarily, state divisions of corrections deal with a more stable and known felon population on a state-wide basis, with a focus on programs, industries, and a range of facility types, including usually until recently, quite distinct

facilities for women. This is not the case in Alaska.

As a result of Alaska's structural "merging" of responsibility for both local detention and probation and state-wide corrections at the state administrative level, with close connections between law enforcement, corrections, and health and social services, there has been personnel recruitment from all three sectors. As a consequence, there are multiple perspectives within the division of corrections on the appropriate relationships and responsibility to the "public"--including the legislature, the judiciary, police, attorneys, citizen groups, detainees, sentenced prisoners, and their families and friends. It appears that Alaska has a rather unique dual orientation which reflects both the structural and personnel realities of the system. One stance emphasizes public service law enforcement in the context of a high risk, crises environment with the consequent perceived need for highly expensive, totally secure detention facilities as the focus of the correctional system. Concerns of this nature are clearly indicated in the tabulated priority needs expressed for in-service training for correctional officers and other personnel. The other, more traditional corrections and social service orientation, stresses planning diverse and multi-security level programs and facilities, with emphasis on inmate needs and a range of possible income and program support resources. Historically, outside of probation services, with the exception of Palmer and Eagle River, Alaska has been dependent on outside facilities for these programs, particularly for long-term inmates.

However, these dual orientations operate within a division of corrections which, because of historical circumstances, is neither closely related to the very diverse ("bush justice") and widely separated local communities which

form the state of Alaska; nor organized as a highly centralized system with coordinated services, integrated programs and uniform standards. However, within the last years there has been an effort to develop the latter. It appears, based on a range of interviews that the division accurately could be described as a set of probation and parole services closely linked in some areas with law enforcement personnel; and a set of relatively autonomous correctional facilities with a wide range of functions, classification levels, and highly limited space capacity for flexible services and programs. More critically, the discussion encompasses a range of differing policies regarding security needs, inmate-staff relationships, and local community relations, combined with a budget which does not reflect increasing populations, costs, and communication needs, nor changes in programs and responsibilities if the correctional services are to be provided within the state of Alaska.

Within this setting, there is a total capacity for less than fifty women (with fluctuating numbers in arrest and short-time detention), who are placed in small, highly segregated and limited facilities. Ridgeview, as a result of the hard work and creative efforts of a concerned staff and advisory board, has been able to transcend a facility whose construction in every way militates against program potentials which generally have been available in even the most limited women's institutions. While small numbers have tended in most states to restrict women to a single institution, the result has been that women with both misdemeanor and felon status, and with a wide range of sentence lengths, ages and "formal" classification and offense types have often housed together in minimum security cottage-type facilities without the expensive and unnecessary high-security installations associated in many persons'

minds with male facilities.

The jail/prison combination in Alaska have tended to prevent this tradition from being present in the state, and apparently has led to an either/or dicotomy of release or probation, or high security segregated settings. At present, the options of shared facilities and resources or minimum security camp/cottage environments open to programs and community work and study opportunities are limited. As a consequence in Alaska, women, within a correctional system spending a very high per capita amount on them, paradoxically, receive a discriminatory minimum of services in high restrictive environments. However, the very uniqueness of the situation and the immediate need to address the questions of programming for the woman offender, with the termination of the lease for the Ridgeview facility and the authorization for construction, may be a positive value.

The diversity in Alaska, as well as its still recent "statehood," means that planning and structures can still be in their formative stage. With a relatively small correctional system and the absence of a long tradition and major construction reflecting a particular correctional orientation, it may be possible to lay the groundwork for some very creative structures and programs. A slight historical digression, based on documentary evidence from some research I am completing, may provide some helpful insights into Alaska's situation. Interestingly enough, Alaska's present-day dilemmas and choices reflect some of the same problems faced, from the 1780's to the 1830's, by the then still "organizing" states of the new United States, in the development of their own "criminal justice systems."

It is not so widely known that our present network of jails and prisons are partially the result of the fusion of two quite distinct "institutions"--

the prison and the workhouse--as the consequence of early 19th century tax-payers revolts! The situation should provide present-day legislators and administrators with some consolation that their position is not unique. The local workhouse, which was retained in the movement from colonial to statehood status, often performed three functions for the surrounding towns or counties. It provided employment for the poor and dependent in "public projects" or through contract labor. In times of unemployment or distress, the workhouse was often the major locus of a mixture of "poor relief" efforts in the community and its services were recognized as a preventative alternative to the petty thievery or public disorders which might occur if the poor were not "cared for." At the same time, it was also the facility where the poor, the servants, and the apprentices, convicted of property, debt, or "public order" offenses might "work-off" by servitude, their fines and/or restitution payments; while propertied members of the community who committed the same offenses paid off their "debt" to the community or their victim from their own resources. The same workhouses were often also the local jail, holding persons waiting for trial when courts were not in session. In this form, the workhouses were open institutions, with no distinctions in regard to age, sex or backgrounds, and easily accessible to family and friends. The ordinary daily activities and family contacts (in some cases entire families were present in the workhouse), continued, while food, drink, companionship, and recreation were as unrestricted as the poverty or plenty of the "inhabitants" of the workhouse/jail could provide.

Immediately after the revolution, the early state legislatures began to move to codify or place in statutory form those portions of the civil and criminal tradition which they wished to modify or retain from English common

and statutory law. At the same time, in determining the penalties in the criminal law, there was a move on the part of key political, business and religious leaders to experiment with "reforms" in criminal punishment in an effort to restore "law and order" after the revolution in a form which was not fully legitimated or accepted by a significant number of persons of varied political, economic and religious backgrounds.

One of the most important reforms, for future corrections, was the decision to substitute for capital punishment or banishment, imprisonment of the offender in almost totally isolated solitary confinement, stripped of all but the minimum requirements for physical and mental survival. As it was planned, when, as a result of the intense deprivation of solitary imprisonment, there was clear evidence of a "breaking of the will" and the presence of "sincere repentance" within the prisoner, "counselors" or overseers appointed by the legislatures from "philanthropic societies" composed of members drawn from the economic and religious leadership groups of the state, were to recommend the prisoner's release through a request for a pardon to be granted by the governor. This punishment, they argued, would be more "terror-provoking" for both the condemned and for the potentially law-rejecting public than a public execution or banishment, which often evoked sympathy for the condemned from the onlookers, and in some cases, public disorder within the local community. Consequently, the initial legislative intent, expressed at the time of the erection of the state prisons, was that they were to house prisoners who under earlier statutes would have been convicted of offenses which carried a death sentence. However, the building and maintaining of these institutions, which occurred in most of the states, involved what was considered in those days immense sums of money--often a major portion of the state budget!

As a result of a rather complex set of factors, in some of the states, particularly Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York, workhouses and prisons were combined and set up as centers of contract labor. The state legislatures argued that the local communities could not afford to support the multiplication of local facilities to perform the three functions of the workhouse, when at the same time the taxpayers had sunk their resources into what seemed an enormous investment and constant expense--the state penitentiary. At the same time in the application of the revised codes, the criminal offense of "vagrancy" was often applied to the status of "unemployed," while the practices of gathering from or using the "common lands" was affected by new civil definitions of "private" property, which resulted in additional definitions of what constituted "theft." These re-defined offenses moved some of the "poor and dependent" potential inhabitants of the workhouse into the category of "criminals," eligible for the new workhouse/prisons.

A continuing debate arose as to whether the "new prisons" should be run as workhouses or penitentiaries, or both. In the wake of the constant debate on their purposes and continual changes in administrations and construction, with "conflicting architectures" of solitary cells or congregate areas, the new prisons became centers of constant unrest. Resentful prisoners, who earlier would have worked out their fines or restitution payments within the relatively free environment of the workhouse, found themselves now sentenced to the solitude and deprivation of the prison for the condemned, combined and identified with violent persons mutually feared by both inmates and guards. As a consequence of the prisoners' open and covert resistance to these "new prisons" and their changing administrative policies, the prisoners' behavior often reinforced the public view of their "dangerousness", and the need for

and form of the "prison system" became a fact of life. At the same time, the concept of restitution tended to be lost sight of--since "condemned persons" ^{were} in no position to provide payments.

This mixed heritage of prisons as places of "terror," as places to "pay off ones debts," as "social service centers" as well as places for detainees before trial, has continued. Where resources and populations are available, these "multi-functions" are often distinguished by the use of elaborate "classification" systems, with provision for separate facilities and programs based on a wide range of criteria and "rehabilitation needs" often unrelated to the original offense or the situation of the person involved. In other states and localities, where resources or numbers are lacking, the multi-functions are still merged in the single institution. Traditionally this has often been the case for women, always relatively small in number and predominantly from the given "minorities" of the time and place. After initially sharing both the workhouses and the penitentiaries with the men, they were later, as were the children, separated and segregated "for their own protection." In addition, the women were perceived as "more difficult to handle by any but their own sex" and "needing special care."

Alaska, as a "new" state, is now facing all of these dilemmas--with limited resources, facilities and numbers, and with diverse legal and "justice" traditions. But perhaps, with the experience of some of these historical realities available, Alaska, in planning for corrections within the state, may explore some alternative choices.

Recommendations:

Within this context, the following suggestions, based on the field visits

in Alaska, and experience in other jurisdictions concerned with the same issues, may be of help in formulating programs and policies affecting the division of corrections as a whole, as well as more specifically for the woman offender who may be equally or even more affected by the broader operations of the division than her male counterpart.

General Programs and Policies:

1. Development of a liaison structure between the judiciary and the division of corrections to examine:
 - a. the potential consequences for the division of corrections of the implementation of the new criminal code.
 - b. the availability of or impact on facilities and services of a pattern of sentencing or a particular sentence in a given jurisdiction, as well as the implementation of any court orders directed to the division.
 - c. the provision for monitoring of the division of correction's response to particular judicial recommendations in sentencing; the feasibility of certain requests for services or programs, and the development of channels for the routine notification of the judge when changes are made in the status of prisoners sentenced in their court.
2. Continued legislative examination of the possibility of decriminalizing, without legalizing, drug abuse and proscribed sexual behavior which does not involve coercion, with a sensitivity to variations in local community standards. These legislative changes could include mandated health and social services, but without the use of the criminal sanction, and the services

and facilities of the division of correction.

3. Development of "client service" arrangements with state health and social services, education and employment agencies which would provide in their budgets and staff time for more specialized services which persons "committed to the care of the state" have a right to obtain, but which, for small numbers and specialized needs, the division of corrections finds difficult to provide effectively and efficiently. This is particularly the case when, with rising costs, these needs are in "competition" with the more critical obligation of the division of corrections to provide the basic necessities of adequate food, shelter and physical protection. At the same time, particular state services might be placed at a given facility, as a governmental location in the community, to be made available to other clients in the local area. For example, in the Illinois correctional system, the minimum-security facility at Vienna provides space for the local vocational-technical college, shared by both the inmates and the adult population of the educational district in a mutually satisfactory arrangement. It might be noted that the institution is placed in a predominantly white rural southern Illinois county, while a significant number of the inmates are from black and Spanish-speaking up-state urban backgrounds. For a period the institution included both men and a relatively small number of women inmates. The demand for the women's housing unit, which could accommodate a larger number of men from the rapidly increasing male population in the system, led to their withdrawal from the institution.

4. Internal policy formulation by the division of corrections within the following areas-which may require some legislative or administrative code changes as well:

- a. Development of classification policies in regard to security levels, eligibility for study, work and community service release, and furlough status, which reflect the flexibility and creativity possible with Alaska's widely diverse and relatively small population. There is little need for the use of system-wide standards developed in other jurisdictions, based on offense-type and time-in-sentence status, which are often justified by statistical probability studies derived from large populations and inappropriately applied to individual cases or dissimilar correctional environments. It is particularly unnecessary in Alaska, given the small number of resources and a more personal knowledge of the offender, to be locked into a rigid classification system.
- b. Modification of existing policies in all facilities regarding segregation or "sight and sound" restrictions based on the age or sex of detainees or offenders, in order to provide for sharing of facility programs, services and "common" areas. While ensuring the degree of privacy and personal protection which is the responsibility of any correctional system for all persons, modification of this policy makes possible the shared use of facilities without:
- (1) the excessive cost of total duplication of staff, space and program, or
 - (2) placing juveniles and women as "minorities" in a "competitive" situation with males for limited visiting, recreational or program space; or
 - (3) total restriction, in some instances, of juveniles and women to highly inappropriate, essentially maximum security solitary

confinement.

The 1977 report on the status of women in Alaska noted the practical consequences in Alaska of the continuation of present "sight and sound" restrictions. Many of these policies regarding segregation by sex or age developed in systems where large number of inmates did not make the duplication of services based on a variety of "classification" criteria prohibitively expensive or excessively restrictive, or where "holding" inmates in solitary confinement was the defined function of the correctional system.

- c. Systematic planning for increased availability of telephone contact as well as visiting space and time in order to offset the greater distances between facilities, family members, and home residence than exist in more "compact" jurisdictions. Telephone contact, in particular, can lessen anxiety regarding family, employment, etc., which otherwise can lead to increased security risks and/or medical problems.
- d. Development of in-service staff programs to continue the emphasis of the division of corrections on personnel education, but also to provide opportunities to examine, react to and modify suggested changes in policy in the division. At the same time, a variety of public resources should be used to develop public consideration of correctional policies. The excellent example of the Eagle River and Ridgeview advisory committees, and the state wide correctional issues conference should provide resources for the systematic development of volunteers, church and community organization contacts and a cooperative relationship with the mass media and the public press. Changes in policy and programs should also be accompanied

by planning to provide staff choice of positions and programs which reflect most adequately their own orientation to correctional needs. The diverse responsibilities of the division of corrections should be supportive of a range of skills and perspectives. Changes in policy in regard to the use of shared resources requires a consideration of the hiring and job responsibilities for both men and women employees in all of the facilities and positions of the division. The range of court decisions involving both job discrimination and privacy issues may make this a difficult area, but one which should be systematically implemented.

Policy and Programs for the Woman Offender:

The following series of comments and recommendations are addressed to the issues directly affecting the woman offender and are ordered in relation to decision points along the system of criminal justice in Alaska.

1. A judicial conference is needed to consider the direct implications of the new criminal code for the woman offender. In other jurisdictions, a decrease in the discretionary power of the judges or the adoption of a policy of sentence equalization, has led to an increasing proportion of women offenders sentenced and committed to prison terms than was the case in the more recent decades before the latest revisions of the criminal codes. Since, with the noted exception of minority-membership women, there has been tendency more frequently to release or place women on probationary status, the introduction of the new code may have a more significant effect on women than men. It is critical that these possible consequences be examined by both the judges and the division of corrections, rather than have a significant change in the number of women committed, without preliminary budgetary, personnel and diver-

sion program/facility planning occurring.

2. It appears, from the interview data, that probation is widely and well used for the woman offender in Alaska. Most of the women for whom it is appropriate are being or have been placed on probation. If policy changes in this area are considered, they might involve greater use of court supervision of restitution arrangements, and a decrease in direct probation supervision. Re-arrest might be defined as the basis for revocation of probation, without the use of probationary supervision except for cases where the nature of the terms of probation make it appropriate. These cases might well involve the use of personnel in alcohol, drug, mental health, employment or family counseling state or community agencies, as well as personnel within the division of corrections itself.

3. As mentioned above, all detention facilities should consider modifying "sight and sound" restrictions to assure the maximum use of all areas, programs and services by both men and women detained there. The present use of a magistrate within or in close contact with the institution to lessen the necessary time of detention is an excellent practice, and should be provided in every jurisdiction. Jail personnel, because of their close contact with a wide range of persons, frequently in crisis situations, should be exceptionally well prepared to meet emergencies while remaining very sensitive to the reactions which may occur in a jail setting. It is probably one of the most demanding positions within the division, and should be considered in that light both in preparation for placement and in job classifications. In the development of the pre-trial facility in Anchorage, and in the modification or construction of new facilities in other parts of Alaska, the planning should require the use of space and materials in such a way that the most "normal" relationships and accommodations are present, with adequate space for visiting,

counseling, recreation, religious services, exercise and dining, as well as provision for privacy and protection. Particular care should be taken to provide medical services, and for social services that can ensure immediate and adequate family contacts.

4. Planning should begin immediately for the development of community correctional centers--or the extension of and close monitoring of present contract half-way houses--to provide three service functions:

- a. re-entry houses for women who have been serving sentences in other facilities and need to develop work and community contact in preparation for release.
- b. center for the serving of misdemeanor sentences which involve work or community service under supervision and/or residential restrictions.
- c. minimum security centers for women with felony convictions, with work, study or community service status.

A center or centers of this type is particularly crucial for the Anchorage area and should be an integral part of any planning connected with the phasing out of the Ridgeview facility. The center might include rooms and services for both men and women, or involve separate residences, and accommodations also for children. An additional alternative for women eligible for study release would be the use of one wing of female cottage at McLaughlin Youth Center, which is presently being restored. The provision for facilities for youth in other parts of the state may lessen the need for the full use of the McLaughlin Center. The use of the resources of the institution for the youthful offenders, within an age range fairly close to the ages of the young

women presently at McLaughlin (or an older woman whose placement there would be appropriate), in close proximity to the educational resources of the community college and the university, is a real advantage. In addition, contact between the adolescents at the youth center and women who have had a more mature experience with the criminal justice system may also provide some effective and positive counseling--as experience in other institutions has shown.

5. Planning should begin immediately for a women's correctional institution for Alaska, for women whose sentences make open community placement inadvisable. In order to share and supplement existing resources and programs, the unit might be placed at either the Eagle River or Palmer correctional centers. At either location, the women's institution should be organizationally distinct, with classification levels, programs and policies developed which reflect the differing functions of the women's institution. However, both men and women's units should be administratively coordinated, with the shared and common use of the existing and expanded food, educational, work, recreational, medical, and program area and services. The choice of either location would require careful planning and organization and extensive in-service staff preparation and inmate cooperation, with policy development to ensure that the changes would not endanger or restrict the present functions and programs of either Palmer or Eagle River, but would provide a greater number of services and resources for both men and women.

At Eagle River, one of the two pre-planned cottage locations could be used for the women's unit. While the present architectural plans include four "wings" in each cottage, each providing housing for ten inmates, the plan could be modified to re-design one of the wings for additional space for internal

program and administrative use, while one of the housing wings might include unobtrusive security provisions which might be needed to provide for the wider range of classification levels in the women's unit.

The Eagle River service areas are already well-designed for supervision, and should not require the use of additional staff nor the development of restrictive policies. Based on field data from other shared facilities, consistent enforcement of general policy regarding appropriate inmate and staff relationships has generally been found to be a sufficient guideline, particularly where there is provision for regular family contacts and a range of programs with community groups to provide relational options.

However, there is also a need for the Division of Corrections to expand the Eagle River facility for the use of a male population, following its original planning and construction. In addition, the continued informal speculation and more formal discussion of the possible placement of women in the Eagle River facility without clearly delineating procedures, time tables or possible organizational structures, has created apprehensions on the part of staff, inmates and persons concerned with both Eagle River and Ridgeview, which even with careful planning and coordinated effort may be difficult to allay. And, of course, its original architectural planning did not anticipate its possible shared use.

While its location is farther from Anchorage, the use of the resources at Palmer might provide a desirable alternative to consider. In this case, the construction of a needed service area for programs, health, recreation, visiting, dining and educational purposes would be mutually beneficial for both the men and the women. At the same time, an organizational separate but administratively coordinated unit for housing and internal program needs for

approximately twenty women could be designed and constructed, using the resources of the present camp. Again, within the women's unit, careful planning could provide the resources for flexibility in classification and security needs, within the traditionally open environment of the Palmer Camp. There might also be instances when women eligible for work release might find the camp/farm placement more appropriate than the Anchorage community correctional center. As at Eagle River, the educational and community groups in the Palmer area, as well as the Ridgeview's citizen advisory committee should be involved in the program components of the expanded facilities and as integral members of the planning process.

The consideration of both Palmer and Eagle River as a location for the women's unit should provide some opportunity to consider the positive and negative aspects of each location in regard to organizational structures, program resources, community responsiveness, and the future flexible use or expansion of the facilities. Either choice should involve the careful development of policies regarding health care, family contacts, coordination of differing classification levels, program and industries development, staff responsibilities, etc., which will be required in the organizationally more complex shared facilities.

6. Finally, there may be some need to use out-of-state facilities when special needs require it. This may involve situations where the actual residence or post-release placement will be outside the state, or where the resources of a larger or specialized institution may be desirable. However, these placements should be an exception, and long term sentences should never be equated with the need for high security or isolation.

In the development of a time-table for the development of the correctional options for women, the planning and construction times for the Anchorage pre-trial detention facility, the community correctional centers, and the women's

correctional unit at either Eagle River or Palmer may not coincide with the phasing out of the multi-functional facility for women at Ridgeview. As far as possible, the planning should provide for as little "temporary" housing and placement as possible. If necessary, pre-trial detention for the short period before the phasing in of the new pre-trial facility might take place at the Anchorage Annex, but only with changes in "sight and sound" restrictions that would assure the full use of the admittedly limited resources of the facility and within the context of an extensive in-service program at the detention center on staff-inmate--public relationships.

Conclusion:

There is a tendency, built into the very nature of report-writing and organizational planning, to obscure the very reality which it is supposed to render intelligible and hopefully make a little better. The "reality," of course, is that a great deal isn't very intelligible. We are all--on both "sides" of "the law"--trying to muddle through, with a fair level of good intentions, with limited resources and structures that don't make much sense but which we can't change easily, with differing degrees of fatigue and faith, optimism and pessimism, and the need to have some hope. The "choices" still remain difficult, very little turns out to be "neat and clean," and understanding and compassion are probably the most precious of human gifts. There is real evidence of the latter's presence within "the system" in Alaska, and that is probably the most critical factor in the "success" of the planning for women in corrections in the state.

Anchorage Correctional

Center Annex

Inmate Handbook

Vernon D. Caulkins
Superintendent

ANCHORAGE CORRECTIONAL
CENTER ANNEX

INMATE HANDBOOK

VERNON D. CAULKINS
SUPERINTENDENT

INMATE HANDBOOK

INDEX

INTRODUCTION	PAGE 1
ADMISSIONS	PAGE 1
SEARCH	
PERSONAL PROPERTY	
PUBLIC DEFENDER	PAGE 2
CONTRABAND	PAGE 2
RULES AND REGULATIONS	PAGE 3
INMATE CONDUCT	PAGE 4
DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE	PAGE 11
DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES	PAGE 11
CLASSIFICATIONS	PAGE 12
SEGREGATION	PAGE 12
VISITING	PAGE 13
COMMUNICATION	PAGE 14
COMMISSARY	PAGE 15
SICK CALL	PAGE 16
HYGIENE	PAGE 16
LAUNDRY	PAGE 17
CLEAN UP	PAGE 18
RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES	PAGE 18

INMATE HANDBOOK

INDEX

CONTINUED

ENTERTAINMENT
RADIO
T.V.
MOVIE
READING

PAGE 18

RECREATIONS

PAGE 20

GRATUITY

PAGE 20

FORWARD

PEOPLE ARE ABLE TO LIVE IN PEACE AND HARMONY ONLY SO LONG AS THEY RESPECT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES THROUGH THE ENFORCEMENT OF CERTAIN RULES. IN A RESTRICTED COMMUNITY SUCH AS AN INSTITUTION, THERE IS EVEN A GREATER NEED FOR PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF AN INDIVIDUAL. IT IS NECESSARY, THEREFORE, THAT EVERY INMATE BE REQUIRED TO OBSERVE ALL RULES OF THE INSTITUTION. FOR FAILURE TO DO SO, HE SHALL BE SUBJECT TO DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS.

EACH INMATE SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR INFORMING HIMSELF CONCERNING THE RULES OF THE INSTITUTION. IGNORANCE OF THE RULES SHALL NOT BE ACCEPTED AS AN EXCUSE FOR VIOLATION. EACH INMATE SHALL READ CAREFULLY THE INSTITUTION RULES AND REGULATIONS PRESCRIBING HIS DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS AS AN INMATE. IF AN INMATE IS UNABLE TO READ, HE SHALL REQUEST THAT A COUNSELOR OR OFFICER OF THE INSTITUTION READ AND EXPLAIN THE RULES AND REGULATIONS TO HIM. WHEN AN INMATE IS IN DOUBT CONCERNING THE INTENT OF THE RULES, HE SHALL REQUEST AN EXPLAINATION FROM A COUNSELOR OR OFFICER.

TED COREY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR