U.S. Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Prisons





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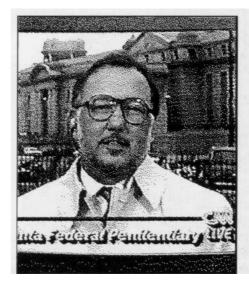
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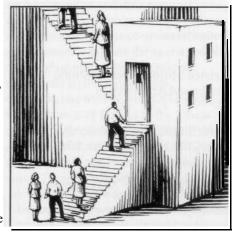
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About the cover: James V. Bennett served as Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons for 27 years, from 1937 to 1964. When he died in 1978, the Washington Post editorialized that during those years he had become "one of the world's foremost leaders of prison reform." The cover depicts Bennett near the end of his administration. The scene in the foreground typifies the education programs that he considered essential to a modern prison system. Over Bennett's shoulder is the United States Penitentiary, Terre Haute, Indiana-an example of the more humane prison architecture that Bennett favored over the massive cellblocks that characterized prisons built in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

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### The Federal Prisons Journal

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**Clarification:** In the Fall 1992 issue of the *Federal Prisons Journal*, an article on literacy programs makes several references to an article Illinois Department of Corrections Public Information Officer Brian K. Fairchild wrote for an Illinois Department of Corrections newsmagazine. These citations suggest that Mr. Fairchild personally conducted studies on literacy and recidivism. Mr. Fairchild stresses that his article merely cites the studies of others; he does not assume credit for the original thought, research, or publication of these studies.

# From the editor

The *Federal Prisons Journal* resumes publication with this issue. The interruption since our last issue (which came out in spring 1993) was primarily due to reorganization within the Bureau's Office of Public Affairs. We apologize for any inconvenience to subscribers.

The articles in this issue deal with a subject that has received a great deal of attention in these times of "reinventing government"— management and leadership. Since the 1930's, the Bureau's Directors and other top managers have been career corrections professionals who have come up through the ranks, usually serving posts in a number of different institutions and occupational specialties. That sort of career leadership has been very unusual in civilian government agencies.

We hope that readers will find much that is thought-provoking in these articles, not just in the sense of learning tips on the "nuts and bolts" of management, but in seeing what in an organization's philosophy grows and changes and what remains constant over time.

Our thanks to Professor John J. Dilulio of Princeton University, who reviewed the articles in this issue and allowed us to excerpt his forthcoming book on the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Winter 1994



Peter M. Wittenberg

Imagine the following. You are a representative of a large Federal agency sitting in front of a congressional subcommittee, which is responsible for your funding next year. In your blue pinstripe suit, you wait, hot under the lights of the nationally televised C-SPAN network. In your mind, you replay what you are going to say to justify your budget request.

The chairman of the subcommittee, speaking from his gavel and his elevated chair behind a huge ornamented oak dais, bangs his gavel, and opens the hearing with the usual pleasantries. The chairman begins the budget hearing by asking you to tell the committee what the total staff complement of your agency is, what their primary responsibilities are, and where the staff are predominantly stationed. Your blood runs cold when you realize that you don't have the information available to answer those three simple questions. The hearings go downhill from there. Farfetched? Improbable? Sillv?

While it did not happen at a hearing, a similar situation recently occurred when Congress asked those questions of a Federal agency and the agency representative was unable to answer. Several Members of Congress are now scrutinizing that organization and considering whether staff reductions, budget cuts, or reorganization are needed.

It is vitally important for Federal agencies to communicate and respond to congressional inquiries, requests, and questions within their professional scope and responsibilities. Staff have a further responsibility to educate congressional representatives and clarify for them any issues that may affect operations and programs. In the case of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, failure to do so can have devastating consequences on our ability to fulfill our mission.

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Before we discuss specific ways in which Bureau staff interact with Congress, we should travel back a few years to high school civics class for a quick review of congressional operations. The House of Representatives contains 435 voting members representing congressional districts; the Senate consists of 100 members, two from each State. Working in tandem, the two houses enact the laws that greatly affect our lives, oversee a multitude of programs and processes, and protect their constituents' interests. In addition to Congress, the Federal legislative branch, there are two other branches of our

Government—coequal in power: the judicial (courts) and the executive (President). Most Federal agencies, including the Department of Justice, are part of the executive branch.

Representatives and senators are assigned, based on several factorssuch as seniority and their personal interests-to various committees and subcommittees. These committees and subcommittees oversee the operations and funding of the Federal Government, draft legislation, provide oversight, and hold hearings. Oversight for the Bureau of Prisons in the Senate rests with the Committee on the Judiciary, chaired by Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D-Del). In the House of Representatives, Bureau oversight is provided by a subcommittee to the Committee on the Judiciary called Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration, chaired by William J. Hughes (D-N.J.).

> Working for Members of Congress are employees (commonly called staffers) employed by a particular representative or senator. Staffers may be



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assigned to the representative's Washington, D.C., office, State district office, or to a specific committee or subcommittee. Usually an agency representative will be contacted by a staffer, not the Member of Congress. However, the Bureau's director does receive calls from the Members themselves.

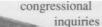
Representatives and senators are extraordinarily busy, and their time is limited. They rely heavily upon their staff to investigate concerns and problems and to recommend a course of action. While many staffers are relatively young, they are usually well versed in the importance of a particular issue and, more important, usually have a great deal of influence with the representative or senator for whom they work.

• When working with congressional staffers, the first detail to remember is that they are acting for their representative, senator, or committee. Their impression of you and your response to their inquiry—whether good, bad, or indifferent—will often be relayed to their boss.

• The second point is that a congressional inquiry is usually in response to a concern voiced by a constituent within the representative's district or State. The concern could be as simple as a mother of an inmate asking the representative for help in transferring her son to a facility closer to home, or as complex as a product manufacturer asking the senator to propose legislation restricting Federal Prison Industries. Remember, one of the major responsibilities of a representative or senator is to respond to constituents' concerns—after all, constituents decide at election time whether a Member is sent back to Congress.

• Third, staffers may have a basic understanding of criminal justice issues, but most do not have training or experience in correctional programs or management. As an executive branch agency, the Bureau must provide *specific* information in response to a congressional inquiry. It is imperative

that we handle all





as a priority, and respond to them in a professional, straightforward manner.

What are some methods that Bureau staff can use, at the institution, regional office, and Central Office level, in handling a congressional inquiry? Assume that a staffer from Congresswoman Jones' office calls you, the public information officer, at the U.S. Penitentiary in Lompoc, California, and informs you that the mother of inmate John Good, housed at the facility, has contacted her office and would like her son transferred to a Federal Prison Camp in Florida. The staffer would like to know what can be done about such a request. As a trained correctional worker, you know that an inmate housed at a maximum-security

facility cannot be transferred to a minimum-security camp. In handling this situation, you should take the opportunity to educate the staffer on why the Bureau cannot authorize such a move. Explain the policy, explain the consequences of transferring this type of inmate to a low-security facility, and discuss specifics (without, of course, violating the Privacy Act or other concerns such as Witness Security status).

Another inquiry you may receive is a request asking why an inmate was transferred. If you reply, "He was put

into the pipeline and moved from his last joint because he tried to kill a
fish in PC with a shank," you will send the staffers scurrying to find a person who can translate correctional language into English (or

this may cause them to distrust you because they think you may be trying to mislead them). Use profes-

sional language—not jailhouse jargon. (If you do happen to use a word such as "PC" or "shank," explain it.)

Of primary importance in responding to congressional inquiries is *accuracy*. Be sure that the information you are passing on is completely factual—do not guess. If the staffer (or representative) loses confidence in your integrity, you will have damaged the agency's reputation with that office. If you are questioned on matters that you don't know, don't understand, or are not sure about, such as the Bureau's position on pending legislation, it is important to refer those inquiries to the Office of Congressional Affairs in Central Office. Winter 1994



As our agency continues to grow, and we build more facilities in congressional districts and States that have never had Federal prisons before, educating staffers and elected officials becomes even more significant. Site visits are highly encouraged. Information regarding staff and inmate complement, the economic impact the facility has upon the community, hiring practices as they affect the district or State, Federal Prison Industries operations, and vendor services that the facility uses are all topics in which Members of Congress have an interest.

There will be times when a congressional representative and the agency will not see eye to eye on a particular issue. Usually, problems of this nature are handled at the highest level of the agency through consultation with the Department of Justice. While it may not completely resolve the concerns, educating the representative or committee about the Bureau's programs normally results in better understanding.

Politics in general, and Congress in particular, are complex and everchanging. Today's "hot issue" is tomorrow's old news, and the seemingly inconsequential program of today can be the focus of the entire legislative body tomorrow. Agendas change, sometimes hourly, in both the House and Senate. As members of the executive branch, we must continue our mission with as little concern about these changes as we can afford, yet be sensitive to the reality of the political process.

# **Glossary of Congressional Terms**

■ **Bill:** Most legislative proposals before Congress are in the form of bills; they are designated "HR" if they originate in the House of Representatives and "S" if they originate in the Senate.

• Act: The term for legislation once it has passed both houses of Congress and has been signed by the President, or passed over the President's veto, thus becoming law.

• Amendment: A proposal of a member of Congress to alter the language, provisions, or stipulations in a bill.

• **Committee:** A division of the House or Senate that prepares legislation for action by the parent chamber or conducts investigations as directed by the parent chamber.

**Subcommittee:** Studies legislation, holds hearings, and reports bills, with or without amendments, to the full committee.

■ Joint Committee: Composed of a specific number of members of both the House and the Senate. Joint Committees may be investigative or research-oriented.

■ **Conference:** A meeting between the representatives of the House and the Senate to reconcile differences between the two bodies on provisions of a bill passed by both chambers.

■ Hearings: Committee or Subcommittee sessions for taking testimony from witnesses. The public and press may attend open hearings, but are barred from closed or "executive" hearings.

■ **Hopper:** Box on House Clerk's desk where members deposit bills and resolutions to introduce them.

■ Mark-up: Going through the contents of a piece of legislation to revise, remove, or add new sections or phrasing.

There is a section within the Bureau's Central Office that is prepared to assist in any matter relating to Congress. The Office of Congressional Affairs (OCA) was established to act as a liaison with Congress and to support management in all areas pertaining to congressional and legislative issues. OCA tracks legislation, attends hearings, provides information on Members of Congress to Bureau managers, and responds to requests from congressional staffers on a daily basis. OCA also works closely with other divisions within the Bureau to determine possible courses of action in response to congressional inquiries. An online computer linkup with a congressional information service provides upto-the-minute information on a number of issues related to Capitol Hill. Bureau staff are invited to contact OCA staff at any time to discuss a legislative issue. 5

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When Congress calls, staff should be prepared to respond professionally, competently, and ethically, and explain our positions with clarity and precision. In doing so, we strive to maintain the outstanding relationships the Bureau of Prisons has fostered with elected officials throughout the history of the agency.

Peter M. Wittenherg is Assistant Chief of the Federal Bureau of Prisons' Office of Congressional Affairs, a branch of the Office of Public Affairs in the Information, Policy, and Public Affairs Division.

# A Day in the Life

Philip M. Spears

It's not quite daylight, and the high mast lighting reflects across the prison grounds. I'm reflecting on the day before me, the week's activities, monthly goals, and the routine to-do list. The early morning hours are free of calls, crises, and interruptions—a time to plan.

By 7:30 the day is fully scheduled, and I observe the hundreds of inmates reporting for work. A "gut feel" for the institution registers as inmates pass, nod, speak, frown, avert their eyes, complain, compliment—a feel no computer can discern. I spend time counseling an inmate about an issue, providing guidance to another. The day shift reports for duty. One staff member stops to clarify a work-related problem; another needs information on a personal issue.

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Today is an opportune time to drop by the 7:45 a.m. roll call. About 20 staffers are assembled listening to a lieutenant discuss aspects of inmate personal property. These staff are looking younger—or am I just getting older? Data from the Bureau of Prisons' Key Indicators automated information system indicate that 68 percent of these folks have 2 years or

less with the agency. I ask for questions and rumors to address and clarify, and discuss upcoming events and Bureau

initiatives. There is so much to communicate: policy, procedures, philosophy. We must enhance methods to "age" this green wood.

Time to briefly visit the office, return a call, and chat with the secretary about upcoming activities, priorities, and scheduling. Paperwork takes longer than expected. I need to make an appearance at a training session—indeed "the speed of the leader is the speed of the pack."

More paperwork has accumulated as I return to the office for a meeting with staff. An employee is accompanied by a union representative. This is not a pleasant task: no pat on the back, promotion, or award. Dispensing justice—a moment in the disciplinary process of a Bureau employee. The process is lengthy and fraught with emotion. I take notes as I listen to the employee and the union rep. The policy is explicit—as are the sanctions.

On to mainline. What a sight to see 1,000 inmates and staff eating lunch in a little over an hour and 15 minutes. Today the roar of the crowd is pleasant music. Only quiet warrants caution. If too many inmates present complaints I get concerned, and equally so if none of them stop to talk.

The institution is relatively compact daily visits to specific areas ensure that each department will be visited at least once a week. A visit to a housing unit involves checking security procedures and sanitation, stopping to chat with officers, applauding innovations, and critiquing problem areas. Unit staff are busy with their duties but take time to offer coffee. A talk with the unit manager revolves around equipment needs, budget issues, career development, and performance of staff. I compliment the unit manager's positive Key Indicators data in the areas of financial responsibility (inmates paying their courtordered debts) and informal resolution of inmate grievances.



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A fellow warden calls to voucher an employee. I bounce a problem off this seasoned pro and pick her brain about a



concern of mine. We discuss a shared tour of a sister institution—a humbling experience. So much innovation and professionalism. None of us has any monopoly on ideas.

In the parking lot as I leave, a disgruntled middle manager confronts me about the merit promotion system. He's a onedimensional sort, but has



potential—inside a good employee is trying to get out. That's how we earn our money; and what this business is all about.

Today—no major problems. No reporters covering the 10-hour-plus day. Not many compliments on the 642 functions that went well; only minor gripes on the four that weren't perfect. I leave feeling grateful that this little piece of the Bureau is safe, clean, humane.

Another day in the life of a warden.

Philip M. Spears is Warden at the Federal Correctional Institution, Three Rivers, Texas.

# Working in the Central Office: Two Views

Putting it All in Perspective: How My Central Office Experience Helped Me Develop as a Manager

# Teresa E. Hunt

One of the Bureau of Prisons' strongest cultural anchors is the "Bureau family." Just as my own family instilled in me many values during my formative years, the Bureau family has made me realize the qualities it takes to be a contributing member of this very extended family. Working in the Bureau's headquarters-Central Office-helped prepare me for most of the experiences I faced working in the field. It was not, however, until I began writing this article that I was able to articulate which principles were most helpful to me as I moved into management positions.

320 First Street NW., Central Office, was my duty station on two occasions. After gaining field experience as a correctional officer, I was hired as a data clerk in the Office of Information Systems. SENTRY, a nationwide computer network, was about to be introduced. My job was to learn everything I could about the system, then train other staff. I had been hired because of my field experience-I had never worked with computers. For the next 4 years, I learned more about Bureau policy development as I worked with the Central Office subjectmatter experts. I also saw first-hand how policy is implemented, as we visited almost every institution, putting the computer system in place.

As we added more information and created procedures to automate existing functions through SENTRY, the importance of teamwork was evident. We became ambassadors and salespersons. We needed the support of Central Office administrators, computer programmers, and field staff to make the system work. After a few years, everyone was using SENTRY. My work with Central Office staff taught me a valuable lesson: I noticed that effective managers

enlisted the their staff at while "lone rangers" accomplished little.

all levels,

During my next 4 years as a manager and supervisor at the Federal Medical Center, Rochester, Minnesota, the need for teamwork and commitment became even more apparent. As manager of the general population housing unit, I was responsible for setting up unit operations for the institution's first inmates. A year later, we implemented an intensive unit program, the "Rochester Model," using principles from *The Future of Imprisonment*, by the former Dean of the University of Chicago Law School, Norval Morris.

As the manager responsible for the implementation of this program, I relied heavily on my Central Office experience. My staff and I spent many hours developing policy, writing position papers, providing seminars, training other staff, conducting retreats, preparing newsletter articles and videotape presentations, and conversing with Regional Office staff, whose support was critical. I had learned how impor-

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tant these activities were for team building when I worked in the Central Office. The camaraderie shared by the unit staff reflected our commitment to the project.

I returned to Washington just as strategic planning had been adopted as the management approach that would lead the Bureau of Prisons into the 90's. I worked in the Office of Strategic Planning and was fortunate to have another opportunity to introduce a new program. The "Rochester Model" experience involved implementing a program at the institution level; my next challenge was to introduce a new concept at the national level.

We spent our startup time reviewing most of management consultant Peter **Drucker**'s works, professional journals, and **public**administration textbooks. I could not pass a bookstore without browsing through the business and management sections. It was difficult to find a common definition for strategic planning.

Several wardens requested assistance in planning retreats. Although we developed a standard training outline, we spent hours adapting it to match each warden's philosophy and institution. As we led the retreats, it was apparent that a standard format for strategic planning was not as important as the process itself, which encouraged commitment through teamwork. One of the articles disseminated by the director was "Getting Everyone to Think Strategically," by Benjamin B. Tegoe and Peter M. Tobia. One of its points seems very pertinent in retrospect. The authors stressed that broad participation in the process was critical, but questioned how CEO's would encourage participation in strategic planning without inducing chaos. It has taken 3 years for the process to "take shape"; now most staff find strategic planning simple. The process enables staff at all levels to stay focused.

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Before I left Washington, I also worked briefly in the Site Acquisition section. We met regularly with local citizens, public administrators, and other officials as sites were identified for new Federal prisons. For the first time in my career, my primary clients were not inmates or Bureau staff. Being flexible and tactful were absolute necessities. For the first time, I realized how many outside influences affect a Government agency.

Now that I oversee 10 departments at a medium-security facility for 1,260 adult male offenders, I must closely attend to the principle of responsiveness—a principle we cannot forget as our agency grows. I learned that responsiveness was important when I worked in the Central Office and at other institutions. There have always been expectations that regional and Central Office staff will be responsive to institution staff, the public, and other agencies, just as we expect institution staff to be responsive to inmates and the public. Staff, however, must work daily at remaining responsive to *all* their constituents to build credibility.

As associate warden, I have immediate access to most directives sent from the Central Office. I know the work involved in issuing or changing a policy. Policy is developed and coordinated between divisions, then, as part of the clearance process, a draft is forwarded to regional directors, who often involve institution staff in the review process. Issuing policy requires as much teamwork as introducing a computer system, setting up unit operations, developing a planning process, siting a new prison, or overseeing a prison.

It is difficult to have teamwork without commitment. Policy is effected because Central Office staff are committed to making the agency function more efficiently. We are fortunate that so many Central Office administrators have worked in institutions and have considerable experience at many different types of facilities—as policymakers, they know they will receive a "reality check" as they seek input on new initiatives from staff who must implement them.

Communication in the five separate Central Office buildings is facilitated just as in the field: meetings, more meetings, lunch, and "walking and talking." The friendships and working relationships maintained with people you "did time with" in the Central Office are as strong as those developed in the field. Winter 1994



While teamwork, commitment, focus, flexibility, tact, and responsiveness are the salient principles that came back to me as I reflected on my experiences working in both the Central Office and the field, one more thing cannot be left out. The "big picture" cannot be fully realized unless you are right there next to Capitol Hill. Every day you are forced to reckon with the issues facing our agency; issues that mean continual interaction with Congress and the Federal judiciary, as well as the Department of Justice and other Federal, State, and local agencies. Your world expands.

A few weeks ago, one of my staff and a visitor from another institution met with me to discuss a recent change in policy. After our meeting, I

overheard my department head stating, "Ms. Hunt's got an interesting perspective on these issues. You know, she has worked in the Central Office twice." I appreciated the compliment.

Teresa E. Hunt is Associate Warden for Programs at the Federal Correctional Institution, Terminal Island, California.

# Working in Washington

### Gary Winkler

To some, working in the Federal Bureau of Prisons' Central Office in Washington, D.C., invokes visions of long, congested commutes, expensive housing, unsafe neighborhoods, and other unthinkable living conditions—to which no sane persons would voluntarily subject themselves or their families. The truth, though, is far from these images.

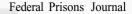
> My time spent working in the Central Office within the Program Analysis Branch, Program

Review Division, was one of the most positive experiences I have had in my career. Although the cost of living was higher and the commute was more difficult than at other Bureau locations where I have worked, we were able to maintain an acceptable standard of living with a little luck and a lot of hard work during the house-hunting trip.

Once you locate an affordable neighborhood within a reasonable commuting range, you will find that approaching the job with a positive attitude will go a long way toward making a very productive and enjoyable learning experience.

As you become involved in your new job responsibilities you will find, as I did, that the Central Office has a lot to offer. You begin to see the Bureau as an entire functioning unit, with complex issues being addressed from different divisional perspectives—all in pursuit of a common goal. You are no longer "isolated" in your primary field of expertise but become exposed to staff in other program areas who

deal with "live"



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issues—some with repercussions beyond the mechanics of daily institutional responsibilities. Not only does the Bureau come more into focus as a single unit but "managing" becomes a total, systematic process. Individual management techniques we are taught early in our careers have been fused into a "Strategic Management Cycle," the heart of the Program Review Division.

As I began to understand the impact the Strategic Management Cycle was making on the way the Bureau operates,

it became apparent that future managers would have to change their ways of thinking. Using information, the focal point of the cycle, to improve the decision-making process was key. All the information sources the Bureau has developed in recent years-program reviews, operational reviews, social climate surveys, institutional character profiles, management indicators, and others\*-provide the basis for sound decisions. Although experience provides the necessary background for sound correctional decisions, using information sources to supplement that experience will only improve overall operations.

\*See "Information as a Management Tool," by Sharla P. Rausch, pp. 25-28, for further discussion. As I look back at my time in the Central Office, many opportunities and challenges were offered to me, for which I am forever grateful. Working to improve the use of information sources revealed how important information was within the scope of sound decision-making. I began to question the validity of specific data and how they were being used to evaluate a program. I was given the opportunity to refine my analytical skills when focusing on specific issues being considered for field application. This allowed frequent contacts with many Regional and Central Office administrators, which in turn expedited requests for information and provided an open communications link for policy development and revision. Many of these contacts have developed into friendships that I hope will last for years to come.

> I am sure that a few of you reading this article are contemplating or may consider a future decision to accept an offer to

work in the Central Office. A decision of this magnitude must be evaluated on its total merits. Opportunities to expose and develop your talents exist; your potential for future responsibilities may lie in your willingness to accept this challenge.

Beyond your Bureau experience, you and your family could have an opportunity to enjoy the cultural activities of our Nation's capital—the historical sites around every corner and the many parks and waterways that surround Washington. Although the recreational and cultural opportunities are a real plus, they must be tempered against the frustrations of the daily commute. Remember that a transfer to D.C. is not a short-term decision but one that must be viewed in the context of your entire Bureau career.

For those willing to accept the opportunity, the potential for learning is great. You will be exposed to Bureau activities in an entirely new way. Many aspects of our mission will become much clearer, and having a closeup view of the Strategic Management Cycle will broaden your view of management.

Working in the Central Office can be a very positive and exciting part of your Bureau career—missing out on such an opportunity could be one of your biggest mistakes. I enjoyed my time immensely and I know you will also.

Gary Winkler is Associate Warden for Operations at the Federal Medical Center, Rochester, Minnesota.

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# **The Sources of Excellence**

### Paul W. Keve

Editor's note: We asked Paul Keve, one of the Nation's leading corrections scholars and an expert on the history of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, to examine that 63-year history and give us what, in his opinion, were the agency's most important innovations—in line with the theme of this issue, reflecting sound management and leadership in the correctional field. Professor Keve's observations follow.

# **1. Setting a course:** merit, not patronage

Leadership quality was there right at the start.

In the late 1920's, when Assistant Attorney General Mabel Walker Willebrandt was looking for a progressive administrator to head the anticipated new Bureau of Prisons, she was ready

to forego her long accommodation to the political patronage system: she was eager to hire the best expert she could find and was willing to consider professional expertise ahead of party affiliation. At the time this was a substantial departure from the usual; of all the indicators of professional management, this repudiation of patronage practices was the most conspicuous for the prison system then being created.

The person Willebrandt chose to recruit for the director's job was Sanford Bates, then Commissioner of Corrections in Massachusetts, a man surprisingly averse to political selection of staff, given the fact that patronage was practically a fine art in his State.

Bates, who was not seeking the Federal post and was in fact a somewhat reluctant prospect for it, made his philosophy and concepts of corrections administration clearly known to Attorney General William D. Mitchell when being considered for the appointment. In a detailed letter he noted the importance of keeping a good relationship with Congress, but also: "I should confidently expect the backing of my superiors in withstanding that happily infrequent kind of pressure which comes sometimes from the unreasonable demands of persons whose chief aim in life is political."<sup>1</sup>

It was a comment that must have made Attorney General Mitchell

particularly thoughtful, for he certainly knew that the Federal prisons then in existence were in most cases virtual hostages of the patronage process; their wardens were only lightly subject to coordinating supervision by the Department of Justice, while heavily committed to loyalty toward their sponsors in Congress to whom they owed their jobs. It was a condition that defeated any hope for operating the institutions as a system. In effect it guaranteed that each facility would protect its own mediocrity—being managed without vision, without progress.

No substantial improvement could be hoped for until this pattern of patronage could be broken, and fortunately Bates had the skill and resolve to tackle it immediately and forcefully. It meant having to work against strong resistance from the entrenched, independently inclined staffs, a process that took time and was not yet fully completed when Bates resigned after nearly 6 years as director. Nevertheless, he established the new professional direction so effectively during his tenure that at no time in the half century since has there been any serious attempt to restore the patronage practice. Perhaps equally significant in its pattern-establishing effect was the fact that, to everyone's relief at the time,

Bates was retained in office when Democrat Roosevelt succeeded Republican Hoover in the Presidency.

# 2. Seeing inmates as individuals, as people

While professionalization of the prison system was the first and most significant of the thrusts that Bates pursued, he also contributed



Left: The Bureau's first three directors, James V. Bennett, Sanford Bates, and Myrl E. Alexander (left to right) meet in Alexander's office c. 1965.

Right: A Federal Prison Industries factory in the U.S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia, c. 1950.

a well-defined guiding philosophy for the management of prison inmates. Though his views would seem unremarkable today, they were in contrast to the philosophical poverty of most of the wardens he inherited. Bates could be unhesitatingly assertive when resolute decisions were called for, but he also approached his responsibilities with enlightened compassion. Again, in his letter to Mitchell: "Punishment must be promptly inflicted but it must not be so severe as to defeat its own ends or degrade a community."

One brief sentence in his letter pointed to a major concern. "A complete scientific study of the individual and the causes of his crime is not inconsistent with [protection of society] but a necessary prerequisite for intelligent community action." Although he did not elaborate at that point, this was the signal that under his direction the Bureau would promptly begin development of its prisoner classification process, something until then unknown in Federal (and most other) institutions.

# **3. Building a system to be emulated**

One more of the many points that Bates' letter contained is important to note here, and anyone acquainted with the Bureau's present functioning can recognize how strongly Bates' philosophy took hold. "Is it not too much to hope that [the Bureau] might assume a position of actual leadership in the country? I do not mean by this that it should in any sense interfere in the work of the various States any more than other bureaus do, but it can by example, if not by precept, set standards of fine, progressive prison management which the States would do well to emulate, and perhaps act as a clearing house for information and prison statistics."

In its size and complexity the Bureau today seems to bear little similarity to the relatively simple organization that Bates left after his 6 years in the director's post. Nevertheless, he succeeded in setting the pattern for reform so solidly that subsequent administrations, despite all the enormous growth and diversification, have essentially reinforced and extended the basic management principles Bates introduced.

# 4. Prison industries in a world of free enterprise

Of course, one essential element ensuring the continuation of Bates' progressive beginnings was the grooming of a competent successor; his assistant director, James V. Bennett, was ready to pick up where Bates left off, and in his own 27 years as director reaffirmed the Bureau's professional character. One particularly important accomplishment by Bennett was his creation of a separate

corporation to operate prison industries. Production work by prisoners has been a provocative, controversial subject as long as there have been prisons. Both labor unions and manufacturers' associations have looked with dismay at the sale of prison-made products in competition with free labor. In 1890, when the first proposal to establish Federal prisons was being debated in Congress, this was a sore point; Congressmen who fought the proposed legislation used this fear of competition with free enterprise as one argument against the creation of Federal institutions. The controversy had been a special concern of Bennett well before he became director, for his duty as assistant director under Bates had included responsibility for industrial operations in the prisons.

It was Bennett's idea to have Congress create an independent corporation to operate the industries at all the Federal prisons and to make allies of the usual opponents by having the corporation governed by a board whose five members were to include prominent leaders from labor, management, agriculture, and the general public. The bill establishing Federal Prison Industries was passed with a minimum of opposition after President Roosevelt negotiated support for it from labor leaders. The new corporation was made effective when the President signed an executive order creating it in December 1934.<sup>2</sup>

In 1977, the vastly expanded Federal Prison Industries adopted a new logo and name, UNICOR, but the basic design of Bennett's plan is followed today, even though there is still controversy and opposition to prison products. State governments over 2 centuries have tried an array of strategies to conciliate manufacturers and unions, with usually



partial and temporary success. The strategy followed by the Federal industries corporation has never been perfect either, but has been more dependably workable than others. Its principal element has been the limitation of production of any one product to a small enough percentage of the country's output so that competition with private industry is minimized.

# 5. Community corrections

An important development for the corrections field appeared in St. Louis in 1959 with the opening of one of the first halfway houses. This was Dismas House, a privately operated residence that attracted much favorable attention and served to promote the rapid spread of this new type of facility. Very early the Bureau of Prisons joined the trend with its own halfway houses.

A precipitating factor was the interest of newly appointed (in 1961) Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who advised Director Bennett of his willingness to find funds for any innovative new approaches the Bureau might propose. Bennett and his staff quickly came up with several significant programs, including their version of the halfway house, calling these community facilities "prerelease guidance centers." Three of these were quickly started, in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York. Within another year or two there were three others, in Washington, D.C., Kansas City, and Detroit, all operating under the direction of future Bureau director Norman A. Carlson, who had started work with the Bureau in 1957.

In a very adaptable manner, the Bureau found ways to house and organize these new facilities according to the available opportunities. In New York City a local college was given a contract to operate the facility; the Chicago center operated in a leased section of the downtown Y.M.C.A. residence; in Los Angeles the Bureau leased a former Baptist church and seminary; in Detroit, the center, which used a former church parish hall, had a cooperative contract so that it could serve inmates from both the Federal system and the State of Michigan.<sup>3</sup> After 1965, the centers were called "community treatment centers" and were on their way to being an indispensable element in the system, as well as models for other agencies. Research eventually showed that, like other programs from which much is hoped, these residences could not prove that they were reducing recidivism. However, neither were they having a worse record in this respect than the institutions; they still were essential to maintain for their value in reducing reliance on more expensive institution beds.

# 6. Unit management: a major breakthrough

To pick just one of the many other areas in which Bureau leadership has been distinguished, surely that should be unit management. Anyone who has been involved at all in prison management for a few decades knows of the historically discouraging dichotomy-custody vs. treatment. As it was, the two types of staff divided every prison, working against and in competition with each other, reducing the effectiveness of the treatment staff and the efficiency of custody. During the 1960's the Federal system began to develop a management approach that would substantially reduce this problem.

In the early 1960's some inventive minds among the Bureau clinical staff began developing dynamic treatment programs in several institutions, including the National Training School for Boys in Washington, D.C. (closed when



A unit team meets with an inmate.

Morgantown, West Virginia, opened); Ashland, Kentucky; Englewood, Colorado; and El Reno, Oklahoma. Without attempting to describe here the extensive details of this history, suffice it to say that innovative and intensive treatment programming could not achieve its potential in the context of a divided staff; it was evident that there needed to be a mutual involvement of all types of staff. Everyone must understand the treatment process and its goals, and all must be united in support of the effort. What gradually resulted was the delegation of both control and treatment functions to the combined staff members in defined inmate living areas, with each such staff group including members from both custody and treatment, and, as a group, being responsible for governing all aspects of their inmate living unit.<sup>4</sup>

The experience with this technique was that all staff did become effectively part of the treatment effort, control and order in the institutions were enhanced, and morale improved as the staff relationships became closer and more mutually dependent. The benefits soon became evident enough that the unit management technique spread rapidly in the early 1970's to most Bureau facilities. Sanford Bates would have reason to be particularly pleased. His hope that the Bureau could become a model for other correctional systems to emulate has been more than fulfilled in the results of the unit management idea. Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, the old saying tells us, and the Bureau has much to be proud of in seeing its unit management concept imitated more and more in State correctional systems throughout the country.

These six innovations are not the only notable aspects of the Bureau's history by any means. Nevertheless, ranging from the very beginnings of the Bureau right up to the present, they demonstrate one important point: Bureau managers have always built upon the work of their predecessors. There is a clear, consistent line of development from Sanford Bates, who was born in the 19th century, through his successors—and that augurs well for the Bureau in the rapidly approaching 21st century. ■

Paul W. Keve teaches at Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Virginia, and is a long-time student of correctional history. His most recent work is Prisons and the American Conscience (Southern Illinois University Press, 1991).

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3. Keve, Paul W. *Imaginative Programming in Probation and Parole*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1967, 224-5.

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# **Federal Partnerships at Work**

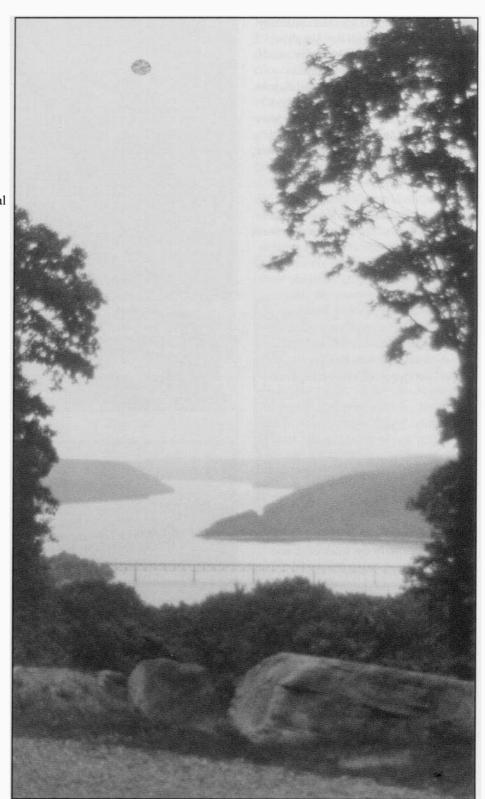
### Chrystal Pitts

The Allegheny Plateau, located in northwestern Pennsylvania, is home to the Allegheny National Forest, Lewis Run, and many of Pennsylvania's other rich natural resources, as well as the Federal Correctional Institution, McKean County.

In our high-tech world, it is increasingly apparent that all of us-including Federal agencies-must take a proactive approach to maintaining the tenuous balance between humans and their environment. Thus, a Memorandum of Understanding between the Federal Correctional Institution, McKean, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Forest Service, Allegheny National Forest (ANF), was signed in July 1989 by Warden Dennis M. Luther and David J. Wright, Forest Supervisor. While relationships between the U.S. Forest Service and prison systems were not a new idea, such a working partnership with a Bureau facility was unprecedented.

This unique program began with two eight-man crews that left McKean's minimum-security Federal Prison Camp daily to work in the forest. In 1991, two new five-man crews were added. Currently, the program has three work crews, with a total of 21 inmates. Shortly, we will be adding a fourth crew, bringing the total to 30 inmates. Crews are paid a modest wage: they participate in various forest maintenance projects, trail construction, and wildlife projects, including pruning and fence construction.

FCI McKean, with the concurrence of the Forest Service, selects inmates incarcerated at the Federal Prison Camp on the basis of their "custody level, their mental

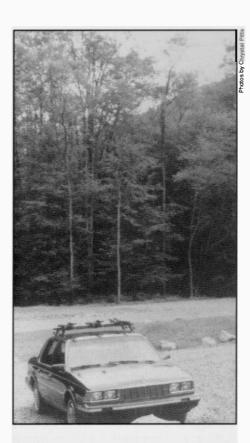


and physical competence, and suitability for work programs with the Allegheny National Forest Service." In other words, inmates assigned to the work crews exhibit a high degree of responsibility, as shown by their prior institutional work performance, and are suitable candidates for this rare opportunity. Their criminal histories must be free of serious violence, escape attempts, and sexual offenses.

McKean provides sack lunches and standard work uniforms, including steeltoed safety boots. The prison also ensures that immediate medical care is available if any injuries occur on the job site. The Forest Service supervisors provide work supervision to the inmates. Monday through Friday, the Forest Service provides tools, safety equipment, and transportation to and from work sites. According to one crew supervisor, "Forest Service work provides a respite from the routine of the Camp, but, more importantly, the inmates gain a sense of community. With the completion of each project, the inmates feel they are returning or giving something back to the local area."

The accompanying pictures, showing projects completed through the teamwork of FCI McKean and the U.S. Forest Service, exemplify the work ethic and community spirit being developed among participating Federal inmates.

Providing snowmobile parking, fishing access to the south branch of the Kinzua Creek, and a gateway to the Kinzua Wetlands Area, the Long House parking lot is a versatile resource. The l-acre lot

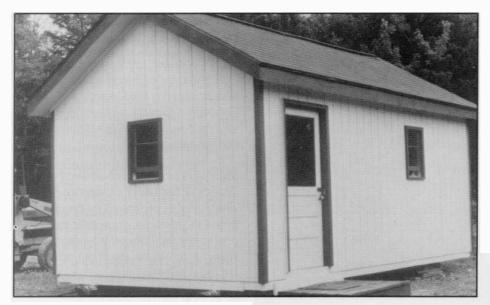


is located off of Pennsylvania Route 321, south of the Scenic Byway. The McKean inmates cleared trees and brush for the lot; grading, seeding, mulching, and limestone surfacing were completed by outside contractors. ◄

The Kinzua Wetlands boardwalk was completed within 2 weeks during autumn 1990 by one inmate crew. Using a Forest Service design and \$3,000 in materials, the inmates constructed the 145-foot expanse, used as a winter crossing for snowmobilers. Plans are underway for making the picturesque setting part of an interpretive wetlands trail.

A 2.1 -mile stretch of trail intersects the Long House parking lot and the Kinzua Wetlands boardwalk. On one of their first projects, the inmates cleared roots and brush from the trail and placed signs. Recreationists and naturalists enjoy the scenic beauty as they stroll through the forest.  $\mathbf{\nabla}$ 





Bent Run, the only waterfall along Route 59 (adjacent to Kinzua Dam), has been the centerpiece of a recent project. A cooperative effort between the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the ANF, and FCI McKean, the objective is to provide improved accessibility to the waterfall and to heighten the visibility of this natural wonder. The parking area has been enlarged to accommodate tourists, and wood railings are being placed to define the vehicular area. A path to the waterfall has been cleared, and brush removed for easier walking.  $\mathbf{\nabla}$ 

In addition to building, expanding, and enhancing trails, the inmate crews constructed a tool and storage shed adjacent to the Bradford Ranger District office during summer 1991. The inmates designed and constructed the mobile shed within 1 month. The crews house supplies and equipment in the 10- by 20foot shed, which was recently equipped with electricity.

FCI McKean staff members, in conjunction with the ANF, coordinated an Earth Day celebration on April 22, 1992. Fourth through sixth graders from the Bradford and Kane Schools gathered to plant shrubs and wildlife habitat in the Old State Road area, off Pennsylvania Route 59. The inmate crews assisted the children in planting the native viburnums. This timber stand, heavily defoliated by gypsy moths and further stressed by a drought, became an oak salvage area. Lunch was served by members of the Allegheny Hardwood Utilization Group, Inc., a wood-products industry trade association.





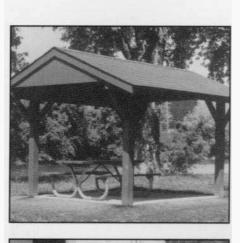
The focal point of the convergence of the Allegheny and Conewango rivers is Point Park, Warren, Pennsylvania. Coordinated by the PennSoil Resource Conservation and Development District, Soil Conservation Service, this project was begun in December 1991. Since this project enhanced resource management efforts, funding for administrative costs for supervising and transporting the inmate crews was procured through the USDA Rural Initiative Program, State and Private Forestry, USDA Forest Service. The park was designed by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry. Materials were supplied by the City of Warren. Finally, the inmate crew brought the project to life by clearing trees, brush, and rubbish from the area. In June 1992 the crew returned to the site to construct picnic tables, benches, and a pavilion. Residents and visitors enjoy fishing, watching waterfowl, and relaxing on the benches in the shade of the willows along the shoreline. ►

► Twenty-six picnic tables manufactured by FCI McKean's Vocational Technical-Carpentry Program adorn the National Arboretum in Washington, D.C. Trees from each State will be the backdrop for this unique park. The Forest Service provided the materials in March 1992, and the inmates constructed the tables in April. The tables are shown here being assembled by Forest Service personel.

While the ANF spends about \$160,000 for administration, supervision, and transportation of inmate crews, the value derived from these projects is three or four times the investment. Not only does the program provide invaluable work opportunities for minimum-security inmates, it also allows completion of labor-intensive environmental work that would not otherwise be accomplished due to the lack of funding and workforce availability.

#### 

Because of the many successes of the McKean work crews, a National Interagency Agreement between the USDA Forest Service and the Federal Bureau of Prisons was signed in June 1991, by F. Dale Robertson, Chief of the Forest





Service, and J. Michael, Quinlan, thendirector of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. This agreement officially recognized the value of the program and allowed for nationwide expansion.

FCI McKean's motto, "Setting the Standard," blends nicely with that of the USDA Forest Service: "Caring for the Land and Serving People." Through this cooperative effort, our Nation's forests will be enhanced for appreciation by tomorrow's generations.

Chrystal Pitts is an Employee Development Specialist at the Federal Correctional Institution, McKean, Pennsylvania.

# Bureau of Prisons Public Work Projects

As of December 1993, more than 650 male and female Federal inmates, from both institutions and Community Corrections Centers, were employed in 45 public works projects with other Federal agencies.

Most worked either on National Forest Service or National Park Service projects similar to that performed by the inmates from FPC McKean, or on military bases performing facilities or grounds maintenance. A few of the larger project sites are listed below:

#### **Federal Prison Camp inmates:**

- Bryan, Texas
   Sam Houston National Forest
- Lompoc, California
   Vandenberg Air Force Base
- Morgantown, West Virginia Camp Dawson
- Petersburg, Virginia Fort Lee
- Sheridan, Oregon Siuslaw National Forest

### Community Corrections Center residents:

- Spokane, Washington Fairchild Air Force Base
- Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
   Defense Personnel Support Center
- Dallas, Texas
   Veterans Hospital
- San Antonio, Texas Kelly Air Force Base
- San Diego, California North Island Naval Air Station

# **Women as High-Security Officers** *Gender-Neutral Employment in High-Security Prisons*

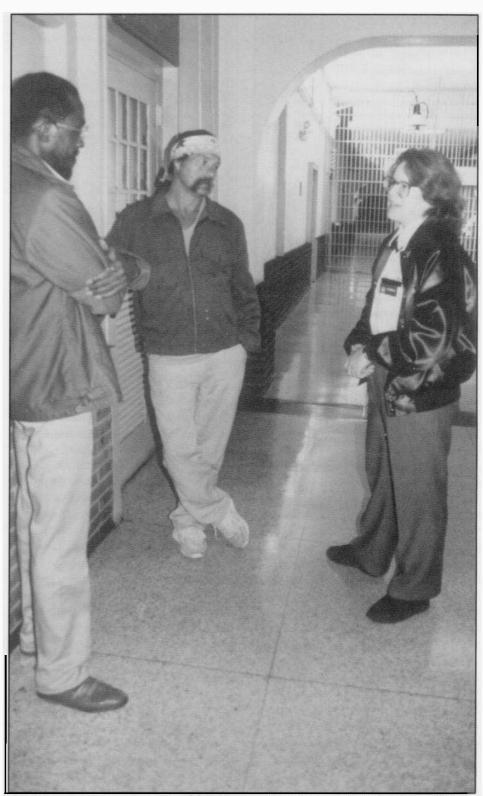
#### **Richard H. Rison**

Historically, women have been underrepresented in corrections. Those women who did work in corrections traditionally were placed in clerical or other support service positions, and some served as correctional officers. Few women have served in supervisory or upper management positions.

While gender bias in correctional facility employment certainly still exists, the situation has changed. The "new" correctional philosophy is that women should be hired, trained, and promoted to all positions—and at all security levels, including maximum security.

For years, the Federal Bureau of Prisons has had a gender-neutral hiring policy for all positions except correctional officers at high-security male institutions (penitentiaries). As a result, the Bureau has witnessed steady growth in the numbers of women in its workforce. In January 1992, the gender-neutral policy was extended to all positions, with full implementation expected by 1994 (BOP, 1991).

The trend toward gender-neutral hiring in maximum-security institutions is also evident in the State corrections. Fortyfive States use women to staff at least one male maximum-security prison or unit. Twenty-four of these allow women to be eligible for all correctional posts; policy is gender-neutral with respect to hiring women in these settings. In 15 States, women are not permitted to work certain maximum-security posts; these usually involve supervising showers or performing strip searches. Seven States have highly restrictive policies with



C.O. Kimberley Hawley talking with inmates. Photo by Gary Espiau/ USP Lomport

respect to using women to staff male maximum-security prisons. Of these, six States exclude women correctional officers from positions within housing units, and one State excludes women completely from maximum-security prisons (NIC, 1991).

Based on 20 years of experience as a correctional administrator and a lengthy review of the current literature, I have encountered several myths about women in the workplace.

• Women do not want to be promoted. They would rather follow than lead.

• Advancement for women is precluded by domestic issues, such as a lack of mobility and a preoccupation with child care.

• Women simply cannot do the work that men can do in correctional settings because they do not have the skills needed to advance in the organization.

These myths have caused me to reflect on personal experiences in which gender bias has occurred. For example, while warden at the United States Penitentiary, Lompoc, California, I was asked to comment on the possibility of women working in "contact" positions at the maximum-security level. At first, I felt women could not handle the pressures associated with a maximum-security institution. However, after reviewing the available literature on the topic, I changed my mind. It seems I was also guilty of gender bias.

Much gender bias rests on claims that women cannot perform in the higher levels of an organization because they do not possess the necessary skills. Although this may be the case at times,



In 1978, Linda Allen became the first woman correctional officer at the U.S. Penitentiary, McNeil Island, Washington (now a State prison). She was one of only a few women to work as a C.O. in a high-security institution until recently.

the argument is circular: many women do not possess the skills they need for advancement because these same myths and assumptions restrict them from obtaining the training they need.

As correctional administrators, we must recognize when we are dealing with myths. We must ask ourselves if we subconsciously encourage gender bias by selecting women primarily to fill lowerlevel positions. Do we provide adequate career counseling and planning to enhance the advancement of women? These questions must be considered if the "glass ceiling" that limits gender equity is to be removed.

# Legal issues

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination on account of sex where gender is not a bona fide occupational qualification ("bfoq"). To prove a bona fide occupational qualification on the basis of gender the employer must show that gender is a qualification "reasonably necessary to the normal operation of the particular business or enterprise." The bfoq defense applies only when "the essence of the business operation would be undermined by not hiring members of one sex exclusively" (*Diaz* v. *Pan American World Airways*, 1971).

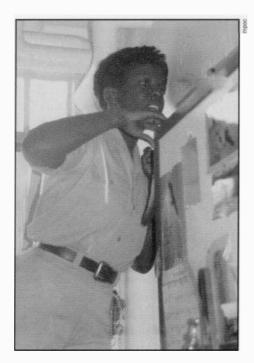
The traditional point of view on hiring female correctional officers is that their presence poses serious problems not posed by males. However, assumptions based on such stereotypes are not valid under Title VII.

Women employees have brought claims against various State correctional systems, alleging that regulations establishing gender restrictions for "contact" positions (such as correctional officer) limit their opportunities for career advancement.<sup>1</sup>

The argument made in claims by inmates has been that the presence of correctional personnel of the opposite sex in contact positions violates their privacy rights. The courts have usually rejected this argument.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Garret v. Okaloosa County, 1984; Dothard v. Dawlinson, 1977; Gertrude Csimadia et al. v. William Fauver et al., 1990; Hardin v. Stynchcomb 1982; Gunther v. Iowa State Men's Reformatory, 1980; Barbara Diamete v. Arthur Wallenstein, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Smith v. Fairman, 1982; Johnson-Bey v. Foster, 1990; Truman v. Gunther, 1990; Merritt-Bey v. Sotts, 1990; Michenfelder v. Summer, 1988. In some instances, however—Forts v. Ward, 1980, for example—courts have supported inmates' privacy claims. For instance, in a recent decision (Jordan v. Gardner, 1993), the Ninth Circuit held that searches by male officers of women inmates were sometimes traumatic due to prior sexual abuse, and potentially violated the Eighth Amendment.



The important trend in these cases is the increasing number that deny the "bfoq" defense to prison administrations. None of the 1990 cases were dismissed on the basis of security concerns that might justify gender-based restrictions in a correctional setting. A policy of barring women from work as correctional officers in high-security prisons would appear to render the agency subject to allegations of discriminatory hiring. In 1971, the California Supreme Court summarized well the position that must be taken in corrections and in the larger world:

Laws and customs which disable women from full participation in the political, business, and economic arenas are often characterized as "protective" and "beneficial." Those same laws and customs applied to racial and ethnic minorities would readily be recognized as invidious and impermissible. The pedestal upon which women have been placed has all too often, upon closer inspection, been revealed as a cage. We conclude that sexual classifications are properly treated as suspect, particularly when those classifications are made with respect to a fundamental interest such as employment (*Sail'er Inn, Inc.* v. *Kirby*, 1971).

The same arguments are still being offered in favor of the combat exclusion laws that prohibit the assignment of women to aircraft or naval vessels engaged in combat missions (Bendekgey, 1991). Correctional case law relative to women in high-security prisons may offer potential for challenging the exclusion laws in the military.

# Implementation strategies

States implemented their gender-free hiring policies—from the mid-1970's through late 1991—for a variety of reasons, ranging from recognition of equal opportunity issues and requests by women officers to open up high-security positions, to union pressures and court mandates.

Some simply announced with no fanfare that all positions would be opened to women applicants on a certain date, while others carefully phased women into various positions. The evolutionary process began with women being initially used in noncontact positions and gradually moving into cellblocks. As indicated, many States resisted change until they were under court mandate, and then relied on the courts' decisions to guide their implementation (NIC, 1991).

According to a 1991 study by the National Institute of Corrections, most agencies did not develop any formal or informal implementation plans when they



Above. Special Investigative Supervisory Technician Joyce Lane preparing an investigative report.

Left: Warehouse worker Cathy Dunston conducts a cell search.

began to use women in correctional positions. The only States that did, Ohio and New Jersey, did so as a result of court decisions. A 1984 agreement with the court in Texas also served as a de facto plan; New York did not develop a formal plan, but its process was in line with an agreement between the Department of Correctional Services and the union.

Most States did not provide any special training during implementation—either to newly hired women or to other staff. Several States did offer relevant training covering some gender issues, including E.E.O.C. requirements, sexual harassment, and special orientations for female staff working in institutional settings.

There was little special support—such as mentoring programs and support groups—for the first women introduced into maximum-security prisons. Such programs have since been developed in some States. The NIC study previously mentioned cited California as the major example of a State with a women's liaison mentoring program (at Soledad and Folsom prisons). In Minnesota, an association called Women in Criminal Justice is cosponsored by the Department of Corrections. Other State mentoring programs are limited.

A major issue that faced women staff in high-security settings was resistance from both male staff and administrators, based primarily on the sense that women need protection and wouldn't perform well in emergencies, thus threatening the agencies' safety and security interests. Agencies almost universally encountered resistance-whether subtle or overtfrom male officers and supervisors when they began to use women in maximumsecurity settings. Resistance was especially strong in older facilities with firmly established "old boy" networks, where women at times were intentionally set up for failure. In most cases, these problems were dealt with one-on-one or by simply reiterating the new policy in staff meetings. This approach met opposition head-on by announcing that the policy was in effect and was not to be questioned. In nearly all cases, resistance faded as women proved themselves capable of handling all positions. Generally, safety and security concerns did not materialize (NIC, 1991).

Inmate resistance, while present, was not as prevalent as staff resistance. Male inmates' initial objections to having women in maximum-security housing units usually focused on privacy, although some simply objected to women giving them orders. As mentioned, recent court decisions have not upheld privacy arguments.



Officer Velparita Gilchris passes by showers with doors that were added to protect inmates' privacy.

Physical plants had to be modified as women began working in maximumsecurity settings. Yet, for the most part, such modifications were minor, involving added bathrooms for women officers or privacy screens in inmate showers.

In reviewing the implementation of gender neutrality in high security institutions, several common themes stand out as action areas for administrators:

- Develop a plan and optimize the time frame for implementation.
- Provide training and communications.
- Anticipate staff resistance.
- Phase women into maximum-security posts.

• Review organizational structures for job equality (Alpert and Crounch, 1991).

# **Employment findings**

The trend toward gender neutrality in correctional officer positions has produced largely positive results:

• The literature overwhelmingly cites women's calming influence and their ability to control without using force as unpredicted benefits of this transition. Central to security arguments are observations that women defuse critical instances with less force, less violence, and less tension (NIC, 1991).

• Women offer a new work pool; correctional rosters can now be increased with this supplemental workforce. This complements the findings of the Hudson Institute that "Workforce 2000" will grow slowly, becoming older, more female, and more disadvantaged (Johnson, 1987).

• There is some evidence that the women's presence has made the male officers more attentive to assignments and that women are more observant and attentive than male officers.

• The major emphasis from all literature on women correctional officers in highsecurity facilities involves organizational structure. It focuses on the inequities, lack of clearly defined upward mobility, and underrepresentation in the higher ranks as major areas that need attention (Stewart, 1979). Rosabeth Moss Kanter notes that women behave differently in organizations not because of sex differences, but because of the structural characteristics of their roles-i.e., they rarely hold positions of power. Kanter concludes that organizations must seek to expand opportunity and mobility, and empower people by balancing the representation of women throughout the organizational structure.

### Areas for future research

Women are now being incorporated into high-security correctional facilities in most States and in the Federal Bureau of Prisons. This is an important area for



Officer Leslie Severit "shakes down" an inmate in a UNICOR plant that repairs U.S. postal mailbags.

future research efforts. Issues to be examined include:

• The effects of different administrative structures on the recruitment and placement of women in corrections.

• How unionization in a corrections system affects the hiring and advancement of women.

• Organizational practices—formal and informal—that contribute to or constrain the career commitment and aspirations of women.

• The conditions under which employment rights of women might be in opposition to male inmates' privacy rights.

• How institution "key indicators" differ before and after implementation of gender-neutral environments, with a focus on inmate/staff behavior. • Whether staff/inmate resistance to change forms measurable patterns.

• Reasons for unsuccessful gender adjustments, if any.

Correctional agencies would do well to make the development of cooperative work relationships between men and women a major focus of the training and recruitment programs, and develop plans for advancing women along higher-level career paths throughout the organization.

### Conclusion

Gender neutrality in employment is a critical responsibility of correctional administrators. Arguments against women in corrections in general-and in maximum-security institutions in particular, as I have attempted to showare not persuasive. Both Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) law and the concept of "reasonableness" in hiring and other personnel practices mandate equal treatment; carrying these out is another part of our responsibility as public administrators. The premise should be clear; restricting women to only certain positions in correctional facilities of any security level has no merit.

Correctional administrators can learn from current literature on gender differences in the workforce. The policy of increasing the representation of women as correctional officers in high-security facilities has largely been implemented with very little planning. However, there is almost universal agreement that the resistance to this change and the projections of failure are unfounded. ■

Richard H. Rison is Warden at the U.S. Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Missouri, and previously was Warden at the U.S. Penitentiary, Lompoc, California.

Officers conducting pat searches upon inmates exiting metal detectors. Left, Officer Juel

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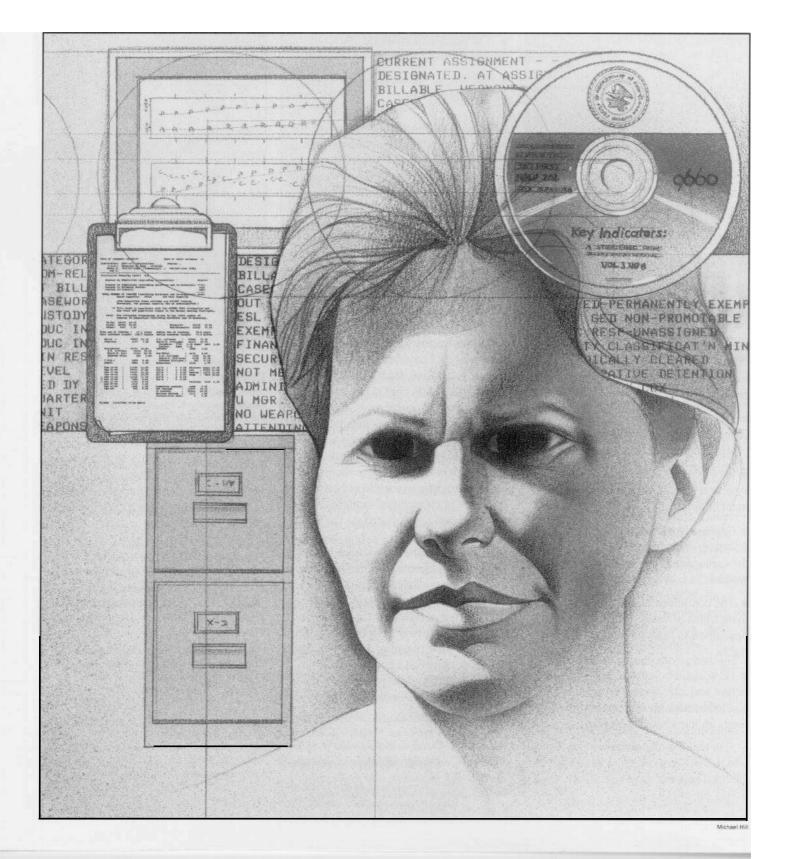
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# **Information as a Management Tool**

## Sharla P. Rausch

Like most State systems, the Federal prison system has been undergoing a period of unprecedented growth. In October 1984, it housed 25,919 inmates in 44 institutions. As of July 1993, it was functioning at 42 percent over rated capacity with 78,571 inmates in 71 facilities<sup>1</sup>—with projections of 120,670 inmates by the year 2000.<sup>2</sup> Despite crowding, rapid expansion, and an increase in the percentage of new (and inexperienced) staff, the Federal prison system continues to run safe, orderly facilities free of court intervention or the assignment of special masters. This success has been attributed to good management (Dilulio, 1989a; Dilulio, 1989b; Allen, 1989; Fleisher, 1989; N.Y. State Dept. of Correctional Services, 1989).

An "information-oriented" approach has become a crucial element of proactive management during this period of growth and change. Three years ago, that approach was implemented sporadically at best—mainly by those managers already comfortable with using information. The importance of information in making management decisions was made clear by J. Michael Quinlan, thendirector of the Federal Bureau of Prisons:

Managers who are used to making decisions "by feel" will find that they must make use of research findings and powerful information-gathering systems in their daily work. Evaluation must become a part of every Bureau activity, not just because it improves our efficiency, but because it ensures a wiser use of public resources (Quinlan, 1989: 14). Managers who are used to making decisions "by feel" will find that they must make use of research findings and powerful information-gathering systems in their daily work.

The Bureau has developed several innovative tools for making wellinformed management decisions. The acceptance of one of these tools was highlighted at a meeting 3 years ago in which the Bureau's executive staff-the director, assistant directors, and regional directors-discussed institution strengths and weaknesses while examining data for the first time housed in a PC-based information system, known as the Executive Staff Management Indicators Module. Participants included people who previously had little experience with computers, but who recognized that this module provided them with a powerful tool.

This article discusses several such "tools" that not only facilitate the daily operations of correctional institutions, but enable managers at all levels to access data to help them make decisions.

# SENTRY

SENTRY, the Bureau of Prisons' online inmate information system, is designed to ease the daily tasks performed by institution staff. In little more than a decade, SENTRY has grown from an inmate population monitoring system, which included location, work status, housing and custody assignments, and other relevant information for every inmate. It has added modules for property accounting, litigation, administrative remedies (inmate grievance procedures), and disciplinary tracking, to name a few.

All modules were added in response to operational needs. For example, the sentence monitoring function was added to increase accuracy and staff efficiency in computing sentences. That Bureau staff perform an average of 750,000 SENTRY transactions each day testifies to its usefulness. SENTRY has made staff increasingly aware of the benefits of automation; they continue to automate functions that facilitate the running of Bureau institutions.

Because the information from systems such as SENTRY, HRMIS (its counterpart for staff information), and disciplinespecific databases is integral to operations, it is also useful for identifying what is important to prison managers.

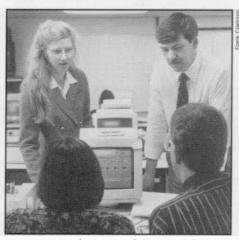
The weakness of such systems as SENTRY for management planning purposes is also their strength as daily operational systems-with the exception of some historical information, they are a "snapshot" of information at one point in time. Their data are constantly being overwritten as changes occur. To examine information over time, it is necessary to take these snapshots and pass them on to another system that can store them and provide users with easy access in various aggregations. The Bureau of Prisons has developed the Key Indicators/Strategic Support System for this purpose.

# Key Indicators/Strategic Support System (KI/SSS)

KI/SSS is a PC-based management information system that gives users access to a range of information on m as a Manag

inmates, staff, and financial operations. Much of the information on inmates is from SENTRY and includes demographic, misconduct, administrative remedy, furlough, community corrections, education participation, population, capacity, admissions and discharge, sentencing/classification, and other data. Obligations, expenditures, staff overtime, and medical overtime are included in the financial section. The staff section houses demographic, turnover, performance appraisal, and tenure data, as well as results from the Prison Social Climate Survey-a comprehensive set of questions regarding staff perceptions of institution safety and security, inmate quality of life, staff work environment, and staff personal well-being. (This survey has been administered annually, since 1988, to a stratified random sample of staff at each institution. For more information about the Prison Social Climate Survey, see Saylor, 1984.)

KI/SSS provides managers with access to a range of information that can be used to address questions (for instance, does an increase in escape rates suggest problems with institution security?) or as context for these indicators (inmate demographics, crowding, and staffing levels as background for escape rates). In most cases, these data exist for each month over a period of years, enabling trend analysis. The information is presented in tables and graphs and structured so that users can compare information over time and across institutions, security levels, and regions. Because it is easy to make these comparisons, managers are better able to identify similarities and differences between institutions and examine why they exist (for more information regarding the development and implementation of KI/SSS, see Saylor, 1989, and 1989b, and Gilman, 1991).



Jeanne McVerde, Regional Computer Services Administrator, North Central Region, and Dave Freeman, Acounting Assistant Administrator, Food Service Training Center, Aurora, assist in computer instruction at the Management and Specialty Training Center, Aurora.

KI/SSS also contains several specialized modules, such as the Executive Staff Management Indicators Module mentioned above. This module contains information identified by the Bureau's executive staff as important to help determine whether areas of institution operations should be examined more closely. This includes such items as institutional capacity and inmate population, inmate classification, assaults on staff and inmates, escapes, and staff perceptions of their work environment. The module is further tied to the Bureau's strategic planning efforts by organizing the information according to the organization's goals of population management, human resources management, security and facility management, correctional leadership and effective public administration, inmate programs and services, and development of partnerships.

Much of this information is taken from data sources already resident in KI/SSS, and also includes other data representing various disciplines not currently included in KI/SSS. Each warden reviews the Executive Staff Management Indicators Module information for his or her institution and provides comments to the regional director for use in interpreting the data.

This process has a number of benefits. First, it has resulted in the organization of relevant information in a way that is used to assess programs and institutions; second, it is a fairly open process in which wardens are able to see and comment on what their "bosses" are examining. In several instances, their comments have resulted in modifications to the data provided to the executive staff. Finally, this process has helped demystify data by presenting them in a more easily understood manner. Managers are better able to assimilate the data and apply them to decision-making.

However, while KI/SSS is invaluable for providing information on the performance of programs, institutions, institution security levels, regions, and the Bureau overall, it does not indicate why these may or may not be functioning well. Much of that information is provided by discipline-specific program reviews and the Institution Character Profile, both developed under the auspices of the Bureau's Program Review Division.

## **Program Reviews**

Program reviews are conducted using discipline-specific guidelines developed and refined during the management assessment process. These guidelines provide very specific instructions to the reviewers as to which of the discipline's functions should be examined, as well as the steps for doing so. Although the program review teams originate from the Program Review Division in the Bureau's central office, guidelines are developed by administrators from the relevant disciplines.\*

A negative program review may result from any number of causes-inadequate resources, staff inexperience, lack of training, or inadequate guidance from supervisors and written policy. Identifying these causes enables reviewers to make specific recommendations for improvement. Tracking the occurrence and reasons for program weaknesses across a number of institutions enables the Bureau to identify program-specific problems, as well as more global causes, such as staff inexperience.

The Program Review Division provides a quarterly cumulative summary of these findings that is used by Bureau managers to determine whether any problems (or potential problems) exist in their own programs. This summary also identifies exemplary programs and information on external review activities relevant to managers.

Program reviews also identify programs or procedures that are exemplary and should be replicated. As is the case with negative findings, this information will be communicated to administrators for use in refining programs, identifying needs, and allocating resources.



A program review team visits the Federal Correctional Institution, Petersburg, Virginia. Left to right: Program Review Examiner W. Bob Brvce. Warden Carolyn Rickards, and Accounting Supervisor Darlene Ely.

and to help them ask questions, while the program review process identifies where a program may be faltering. However, it is possible that procedural breakdowns may not immediately appear as a problem. Ideally, program reviews will allow problems to be resolved before they have any noticeable effects on the program.

# Institution Character Profile

Institution Character Profiles were designed primarily as a management tool for regional directors and their wardens, and as a better means of communicating what is going on in institutions.

Institution Character Profiles are conducted for each institution at least every 3 years by a review team composed mainly of administrators from the regional office. The process entails visiting the institution; interviewing staff and inmates; recording observations on a range of topics related to morale, professionalism, and communications;

interviewing relevant department heads and program administrators; examining community relations (through observations and interviews with the community, local law enforcement, and so on); and examining relevant institution documents (e.g., training plans, budgets, and staff turnover statistics).

Information from the Institution Character Profile also is examined in conjunction with other information discussed previously. The different data sources combine to give the regional director and Bureau director a more complete picture of the institution.

The Institution Character Profile not only provides a better understanding of the institution; it gives a better understanding of the context for other information (such as that found in KI/SSS). This can be particularly useful when determining resource needs.

<sup>\*</sup>In addition to the reviews coordinated by the Program Review Division, field staff, using the same evaluation guidelines as the program review teams, conduct their own evaluations. Such selfevaluations are required at least once in each year that a program review is not conducted, but institutions are encouraged to conduct them more frequently.

# Management Assessments/ Strategic Planning

All of the tools discussed above are important to the Bureau's management assessment and strategic planning processes. To a large extent, good management decisions are based upon good data. By providing good data, the Bureau's information systems and program evaluations help ensure the quality of decisions.

 Program administrators from the Central and Regional Offices routinely perform management assessments in their particular disciplines (such as health services, education, correctional programs, or financial management). On a continuous basis, line staff are encouraged to help identify issues and forward them through their institution's administration to their regional administrator for consideration at the assessments. If significant deficiencies are found, program review guidelines are strengthened in those areas; in some cases, issues arise that cross disciplines, and must be presented to the Executive Staff for resolution or inclusion in national strategic plans.

• Strategic planning empowers Bureau staff in their day-to-day work by ensuring a two-way flow of information. Line staff identify critical issues, not only through management assessments, but also by forwarding issues directly to the Central Office for consideration by assistant directors. Conversely, once Bureau goals are established by the Bureau's Executive Staff (based on input they receive from the field), supporting action steps are developed by regional and institutional program managers. \*

### Conclusion

In what DiIulio calls "The New Old Penology" (Dilulio, 1991), there is an emerging consensus that the major factors determining the extent to which prisons are safe, secure, orderly, just, and humane institutions are not so much what sort of cards the institutions are dealt but how they are played. In other words, the types of inmates, the size and age of the physical plant, the abundance (or lack) of resources, the degree of overcrowding, or other such variables do not necessarily determine whether an institution operates smoothly. What matters most are the variables of organization, management, and governance.

But which of the many management variables actually make the most difference? It is easier to identify examples of good management than to discover just what makes them successful. This article has described a number of administrative tools developed by the Bureau of Prisons to manage its facilities more efficiently, effectively, and responsibly. With the exception of SENTRY, these tools are still in the research and development stage; continued use and feedback will result in further refinements consistent with the Bureau's management styles and needs. To the extent this occurs, the use of information will become a natural part of management, thus enabling the Bureau to manage proactively during a period of immense growth and tight resources.

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#### Notes

'Source: KI/SSS (Volume 4, No. 8).

\*Figures, provided by the Office of Management Support, Administration Division, Federal Bureau of Prisons, are as of December 1, 1992.

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<sup>\*</sup>For additional information regarding the Bureau's strategic planning process, see State of the Bureau 199 1.

# Grand Designs, Small Details

The management style of James V. Bennett

#### John W. Roberts

In October 1960, Federal Bureau of Prisons Director James V. Bennett returned to Washington after a 2-month trip around the world that included stops in France, Greece, Italy, Egypt, India, Thailand, Hong Kong, and Japan. After wading through the stacks of reports that had accumulated in his absence, and talking by telephone with his wardens, Bennett drafted a memorandumwhimsically entitled "A View From a Traveler"-which he sent to the Bureau's top executives. In the memo, Bennett critiqued a number of Bureau programs and procedures that he "had sort of taken for granted" previously, but which he could see in a new light after having been away from the office for so long.

Many of his observations and suggestions were extremely focused-criticizing, for example, the perfunctory interview given a prospective employee, suggesting that too many staff members were overweight, and recommending a limit on the amount of gasoline allowed in institution trucks to make it impossible for inmates to steal them "and highball out for parts unknown." In fact, in many of his memos of the late 1950's and early 1960's, and throughout his career, Bennett tended to pay great attention to small details, as he personally admonished staff not to keep pets on the reservation, expressed concern that inmates were permitted to watch too much television, suggested that institutions cease awarding cigarettes as prizes in inmate athletic competitions, and objected to what he considered the unnecessary duplication of inmate files.

The preoccupation with details may have seemed an anomaly. During his 27-year administration as director of the Bureau, Bennett was best known for his visionary



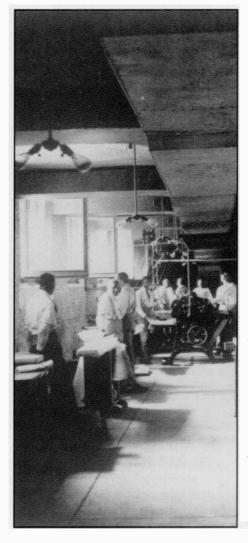
James V. Bennett, 1960, near the end of his long career as director. Photos courtesy of BOP Archives

philosophy of corrections and as one of the most determined exponents of rehabilitation programs-what later became known as the "Medical Model." Bennett's greatest goals-all of which he achieved-included reducing institutional regimentation, building clean, open, and modem institutions, developing meaningful work opportunities for inmates, improving educational and vocational training programs, providing diagnostic and counseling services, and instituting halfway house programs. During his last decade or so as director, Bennett delegated most day-to-day operations to his assistant directors-Myrl Alexander, Fred Wilkinson, Albert Evans, and Frank Loveland-so that he could devote much of his time to criminal justice issues that went beyond prison administration, such as gun control and sentencing reform. Throughout his career, Bennett clearly was alert to "big picture" issues.

Yet he tried never to lose sight of minute details. In fact, Bennett's mastery of details helped him realize some of his grand designs. Bennett began his Federal career as a specialist in government administrative methods, and his early first-hand analysis of Federal prison administration furnished him with the guiding principles he used to manage the Bureau. Out of that experience, in turn, he devised a theory of administrative management that could be applied not just to prison operations but to any public service enterprise.

From 1919 until he became assistant director of the new Bureau of Prisons in 1930, Bennett was an investigator and later chief investigator of the Bureau of Efficiency (the predecessor agency to the present-day Office of Management and Budget). In that position, Bennett studied the management techniques practiced in Federal agencies and recommended improvements. For example, he made an extensive study of the Justice Department's filing system, and proposed a complete overhaul.

In the mid-1920's, the chief of the Bureau of Efficiency offered Bennett the choice of undertaking an investigation either of Federal prisons or of the Veterans Administration's supply procurement systems. Bennett chose



prison, and studying prisons, he wrote later, "was probably the decisive experience of my early career." His survey of prison conditions helped him frame his philosophy of correctional goals and prison management.

In his report to the Bureau of Efficiency in March 1928, and in subsequent testimony to a congressional committee, Bennett detailed the deplorable conditions he found at the United States Penitentiaries at Atlanta, Leavenworth, and McNeil Island. Overcrowding was severe—eight men crowded into cells designed for four, and inmates sleeping in dark, poorly ventilated basements or relegated to makeshift living quarters in the prisons' warehouses. Sanitation was atrocious, there was little meaningful work to occupy the inmates, and there were no rehabilitation programs to speak of.

Bennett was quick to defend the prison administrators of the day, explaining that they did all they possibly could with the limited resources at their disposal. Nonetheless, he considered the prevailing conditions to be virtually inhumane and totally unsuited to the rehabilitation of offenders, which he believed to be the paramount goal of corrections.

#### Left: In the 1920's, Bennett found inadequate factories and a lack of meaningful work in Federal penitentiaries.

*Right: Recreational programs were subsidized by Federal Prison Industries, which Bennett helped create.* 

Far right: Under Bennett, the first assistant director for Federal Prison Industries, new factories were built (such as this one in Leavenworth) and work opportunities for inmates were expanded.

Surveying the wretched conditions in the early Federal prisons helped Bennett define his prison philosophy. He would seek to eliminate overcrowding and idleness, to build clean, new prisons, and to develop worthwhile educational programs, wholesome recreational programs, and productive industrial programs. Further, he would classify inmates by program and security needs to help bring about their individualized treatment. Ultimately, he would gear prison architecture, programs, regulations, and staffing to the rehabilitation of offenders. As he said years later, "the ultimate criterion of corrections is the prevention of recidivism."

To achieve these visionary goals, Bennett also needed a management philosophy. Just as his corrections objectives grew out of his early prison survey, so did his management style. In his report to the Bureau of Efficiency and his congressional testimony, he articulated several management principles upon which he would rely for the remainder of his career. Those principles included central direction and oversight, an emphasis on personnel issues, stewardship of resources, and openness to innovation.



# Central direction and oversight

From the outset, Bennett stressed the need for central direction and oversight. It was necessary to create "a coordinated system of Federal correctional institutions," he said in his report for the Bureau of Efficiency, and shortly thereafter he told the congressional committee that Federal prison administration should enjoy the status of "an independent bureau in the Department of Justice." Resolving the Bureau's status was imperative if prison officials were to



have the authority to make long-term plans and the power to implement them.

Bennett knew that it could take years for a single piece of legislation to get through Congress, followed by a year or more to secure the first appropriation for a new program or institution, and only after all that had taken place could substantive planning begin. In his congressional testimony, the future director argued strenuously that if Congress laid down general principles and then maintained control primarily through the appropriations process, the Bureau would be freed of the cumbersome requirement to obtain specific legislative approval every time it needed to activate a new prison or develop a new industrial product line. Planning would then be far more efficient and plans could be carried out in a more timely fashion.

That theory was put into practice when Congress established the Bureau in 1930 and gave it a broad legislative mandate to build new institutions and to implement appropriate programs for inmates. Sanford Bates, who served as director from 1930 to 1937, and Bennett, who was assistant director under Bates and then succeeded Bates as director, used that mandate to build the prisons that alleviated the terrible overcrowding of the 1920's and to develop the classification, education, and counseling programs geared toward the "individual treatment" of offenders that Bennett believed was essential to his goal of rehabilitation. Those accomplishments might have been impossible had there been no mandate and instead legislative consent had been obligatory on a case-by-case basis. Similarly, Federal Prison Industrieswhich Bennett masterminded-received legislative authority in 1934 to open new plants, develop new product lines, and

market products to Federal agencies without having to obtain congressional permission for each initiative. That authorization enabled Bennett to expand industrial programs to keep pace with the growing prison population.

Thus, the establishment of the Bureau and the incorporation of Federal Prison Industries changed top Federal prison officials' relationship with Congress by giving them greater authority and more independence. It also changed their relationship with field staff by conferring upon them the responsibility to set direction for the entire prison system. Before the Bureau's establishment, the various Federal wardens operated their institutions almost independently of each other and with minimal direction from their nominal superiors in Washington. Even after the Bureau came into existence. Directors Bates and Bennett had to struggle to establish discipline over the agency's components. But the law creating the Bureau set down the lines of authority-with the director clearly at the top-and during his administration

Bennett adopted many tactics to exert control and give direction.

For example, under Bennett, the Bureau became more policy-driven than ever before. In 1942 it codified its agency-wide policy system in a volume exceeding 800 pages. Officially titled the *Manual of Policies and Procedures*—but better known as the "door stop"—it contained thousands of directives in all disciplines and was updated and revised continually.

Bennett adopted other means to coordinate policies, make his orders known, and educate staff. In 1937 he inaugurated periodic wardens' conferences, giving wardens throughout the Bureau an opportunity to exchange ideas, learn new methods, and be advised face-to-face by Bennett. Once or twice a month, Bennett sent what he called "round-robin" letters or "encyclicals" to all his wardens, in which he issued orders, clarified instructions, shared information, and explained policies. In addition, during Bennett's tenure the Bureau developed a series of in-house publications, such as the *Progress Report*, the *Bulletin Board*, and the *Field Operations Newsletter*, to keep staff at all levels abreast of new developments, aware of new techniques, and in line with system-wide policy.

Finally, better methods of oversight were introduced during the Bennett administration. In the late 1940's, Assistant Directors Myrl Alexander and Frank Loveland developed the "team visit" concept-the precursor of modem program reviews. Alexander and Loveland each headed up teams of 5 to 10 members, including specialists in accounting, food services, custody, education, farming, industries, medical services, personnel, and so forth. Future Assistant Directors H.G. Moeller and John J. Galvin served as the inmate classification specialists on Loveland's and Alexander's teams, respectively.

Teams traveled (usually by car) for 2 or 3 weeks at at time, and visited three or four institutions. They would spend 3 to 5 days at each site, each specialist auditing





This page: Team visits helped ensure proper administration of Federal prisons. At far left: Assistant Director Myrl Alexander speaks at a team closeout during a visit to USP McNeil Island, c. 1948. At left: At the same meeting, Warden P.J. Squire listens at the head of the table.

Right: Bennett (fifth from left, first row) at the second annual wardens' conference, held at Springfield, Missouri, in 1938. Bennett instituted wardens' conferences to communicate policy more effectively and encourage innovation. operations in his or her area. The team would present findings and recommendations to the warden and key staff at a closeout on the final day of the visit, and then would file a report with Director Bennett. Bennett would review the reports and refer them—after adding his own comments—to the warden. Team visits were an important tool for maintaining correctional standards and administrative control.

Bennett remained committed to the idea of oversight. In 1956, in a speech at George Washington University to the Institute of Correctional Administrators, he outlined the essential factors to be considered when "appraising a prison" and emphasized that if inspections were to be reliable, then inspectors had to see everything first-hand—they should attend discipline hearings, sit in on classification meetings, examine records, interview inmates, inspect the hospital, and review everything else they could.

He had been shocked by the unsanitary conditions he had noted at Atlanta and

Leavenworth during the 1920's, and in his speech at George Washington University 30 years later he showed that cleanliness was still one of his chief concerns. Prison inspectors should make sure that "good housekeeping prevails," he said; there could be "no excuse for sloppiness." Staff should be neat and orderly in appearance, and inmates "reasonably well-clothed." Because "nothing [was] more important to the morale and well-being" of an institution than the quality of food service, Bennett also admonished prison inspectors to note kitchen conditions and ascertain that the food was both appetizing and clean, whether menus were changed regularly, and whether vegetarian meals were available for those desiring them. Lastly, inspectors had to appraise the overall institutional climate-specifically, the morale and attitudes of officers and inmates alike.

The absence of a strong, centralized administration was one of the causes of the unfortunate state of affairs Bennett discovered in Federal prisons in the

1920's. Bennett and others believed that having a strong prison bureau in Washington could go far towards rectifying many shortcomings. Not only would a bureau be in a stronger position to compete for appropriations, but it would have the authority from Congress to make important decisions, and a chain of command would be in place to enforce those decisions. As director, Bennett used his authority to plan necessary expansion of the system and to commit the Bureau to programs of individualized treatment of offenders. He then used wardens' conferences, round-robin letters, the Manual of Policies and Procedures, and several publications to convey his policies and goals to the field, and relied upon team visits and other forms of monitoring to ensure that his programs were being put into effect properly.

# **Personnel issues**

One of the most troubling drawbacks that Bennett identified in his 1928 study of Federal prisons was that top officials had



too many responsibilities and too few staff. Penitentiary wardens confronted "tremendous" administrative problems, Bennett wrote. They had responsibility for purchasing enough supplies for the subsistence of more than 3,000 people, ran a farm and a large industrial operation, maintained custody over the inmates, and sat on the institution's parole board-all with "a pitifully small amount of assistance." Bennett continued: "The same problems which face the warden are presented in a magnified and concentrated form" to the Justice Department's superintendent of prisons, who nominally was in charge of Federal prison administration before the creation of the Bureau. In his testimony to Congress a few months later. Bennett stated that he did "not know of any harder job in the Government service or anywhere else than running the Federal prisons," and that it was "physically impossible" for the superintendent of prisons to give detailed attention to all his tasks.

Bennett's solution was two-fold. First, the responsibilities of the superintendent (later, the director of the Bureau) and the wardens had to be limited; in particular, they had to be relieved of their demanding parole responsibilities so they would have more time for prison administration. That was accomplished in 1930, by legislation that created a single, independent United States Parole Board to replace the individual parole boards at each Federal prison. Second, Bennett called for more staff to be hired. He cited the lament of the solitary physician at Leavenworth: "To ask one man to function as penitentiary physician is a manifest unfairness. I know of no village in America of 3,200 souls that has but a single doctor." For purposes of comparison, Bennett pointed out in his congressional testimony the inequity of having a single division of 200 employees within the Washington office of the Veterans' Administration to administer a hospital system with 20,000 patients, whereas the superintendent of prisons had a staff of only 18 in Washington to administer a prison system with more than 18,000 inmates.

Bennett's intent to place realistic limits on the responsibility of top officials carried over into a general commitment to rational organization that conformed "to good business principles." Defining job responsibility throughout a prison by having an appropriate organization plan, he wrote in *Federal Probation* in 1944, was essential if each employee's abilities were to be mobilized and if overlapping assignments and conflicting authority were to be avoided.

The way staff were configured influenced the effectiveness of programs.



Recognizing that more sophisticated inmate programs required more sophisticated staffing patterns, the Bureau started moving in the 1950's toward the "treatment team" concept. Representatives from all disciplines-correctional officers, caseworkers, and senior staffworked together more closely in their supervision of inmates. By the early 1960's, a "Cottage Life Intervention" system developed by Myrl Alexander put interdisciplinary teams in charge of supervising specific groups of inmates at one of the Bureau's youth facilities. Those new structures led to the development of the unit management system, which became standard by the 1970's. For Bennett, treatment teams and Cottage Life Intervention promoted interaction, information sharing, and coordination of activities among staff; they also put staff in a better position to carry out the advanced programs that were part of Bennett's individualized treatment emphasis.

Ultimately, good prison management in Bennett's view depended on a good staff. "Every institution," he said, paraphrasing Ralph Waldo Emerson, "is but the lengthened shadow of some man or men." The success of Bennett's foremost policy goal—individualized treatment rested upon the knowledge and professionalism of individual staff members. Also, he worked with the first director to bring about, and during his own administration continued to extol, the nonpolitical, merit-based selection and promotion of officers. As he would have remembered well from his initial study of Federal prisons, early wardens were political appointees, a fact that engendered a host of problems. Only "under a genuine merit system," Bennett said,

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could staff enjoy the independence and the job security they needed to make objective decisions, propose innovations, and carry out their assignments.

Finally, Bennett recognized that the hardest job of prison administration was to recruit and develop staff. His commitment to training and a merit system reflected that conviction, as did his commitment to one other important goal: better pay for correctional officers. "In most American [penal] institutions," he wrote in 1954, "the pay of prison officers is nothing short of scandalous." If "their worth as measured in pay received [is] satisfactory," he wrote 10 years earlier, then more qualified individuals would be attracted to a career in corrections. Yet pay for correctional officers frequently lagged behind that of other law enforcement officers who possessed equal skills and faced similar hazards.

In 1955, Bennett complained bitterly to Attorney General Herbert Brownell that

higher salaries for commensurate work lured "not a few" correctional officers to accept positions as deputy United States Marshals. Thus, said Bennett, the Marshals were receiving staff who had been trained at the Bureau's expense. At higher levels, too, pay was inadequate. In the 1950's some Federal wardens held Civil Service ranks as low as GS-11, despite the fact, said Bennett, that "there are few positions in the Government requiring the breadth of experience, the diversified abilities, the long hours, or the hazards that are inherent in the position of a Warden." Well into retirement, Bennett continued to argue that prisons were understaffed and prison staff underpaid.

It was not enough for top staff to champion the concerns of line staff. As Bennett told a Brookings Institution conference in 1958, line staff had to "know you're fighting their battles" for higher pay and civil service protection [emphasis added].



Staff recognition and training were important priorities for Bennett. At left, he presents an award to a staff member, c. 1949; above, Bennett speaks at a training conference for jail inspectors. Myrl Alexander is next to him.

Ironically, Bennett did not always succeed in making staff aware that he was fighting their salary battles. Because Bureau budgets were so tight, Bennett was forced to hold grade levels down even as he was trying to persuade the Attorney General to raise them. Bennett's executive assistant, Lawrence A. Carpenter, recalled that the low salaries sometimes fostered staff resentment towards Bennett.

# **Stewardship of resources**

Except for demanding higher pay for Bureau staff, Bennett tended to be very conservative on spending matters. According to Bennett's long-time assistant director and eventual successor, Myrl Alexander, Bennett monitored the Bureau's budget very closely. He "maintained a consistent flow of interest in expenditure of appropriated funds, from their initial development and justification on through the actual expenditures," and "invariably" reviewed the reports of financial auditors. His fiscal caution was encouraged by the severely limited budgets the Bureau received during his administration, but Bennett was able to use economic restraint as a tactic to achieve program goals.

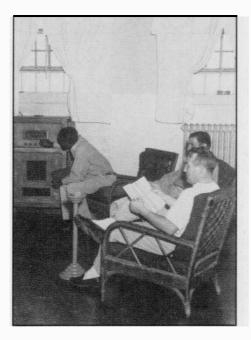
Bennett's frugality may have derived in part from his flinty Yankee upbringing. Myrl Alexander once suggested that his predecessor's "sense of responsible stewardship of public funds" actually "grew out of the New England Yankee tradition." The son of an industrious but not terribly prosperous clergyman, Bennett remembered the many economies his family practiced during his boyhood—stewing salt pork, saving pennies in a souvenir teapot from Niagara Falls, and stoking the furnace with one shovelful of cinders for every shovelful of coal. Later, Bennett worked his way through Brown University in Rhode Island as a butcher's boy on weekends in a Providence market at 15 cents an hour, saving "everything I was given or could earn."

Undoubtedly of greater significance was the fact that frugality was forced on the Bureau by a chary Congress. The House of Representatives' Appropriations Committee customarily pared Bureau budgets to the bone. Although Bennett had many friends on Capitol Hill-Representative Emmanuel Celler and Senators Edward Long, Roman Hruska, and Thomas Dodd among them-an influential Appropriations Committee member, Brooklyn Congressman John J. Rooney, was one of Bennett's adversaries. In a 1974 interview, Bennett recalled that Rooney had been "a young prosecutor when he was elected to Congress. He considered his job as the head of the Appropriations Subcommittee to prosecute everybody who came before him, including me, and cut us back everywhere along the line."

At committee hearings, Rooney grilled Bennett on budget requests both large and small, once insisting upon a protracted justification of the Bureau's modest intention to hire 1 new chaplain, 1 classification officer, 2 junior stewards, 3 mechanical engineers, 1 garage mechanic, and 13 correctional officers during the course of fiscal year 1959. Rooney "always delivered himself of a tough message," said Bennett, and preached "economy sermons"—on the record—to the Bureau. Yet perhaps the most important aspect of Bennett's policy of cost containment was that he used it to achieve program goals, thereby turning an apparent disadvantage into a plus. He helped bring about a modern prison system by arguing that modern prisons could be less expensive than old-fashioned prisons.

Bennett's objective was to replace the handful of massive, populous, Bastillelike prisons that predominated prior to the 1930's with a system of smaller, open, less restrictive prisons. Moving to such institutions was critical to his philosophy of individualized treatment. Smaller prisons meant the possibility of specialized prisons that could provide targeted rehabilitation programs; open prisons meant fewer bars, fewer walls, and, in Bennett's estimation, greater dignity for the inmate and greater likelihood of successful readjustment after release.

Starting when he wrote his report for the Bureau of Efficiency and lasting throughout his career, Bennett's hole card in



seeking to bring about such a prison system was that it would be vastly more economical than maintaining a system of traditional penitentiaries. For instance, by having a network of prisons across the country rather than just a few, the Government could house inmates near their homes and would not have to spend nearly as much on inmate transportation.

Bennett was unwavering on custody issues for those inmates who required tight security. No prison in the system received greater attention from Bennett than the U.S. Penitentiary at Alcatraz, California, which was the Bureau's most secure facility. But Bennett's ideal prison was the Federal Correctional Institution in Seagoville, Texas-the "prison without walls," he called it, with a strong programming emphasis and lack of regimentation-which he claimed was "living proof that there may be no need to build costly cell blocks except for a few chronic escape artists, a few desperadoes, and a few who have lost all hope." To win support, he pointed out that that type of institution could be built for onehalf or even one-third the per inmate cost of constructing a traditional penitentiary. The sorts of prisons Bennett wanted reflected his correctional philosophy, but also his fiscal prudence.

By both design and necessity, then, parsimony was a hallmark of Bennett's administrative style. "From the first day of the fiscal year," he wrote to his wardens in July 1947, "we must bend our utmost to save every penny." In 1952 he observed, "There is no institution or department in the entire system that doesn't have problems springing from a lack of funds. Our appropriations are very carefully guarded and there is no 'fat' anywhere." Wardens and business managers responded so well, however,

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that more than once Bennett reminded them that in their eagerness to save money they should not "take any foolhardy risks" or go beyond "a peril point." He asked to be told of critical areas that were underfunded so that he could secure funding "essential to the safety and well-being" of Bureau facilities. "We will find some way to maintain our defenses," he wrote, no matter how severe the budget cuts.

Bureau personnel came up with imaginative ways of getting by on restricted budgets. Bennett himself instructed institutions with farms to grow as much produce as they could-to lease additional farmland, if possible-and to share surplus goods with other institutions. He also encouraged institutions to avoid "duplication of services." As an example, Bennett suggested that institutions that maintained machine shops for the prison itself, for the Prison Industries factory, at the powerhouse, and for vocational training, could consolidate them under one roof. Business managers, meanwhile, husbanded resources and scrounged for free or inexpensive materials.

The controller at Alcatraz, for instance, said he "spent a great amount of time and effort searching other agencies for their surplus property and obtained substantial

Left: The day room at FCI La Tuna, Texas, c. 1952, an example of the better living conditions that Bennett implemented.

Far right: Bennett was proud of the "prison without walls," FCI Seagoville, Texas.

Right: Throughout Bennett's administration, farming was important for allieviating idleness and reducing expenses.



quantities of valuable and useful items," mainly from military posts. When the Maritime Service deactivated 21 vessels, he obtained their stock of provisions for use at Alcatraz and at other Bureau institutions. Another time he discovered a barrel containing surplus components for direct current motors, and he persuaded officials at the agency that owned the equipment to give it to Alcatraz. "I recall being very proud of the fact that the BOP operated as economically as reasonably possible," wrote the Alcatraz controller, "while other agencies seemed less concerned over the source of their funds."

### **Openness to innovation**

In his very first involvement with prisons—the Bureau of Efficiency study—Bennett championed innovation. While hardly the only person calling for Federal prison reform, Bennett made his start in corrections with a broadly based appeal for restructuring Federal prison administration and for adopting progressive new programs for inmates.



Throughout his administration, Bennett continued to champion innovation as a management tool. He lashed out against "lid-sitters" who were content with the status quo and who failed to identify or remedy problems aggressively. Complacency in a prison setting, he pointed out, meant that "explosive or dangerous institutional" problems could be overlooked until it was too late.

Instead of complacency, Bennett advocated "a ferment, lively experimentation, [and a] lack of 'doing-things-this-waybecause-it's-always-been-done-so" attitude. He urged administrators to "keep abreast of developments in the management field," to experiment and conduct research, and to undergo critical self-appraisal. He advocated "brainstorming sessions—retreats—conferences executive development—[and] talent scouting" to generate "creative ideas."

Accordingly, Bennett himself generated or supported a host of new ideas and projects. Not all were implemented. For example, in 1939 he called for the Department of Justice to establish a Crime Control Unit that would carry out research and provide assistance to States geared toward applying the insights of social work, psychiatry, and education to crime prevention initiatives at the local level. Bennett's proposal was not adopted, but it was emblematic of how he tried to devise new solutions not just to the problems of corrections but to broader issues in criminal justice.

Bennett did succeed, however, in implementing many innovations. He was a key player in perhaps the most critical innovation in Federal prison history—the creation of the Bureau of Prisons. His "individualized treatment" concept involved adoption of numerous programs in classification, education, and counseling. Bennett was assistant director for industries in 1934 when Federal Prison Industries was founded-a milestone in the Bureau's development. Even late in his career, Bennett was strongly in favor of new initiatives. A pilot project begun under Bennett in 1961 to test the halfway house concept led to the creation of community corrections. Shortly before he retired in 1964, the state-of-the-art supermaximum-security penitentiary he helped design at Marion, Illinois, was activated. And at the time of his retirement, planning for the Bureau's leadingedge institution at Butner, North Carolina, was well under way.\*

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In 1962, in a speech at the Brookings Institution, Bennett observed that careers in public administration carried with them many satisfactions. One did not enter the field for the money, of course. Further, public administrators were "surrounded by regulations" and were

Butner was not opened until 1976—12 years after Bennett's retirement. Bennett had long advocated such an institution, however, and planning for Butner began while he was still director. Lack of funding delayed the construction of the institution (see Robert L. Brutsche and John W. Roberts, "A Working Partnership for Health Care," *Federal Prisons Journal* 1 (Fall 1989): 32-8. never "immune from public scrutiny." But public administration also offered an "opportunity to do something constructive and meaningful," brought the "adventure" and "excitement" of developing and experimenting with new programs, and permitted one to "make decisions" and "get things done." Public administrators, Bennett continued, could win promotion through merit, meet interesting people, and be a "part of history."

Bennett started his career not as a prison administrator but as an expert on public administration. Just as he tended to see the problems of corrections within the broader context of criminal justice issues, so he viewed prison administration within the larger framework of public administration. Drawing on his decades of experience in managing a major Federal agency, Bennett in 1961 outlined for the American Society of Public Administrators the problems and goals of managing any sort of public institution where inmates, patients, wards, or other residents were confined. At base, the principal challenge amounted to satisfying a variety of constituencies, each of which had different needs and expectations.

The public, said Bennett, wanted institutions to provide protection and the convenience of being "able to forget the problem because it has been turned over to an expert." The "boss"-whether a mayor, governor, or board of directorswanted tangible evidence of success and an absence of problems and criticisms. The regulatory office wanted efficiency, economy, and adherence to rules. The profession-at-large wanted adherence to professional standards and "an approved approach with approved personnel." The inmate or patient wanted "individuality or self respect," assistance, and "to get out." And the administrator in charge of the institution wanted the best staff, the best facilities, and the best operating budget he or she could acquire, to carry out the assigned mission successfully, and "to leave a mark on the field through research, new ideas, or contributions."

Bennett tried to accomplish these goals by stressing central direction and oversight, personnel issues, stewardship of resources, and innovation. And he clearly achieved his stated goal of leaving "a mark on the field."

Right: Bennett speaks at the dedication of FCI Butner, North Carolina, 1976.



<sup>\*</sup>Marion was designed to be the replacement for Alcatraz, the Bureau's first supermaximum-security institution. Marion's original mission, however, was that of a youth facility, so that the Bureau could operate the institution and work out any design flaws before incarcerating more dangerous adult offenders there. Marion then operated for several years as a maximum-security penitentiary, before being redesignated a supermaximumcustody institution in the late 1970's.

Left: Bennett accepting a Presidential Award for Distinguished Civilian Service from President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1959.

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Some scholars of public administration have argued that agency heads enjoy comparatively little influence over the actual programs, philosophies, or operations of their organizations. As Professor John J. DiIulio points out, however, that was not the case with Bennett. According to DiIulio, Bennett had an enormous impact upon the Bureau-developing and instituting new programs, showing sensitivity to staff needs, forging alliances with politicians and opinion makers, besting bureaucratic rivals, and burnishing the Bureau's public image. The success of the Bureau, in DiIulio's estimation, was due in no small measure to the personal strengths of James Bennett.

In many respects, Bennett focused on details and functions: penny-pinching budgets, legislative processes, minute points of supervision, internal newsletters and other forms of communicating with staff, and institutional sanitation. But by attending so closely to such details, Bennett was able to cultivate a prison system that achieved his much larger goal of individualized treatment. And as much as Bennett and the Bureau evolved during Bennett's tenure as assistant director and director, Bennett's insights, concerns, and philosophical orientations almost always could be traced back to his initial study on Federal prisons produced in the 1920's. In turn, many of the management principles he enunciated continue to be valuable nearly 30 years after his administration came to an end.

John W. Roberts, Ph.D., is Archivist of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and a frequent contributor to the Federal Prisons Journal.

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Hurricane Andrew devastated many residential neighborhoods in south Florida. Photograph by Cameron Davidsor

# **Responding to Disaster**

Hurricane Andrew

### F.P. Sam Samples

In late August 1992, Hurricane Andrew struck an unprecedented blow to South Florida, leaving in its wake death, billions of dollars in property damage, and disruption of virtually every aspect of civic, business, government, and personal life. The hurri-

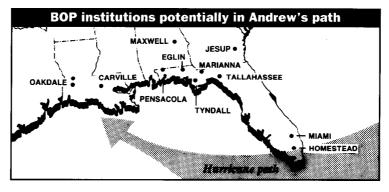
cane did not spare correctional operations in the Miami area. Two Federal Bureau of Prisons institutions—the Federal Prison Camp located on Homestead Air Force Base and the Metropolitan Correctional Center in Miami—suffered major damage.

What the Bureau did in the hours before the hurricane struck and its actions in the aftermath show that, while an agency cannot prevent a natural disaster, effective planning, training, and decisionmaking can reduce the degree of disruption the disaster causes.

### **Before the hurricane**

Hurricane Andrew did not arrive unannounced. Beginning August 23, Bureau staff at MCC Miami (actually located in a southern suburb of Dade County) and the prison camp on Homestead Air Force Base (about 30 miles south of Miami) began busily preparing for the storm.

That evening, it became apparent the hurricane would make landfall just south of Miami and that Homestead would receive the brunt of the storm. FPC Homestead Superintendent Sam Calbone organized the movement of all 146 Homestead inmates and 63 institution staff to MCC Miami. Bureau staff, working with Air Force officials, made some efforts to reinforce the facility, but



because most of the buildings had wooden frames, little could be done to protect them against winds that were expected to reach 150 miles per hour.

MCC Miami staff and inmates worked all day and into the night to fortify the buildings on the prison compound. The buildings' reinforced walls were expected to provide substantial protection from winds, but windows and other design features appeared vulnerable and were reinforced with plywood.

Staff established a ham radio link with the Bureau's regional office in Atlanta. Although inmates were reassured of the precautions being taken to safeguard them, several resisted being placed in their rooms as they anxiously awaited Andrew's arrival. Staff quickly brought the resisting inmates under control, and all inmates were secured.

With the addition of staff and inmates from FPC Homestead, 1,402 inmates and more than 300 staff members were at MCC Miami on August 24. In addition, more than 200 family members of staff had gathered in the institution's visiting room and training center, seeking shelter from the coming storm.

Even during sustained hurricane-force winds, staff moved through the facility, reviewing security features and calming inmates. As the hurricane progressed, they cleared inmates out of damaged and flooded cells and evacuated areas that were extremely unsafe. At great personal risk, staff heroically ensured the safety of other staff members and inmates during the height of the storm.

The Atlanta office followed the progress of the growing

storm as it moved toward the mainland. As its increasing intensity became evident, staff reviewed emergency procedures contained in contingency plans at each facility and prepared to deal with the expected high winds, rain, and other adverse conditions. What they could not know was that Andrew would be far stronger than anticipated, that it would last for nearly 4 hours, and that it would pass through MCC Miami with exceptionally violent wind and rain.

The hurricane reached Miami at about 4 a.m. on August 24. At 4:10 a.m., winds destroyed the prison's ham radio tower, and at 4:15 a.m. all electrical power failed. Although command centers had been activated at the regional office in Atlanta and the central office in Washington, D.C., without communications, staff in these cities could do nothing but wait to hear about the hurricane's impact.

### The aftermath

Even while the high winds and torrential rains continued, staff at MCC Miami—at risk to their personal safety—began assessing the damage and setting up procedures to ensure security. When communications from the prison to the regional office were temporarily restored, the news was sobering. While no staff, inmates, or family members suffered serious injuries, the hurricane caused major damage to MCC Miami's buildings and support facilities. The wind flattened the prison's two perimeter fences, destroyed the perimeter detection system, and seriously damaged all buildings throughout the institution. Flying debris destroyed non-ballisticsresistant glazing, and other major security features were rendered inoperable. Water, electricity, and phone service were cut off, leaving the institution totally dark and causing sewage to back up into the buildings.

The wind ripped roofs from buildings and toppled numerous trees in the compound. Wind and flying debris ripped from their mounts or otherwise destroyed virtually all building accessories and security features, including yard gates, air ventilation units, high mast lights, antennas, and sun shelters on the yard. Debris from other buildings near the institution blew into the compound, and the contents of a hazardous waste receptacle were strewn about.

Two inmate transport buses and a tractor trailer were rolled over. Almost all cars were literally picked up and thrown through the air or bounced about like tennis balls, sustaining heavy damage. A trailer housing the associate wardens' offices was flattened and destroyed, and a portable inmate housing unit was damaged beyond repair.

Homestead Air Force Base, including the prison camp, was totally destroyed. The hurricane dismantled the facility's buildings and wrecked all vehicles and property that had been left on the site.



One of MCC Miami's mast lights, blown down.

### The Bureau response

Maintaining security at MCC Miami was the first order of business. To restore the perimeter, staff pulled the outer fence upright with heavy equipment and set up temporary generator-powered lighting. Armed MCC Miami staff surrounded the compound on foot and in the few private vehicles that remained operable. Staff conducted a count of employees and inmates to ensure that everyone was safe and secure. The count revealed that no inmates had escaped and that only three people had minor injuries.

By this point, it was obvious the institution would not be habitable for some time, and the Bureau began an evacuation.

The Bureau had been preparing emergency evacuation procedures before the hurricane struck, positioning Bureau buses and U.S. Marshals Service airplanes around central and north Florida. Once the storm passed, the buses and Marshals' planes began moving in, carrying supplies, water, and Bureau staff—including Special Operations Response Teams (SORT's)—to the facility. With the arrival of outside staff, inmates from MCC Miami and FPC Homestead were evacuated to these locations: Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) Tallahassee, Florida (278 inmates); Lake County Jail, Tavares, Florida (213); Duval County Jail, Jacksonville, Florida (200); FCI Marianna, Florida (150); FCI Talladega, Alabama (149); FCI Jesup, Georgia (149); USP Atlanta, Georgia (80); FPC Maxwell, Alabama (63); Dismas House Community Corrections Center, Dania, Florida (61); FPC Eglin, Florida (55); and other locations (4).

The evacuation was accomplished through hours of hard work and team effort. MCC Miami Warden Joel Knowles and FCI Jesup Warden Bob Honsted took primary responsibility for orchestrating this massive transfer, with the assistance of Homestead Superintendent Calbone and Larry Cox, warden of the Bureau's not-yet-opened Metropolitan Detention Center in Guaynabo, Puerto Rico, who flew to the scene with 30 staff members.

By 10 p.m. on August 26—just 2 days after the hurricane hit—Bureau staff had safely transported 1,402 inmates to other Federal and non-Federal facilities throughout the southeast United States. The bus crews and others who managed to get to MCC Miami soon after the storm overcame numerous obstacles in their efforts to transport inmates. They were forced to travel through inclement weather—maneuvering around trees, overturned vehicles, power lines, and telephone poles strewn across roadways—without many road signs or even familiar landmarks.

What made the evacuation even more remarkable was that communication between the command center in Atlanta and MCC Miami was cut off. Staff carried out the entire operation with very little information exchanged between the primary points of control.

In the hurricane's aftermath, senior Bureau staff became involved. On August 31, a task force of five Bureau assistant directors traveled to Miami to provide additional support to the regional director. The Executive Staff task group was to develop a detailed plan of recovery for MCC Miami and its staff, further assess the damage sustained at Homestead and Miami, develop a plan to continue detention services for the Federal law enforcement community in south Florida, and address many other hurricane-related issues. In addition, many staff and SORT personnel from other Bureau locations arrived on the scene to offer assistance and expertise.

Of the 408 staff at the two institutions, 138 suffered the total destruction or condemnation of their homes and 185 had their homes severely damaged. About 140 staff had no insurance on their homes, and 170 staff had no insurance on damaged household goods. One hundred cars were destroyed and 263 were badly damaged: 96 employees had no car insurance. A total of 185 staff needed immediate financial aid.

On September 10 and 11, staff participated in organized small-group discussions about the effects of the hurricane and ways to cope with the toll it took on their personal lives. Throughout the week, special tents were set up to help staff in areas such as legal problems; pay, leave, and transfer issues; employee assistance; and spiritual or emotional guidance.



Like many structures at MCC Miami, the institution warehouse sustained major damage. Rebuilding it cost more than \$1 million.

While their peers assisted Homestead and Miami staff with personal and work issues, other employees from Bureau institutions around the country were detailed temporarily to Miami, joining FPC and MCC staff in efforts to repair the damage.

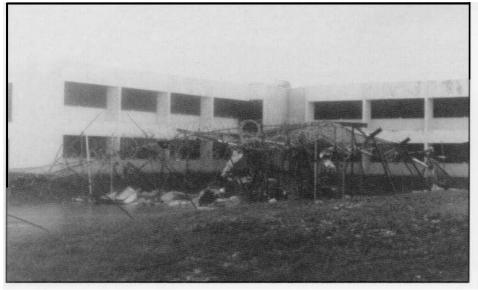
News of the employees' plight brought tremendous material and financial support from the Bureau and the Department of Justice. Bureau staff nationwide donated funds, food, clothing, and personal care items to help staff at Miami. Truckload after truckload of clothing, nonperishable foods, and personal care items donated by Bureau staff around the Nation were trucked and airlifted to Miami in the weeks immediately following the hurricane. Surplus items were donated to local relief organizations who, in turn, distributed them to other needy families in south Florida. Miami Warden Knowles remarked, "General Colin Powell would have been impressed with the supply line."

In the weeks and months that followed, Bureau staff at institutions around the Nation displayed creativity and ingenuity by sponsoring events such as golf tournaments, auctions, bake sales, and spaghetti dinners to raise relief-fund money. Their resourcefulness and generosity underscore staff commitment to help families and friends in times of crisis. A total of \$295,000 in assistance for prison staff at Miami and Homestead had been donated to the Hurricane Andrew Relief Fund by the end of 1992.

### **Rebuilding and renewal**

On February 23, 1993, a scant 6 months after Hurricane Andrew devastated south Dade County, the Metropolitan Correctional Center was rededicated.

In the intervening months, a pressing need for the Bureau was to provide detention space to assist the Federal courts and the U.S. Marshals Service. A secure housing unit for 150 pretrial detainees was established at the Immigration and Naturalization Service's Krome Detention Center. This unit operated from October 13 until November 15, 1992, when high-security inmates were returned to the MCC.



Above. The recreation yard behind E and F units. Right: Warden Joel Knowles and Bureau Director Kathleen M. Hawk at the rededication ceremony for MCC Miami, February 1993.

In addition, two units at the MCC were activated to house up to 200 pretrial inmates, secured with a double fence, razor wire, and an electronic detection system, enhanced by stationary armed posts.

Restoring the physical plant required quick action by the regional office in Atlanta, awarding major construction contracts before local companies were committed to other projects in the devastated area and before the costs of major construction escalated. This saved many thousands of dollars and probably as much as 6 months of construction time.

The major projects contracted for included repair and replacement of all roofs, all high mast and perimeter lighting, all glass, the entire perimeter fence and alarm system, and a new warehouse. While these projects were underway, facilities staff worked inside most buildings, repairing damaged sheet rock, rewiring, painting, and repairing plumbing. Staff and inmate landscape crews cleaned up and restored the grounds.

While staff labored to rebuild the MCC, most were rebuilding their personal lives as well. While many have been able to return to their homes, many more still live with family or friends, or have found temporary housing in distant apartments.

At the February 23 rededication ceremony, Bureau Director Kathleen M. Hawk paid tribute to the efforts of Miami and Homestead staff: "The real story of this dedication ceremony isn't the quick, skillful rebuilding of a prison. The heart of this ceremony is a tribute to the Miami staff. No one who was not here when Hurricane Andrew hit can fully understand what you went through that day. And perhaps worse than anything that nature put you through was the fact that there was no way to know what was happening to your loved ones. Yet you stood by your posts. You fulfilled your



duties to safeguard the inmates in your charge and to protect the public. At this ceremony, I want to recognize the debt we all owe to you—and to tell you that today we really are rededicating this institution to you, in recognition of your heroism and professionalism."

Although much remains to be done, only a few of Hurricane Andrew's scars are visible inside the perimeter today. According to Warden Knowles (who recently left the MCC to become warden of the Bureau's new detention center in Miami), "Life in Miami has changed. But we are, I believe, stronger and better prepared to meet our personal and professional challenges in the future."

F.P. Sam Samples, Ed.D., is Regional Director of the Southeast Region of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. An earlier version of this article appeared in the December 1992 issue of Corrections Today, published by the American Correctional Association.

### **Bureau emergency procedures**

To cope with major emergencies or other significant interruptions of normal routine (such as those in Miami), all Federal Bureau of Prisons institutions have contingency plans that provide guidance to staff in various situations. These plans include information for dealing with a riot or fire, conducting mass evacuations in the event of a natural or man-made disaster, responding to a bomb or bomb threat, or managing other significant emergency conditions.

While every emergency situation is different, and requires differing responses, these plans provide a blueprint that can be applied to almost any emergency situation. Typical emergency plans include information on notification of command staff, containment of the situation, notification of and coordination with local authorities, providing interim and followup medical care, and other key issues.

An outdated plan can actually handicap an effective response, and every facility's emergency plans are reviewed and updated each year by top management staff. Employees are also required to review the plans each year. Training on many aspects of emergency plans is conducted on a regular basis.

The Bureau's regional and central offices also have emergency response plans to assist them in supporting field operations in the event of a crisis. These plans include necessary contacts and liaison functions with other Federal, State, and local agencies. When



City public safety officer directs traffic during Duluth neighborhood evacuation.

the emergency is prolonged, staff from regional and central offices and from other Bureau locations are often sent to the site.

This system-wide response capability was put to good use in the Hurricane Andrew crisis, and also has served the Bureau well in other major incidents, such as the 1987 Cuban detainee uprisings in Atlanta, Georgia, and Oakdale, Louisiana, and the 1991 hostage situation in Talladega, Alabama. A near-disaster that occurred just 2 months before Hurricane Andrew struck Florida illustrates how staff flexibility is essential in implementing even the best-planned emergency responses.

At 4 a.m. on June 30, 1992, a train derailed south of Superior, Wisconsin, causing a spill of benzene-based liquid into the Nemadji River. A cloud of benzene gas formed over the cities of Superior and Duluth, Minnesota, and both were declared disaster areas. At one point, the cloud of noxious gas came within 4 miles of the Federal Prison Camp in Duluth—one of the largest minimumsecurity facilities in the Bureau.

The emergency plans for evacuation were initiated, and the command centers at FPC Duluth and the North Central Regional Office in Kansas City were activated. However, because of the overwhelming scale of the emergency, plans had to be modified. Originally, plans called for the use of Duluth city buses to evacuate the facility and transport inmates to specific evacuation sites, but—because 80,000 Duluth and Superior residents were being moved from their homes—the buses and evacuation sites were not available.

Fortunately, about a month before the incident, a mass casualty drill-which included participants from FPC Duluth, the St. Louis County Sheriff's Department, the Duluth Police Department, and the 911 Emergency Command Center, as well as emergency medical personnel and preparedness officials from the surrounding area-was conducted at the institution. As a result, staff at the FPC worked efficiently with local officials to establish alternate transportation arrangements and evacuation sites. Two other Bureau institutions, at Sandstone and Rochester, Minnesota, provided staff and institution buses to prepare for the possible evacuation.

The cloud of toxic gas did not reach FPC Duluth, and Minnesota Governor Arne Carlson declared an end to the emergency at 6:30 p.m. The institution was able to maintain normal operations throughout. ■

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### **News at Eleven** *Correctional accountability and the media*

### **Charles** Turnbo

There is a great deal of talk today about "accountability" in corrections, due to the significant responsibility corrections carries in dealing with criminals and protecting the public, and the enormous fiscal resources required to sustain correctional operations.

Without question, corrections needs the public's confidence and support to be successful in its mission; indeed, a wellinformed public is an asset to any public administrator or agency. But in the face of societal pressures to "reform" criminals and use tax funds wisely, corrections professionals are—very properly—being held accountable for their stewardship of public resources.

Put simply, for the public to accurately and effectively hold corrections officials accountable, it must be better informed on correctional issues. Beyond a doubt, the most powerful force in our society for conveying information of this type is the mass media—a term that covers both news- and entertainment-oriented media organizations. Yet in many cases, serious correctional issues are not being examined by the media in a full and responsible manner.

The public is justifiably concerned about the business of "correcting" criminals. They are concerned whether prisons are effective; whether they are too comfortable or too harsh; whether the death penalty is appropriate; whether inmate health care should be better than that available to the millions of Americans who have no health insurance; whether and when inmate furloughs are appropriate; whether drug offenders should receive treatment and what treatment is effective; and whether the correctional system should spend more effort devising effective alternatives to prisons (such as halfway houses, parole, probation, home confinement, and electronic monitoring). They are concerned about prisons' response to high-profile prisoners such as Michael Milken, David "Son of Sam" Berkowitz, Manuel Noriega, Jeffrey Dahmer, John Gotti, Charles Manson, and Leona Helmsley. And the public is also concerned about the cost of corrections, particularly of imprisonment.

In addition, the public has become increasingly aware of the rapid growth of prison, parole, and probation populations. Across the Nation, high levels of prison crowding are the norm. The Federal prison system is operating at 45 percent over its rated capacity; many States are similarly crowded. States such as California, Illinois, New York, and Florida are spending billions of taxpayers' dollars on new prisons, while the Federal Bureau of Prisons is currently embarked on the largest expansion program in its history.

Most correctional systems, as they expand, also face serious issues in the areas of recruitment and training of staff members. Thousands of professionals must be hired even while the national economy forces agencies to implement stringent cost-containment and -reduction measures, while competing against private industry for high-quality personnel.

Although the general public is usually unaware of them, corrections also faces many inmate management issues, all of which are compounded by crowding. To reduce idleness, effective work programs must be found and job opportunities expanded. Literacy training and education program capacity must be increased, as must vocational training. Drug treatment is even more in demand; in the Bureau of Prisons, more than 30 percent of the inmates have histories of moderate or serious substance abuse.

Clearly, the public needs to know more about these and other issues facing corrections if it is to make accurate judgments about how its taxes are spent. The public deserves intelligent discourse about what is happening in corrections today, and the media is one of the best means of providing information in this important policy debate.

# Sensationalism drives out accuracy

Unfortunately, all too often, crises and scandals are the only prison stories that make the news—sensationalism, not accuracy, often drives reporting on correctional matters. Well-managed prisons are not news.

Changes in the world of journalism have only increased the tendency to sensationalize. News organizations competing over ratings increasingly structure the news along entertainment lines. "Infotainment" television programs that mix news and entertainment formats are on the increase—electronic versions of the supermarket tabloids.

Of course, corrections officials must admit they haven't done enough over the years to inform the public about their profession. Indeed, corrections has a problem largely of its own making—a history of hiding behind its walls and fences and only reluctantly releasing information to the public.

While most correctional agencies now have policies that allow inmates to grant interviews, prison officials do have a legitimate right to regulate in-person interviews in some cases. An inmate's status as a juvenile or as a psychiatric patient can create a need to restrict media access. Without some limits, satisfying media appetites regarding highly notorious inmates could occupy an entire staff of public information officers full time. But for the most part, inmate interviews are an area in which correctional agencies can accommodate the media.

In many cases, there is good cause for a conservative approach to release of information about correctional opera-

tions. Corrections officials are required to comply with the Privacy Act and other laws that protect much personal information about staff and inmates. Institution security or the conduct of an investigation often dictates caution in releasing operational details.

During disturbances—particularly those involving hostages—safety and security become paramount; information must be carefully controlled to ensure that hostage-takers do not gain some advantage from media accounts of the ongoing incident. In hostage situations, inaccurate news reports can create dangerous confusion; during the Atlanta penitentiary takeover by Cuban detainees in 1987, false reports of an FBI assault nearly caused the detainees to begin killing hostages.

Even when the prison gates are thrown open, examples of disappointingly skewed perceptions are numerous. A few years ago, Home Box Office was given access to the U.S. Penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania—to film any inmate, any program, any staff member, in any part of the prison, any time of the



Director J. Michael Quinlan (fourth from right) and Attorney General Edwin Meese (second from right) meet the press during the 1987 disturbances at USP Atlanta and FDC Oakdale.

day or night. For 3 weeks, the camera crew roamed the institution. The resulting film could have shown education and drug treatment programs, bustling industrial and training programs, or the wide range of counseling and other services available.

Unfortunately, the version ultimately aired simply reinforced public prejudices. Choices made in the editing room shifted the program's emphasis from a factual presentation of a major penitentiary that runs (on the whole) smoothly, to a far more melodramatic view that caricatured staff and focused on a few of the more "interesting" inmates—usually those who committed spectacular or gruesome crimes. As a result, the public missed an ideal opportunity to learn a great deal about the real world of prisons and the often difficult choices officials face in managing a high-security population.

Similarly, the Bureau recently permitted an award-winning, nationally known author to spend 2 years observing operations at the U.S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas. The resulting book presented a narrow view of life inside a high-security penitentiary. It portrayed a facility governed not by policy and procedure, but by the law of the jungle. Yet in the entire 2 years the author was in the institution, not a single murder or serious disturbance occurred. Surely the public deserved to see that side of one of its most famous prisons.

To much of the public, movies by Cagney, Eastwood, Selleck, and Stallone represent their knowledge about prison inmates. Just as with the Home Box Office presentation, these movies are generally not factual; they are more

concerned with market appeal than the presentation of real issues. These productions shape public opinion, but because of their distorted content, they do so in a damaging manner.

Corrections officials are simply asking for a balanced portrayal of their profession, so the public can make intelligent decisions. They need media coverage that conveys the entire picture, showing prisons that aren't poorly managed, where drug use is not rampant and sexual assaults are relatively rare, where staff are well trained and professional, and where programs and self-development opportunities are available—and used by inmates.

### Helping the media do better

Corrections can do a better job to help the media and the public to understand its mission, its problems, and its accomplishments. Establishing direct communication links between the corrections agency and the media, each fulfilling the other's needs, allows correctional professionals to enhance their credibility and communicate newsworthy issues to the public. There are concrete steps administrators can take to achieve this goal. First, well-managed correctional facilities have nothing to fear from outside review. If an agency's policy is sound and is being applied in an informed, common-sense manner, accountability simply cannot be a problem.

To ensure this is the case, the agency and each institution must have a management structure based on complete, comprehen-

sive policies in accord with accepted professional standards. They must have solid training programs that ensure staff know what is expected of them. They must have sound supervision practices and day-to-day management oversight in place. And they need a system of internal reviews or a perpetual internal auditing process, based on those policies, that ensures staff are following the policies in effect.

An agency or an institution with such an infrastructure in place may welcome outside scrutiny. One of the most prominent methods of outside review in corrections is the American Correctional Association's voluntary Standards and Accreditation Program (ACA standards themselves also support openness with the media). Standards compliance helps correctional managers demonstrate the professional status of their operations. Institutions that are accredited should make a special effort to inform the public and the media that they are operating at this high level of excellence.

Correctional agencies can have their greatest influence on both public and media perceptions at the local level. One



TV crews congregate near FCI Talladega, Alabama, during the 1991 disturbance.

of the most important accountability strategies is an "open door" policy. This acknowledges the public's "right to know" and demonstrates that the institution has nothing to hide.

Studies show that, over time, people tend to perceive things the way the media portray them—i.e., the media plays a significant role in establishing the audience's sense of reality. An "open door" policy lets the public see what prisons are really like. It can build citizen awareness of issues that will enhance the credibility of correctional administrators and their programs. In a society such as ours, with a pervasive mass media system, closed institutions and secret information sources are automatically viewed with suspicion and are challenged.

An open door policy can take a number of forms:

• Correctional managers should encourage facility tours by the media; letting reporters see an orderly, professional operation on a day-to-day basis can go a long way toward neutralizing the misinformation that can reach a reporter's desk. In addition, allowing reporters to see first-hand the daily operations of an institution provides them with a personal understanding of the challenges corrections professionals face.

• Institutions should hold "open houses" to permit the public to come in for guided tours, letting them see how their tax dollars are being put to use. Regular tours should be provided for college students—future community leaders.

Administrators can increase access by the public by aggressive recruitment of volunteers to work in correctional programs. This not only has the benefit of allowing ordinary citizens to see prison as it is, but provides the institution with valuable program resources.

• Institutions can improve public knowledge of their operations by establishing community relations boards, which are usually composed of prominent (and widely representative) local citizens who meet periodically to be educated on correctional operations and give community feedback to correctional officials. Regular institutional tours by board members are an excellent means of dispelling public misinformation in a community.

• Institution strategic plans should include an agenda for addressing public-awareness issues.

• Staff training should orient all employees to the agency's philosophy of being proactive in dealing with the media.

• Correctional managers must take other steps to make facilities a part of the community. Where feasible, these can include encouraging staff and inmate participation in community affairs and providing inmate labor in the local community for public works projects.

These activities bind the institution and the community more closely together, and help erase the "negative mystique" that often surrounds prisons, even in the prison's local community.

# Learning to work with the news cycle

Far too often, the first contact an institution has with representatives of the media is when there is a crisis. During an emergency, media representatives are primarily concerned about security and tactical issues, and are quick to jump to conclusions of "news management" and "disinformation" if the correctional agency is perceived as restraining the free flow of information. Under these circumstances, there is little opportunity for the media to gain background information about the institution, and it is not uncommon for the resulting story to focus on the negative.

However, when institution staff take the initiative to reach out to the media and educate them about the institution, offering tours and interviews with key administrators, a far different situation exists when a crisis arises. A solid basis has been established for two-way credibility; the reporter knows that problems are not the order of the day and staff have a reason to believe the information they provide will be used in the proper context. The end result is more likely to inform the public in an accurate way.

To reach this stage takes effort. But experience shows that institution staff can proactively build a solid relationship with local media by taking steps such as: • Identifying key reporters and news organizations in the area and maintaining a list of their phone numbers, addresses, and the deadlines for their organization.

• Providing each reporter and news organization on the list with the name of the institution's public information officer and the institution's phone number.

■ Making introductory telephone calls to new reporters, with followup letters that include an information package about the agency and the institution, then inviting those individuals (and their editors or producers) to tour the institution.

■ Contacting major television stations, radio stations, and newspapers to arrange visits to their offices by prison staff to meet with key reporters, editors, or producers—eliminating the "faceless voice" syndrome—and each month calling as many of these key staff as possible to maintain that personal contact.

■ Making special efforts to visit and provide items of interest to local newspapers; in particular, the warden and public information officer should make a point of regularly spending time with the editor of the local newspaper to discuss issues of importance to the community, and inviting him or her to the institution. In some Bureau of Prisons institutions, the editor also has been invited to become a member of the community relations board.

Finally, corrections officials should not hesitate to release information of interest to reporters in every instance where there is no actual harm to the security or operations of the institution. Information should only be withheld when necessary to preserve security or in accordance with policy or the law.

These relatively simple steps can initiate and maintain a vital, proactive contact

between corrections and the media. If done well, the public will have more realistic expectations of what can be accomplished with committed offenders.

### Conclusion

In the coming decade, the American public will be called upon to make critical decisions about criminal justice matters, many of which will have a major impact on the correctional system. It will be better for all of us if policymakers and the public have more—and more accurate—information about the real world of corrections.

The media play a vital role in educating the public; corrections staff, in turn, must do a better job of working with the media to help them convey what prisons are like, and what they can and cannot do. In doing this, corrections workers must use as many avenues as possible to foster community relationships that will enhance accountability to the public. It falls to corrections to take this initiative—improving its own ability to work with the media and the public, opening the prison gates, in a figurative sense, to the rest of the world. ■

Charles Turnbo is Regional Director for the South Central Region of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. He is a former Federal warden, and, among his many other assignments in the Bureau, served as Executive Assistant to the Director, a position with significant public information duties. This article is adapted from a presentation made to the American Correctional Association, San Antonio, Texas, in August 1992, where Mr. Turnbo was a presenter on a panel entitled "Accountability and the Correctional Professional: Changing Demands."

# **Building Leaders**

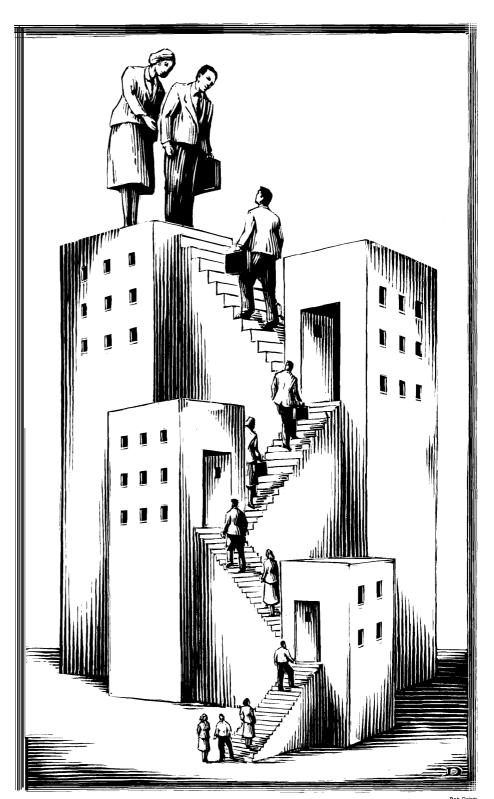
The Bureau's efforts to create a model for leadership development

### Michael D. Markiewicz and John M. Vanyur

The literature on leadership and leadership development is so voluminous it would easily fill a room. Given this volume of research and writing, it is difficult for anyone to add substantially to existing concepts or theories. Yet many organizations seem to have problems actually implementing practical concepts of leadership. We continually hear of "leadership voids" in industry and government, and of the dearth of adequate successors to recognized leaders.

It is evident that high-quality leadership is critical to the success of any organization—and patently obvious in corrections. As an "industry," corrections is facing one of its most difficult challenges, managing an ever-increasing and difficult inmate population in the face of budget restraints.

The nature of correctional management is also more complicated than ever before. Leaders must grapple with complex subjects such as media relations, enhanced public scrutiny, higher public expectations for service, demands of various constituent groups, a wealth of data and information, and the need to maintain a good working relationship with unions in the face of pay and benefit cutbacks. Added to these general management issues are those more specific to prison management, such as intermediate sanctions, longer sentences, an aging inmate population, new security technologies, controlling AIDS and tuberculosis, and supporting religious and cultural diversity in the workforce.



Thus the careful and systematic development of effective new leaders who can cope with this environment is key to the survival of correctional agencies. This article describes the Federal Bureau of Prisons' efforts to create a method of management and a model for leadership development. The system presented here is far from perfect—it is offered as an example to review, critique, and modify. It is dynamic, changing continually—and hopefully for the better.

The system is built on several assumptions:

1. Leaders are made, not born.

2. Leadership is developed primarily through experience—and, to a lesser degree, through formal training.

3. Leadership development requires intensive personal feedback.

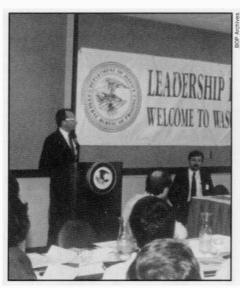
4. Learning is "lifelong"—one never reaches the end of the leadership "rainbow."

5. Leadership development is "sequential"—that is, positions at different levels of the organization require different blends of skills and competencies, hence different developmental tools.

This sequential development encompasses four general levels of employees:

• Supervisors—first-level supervisors (such as lieutenants or supervisory physician assistants).

■ Managers—those who manage a single department or function (e.g., personnel, food service, correctional services) at a facility.



Former Bureau Director J. Michael Quinlan addresses a Leadership Forum. Due to agency-wide cost-containment initiatives, Leadership Forums were discontinued in 1992.

■ Mid-managers—those who manage multiple departments at a facility (these are primarily associate wardens in the Bureau).

■ Executives—those who manage entire correctional facilities, multiple facilities, or national functions at a headquarters level.

The skills required at each level and the experience or training needed to inculcate these skills are varied. The Bureau has conducted job analyses to determine what skills are required at each level. As mentioned, development is sequential skills required at lower levels are also needed at higher levels, but each successive level requires a different blend of skills. For example:

• Supervisors require strong interpersonal, evaluative, and feedback skills in addition to specific technical skills, such as those necessary for food management, custody, or psychological service. • Managers need skills in authority delegation, budget management, information management, and "setting the tone," in addition to technical and supervision skills.

 Mid-managers plan and monitor operations, manage budgets, lead and develop staff, and solve problems.
 Technical skills are less important than macromanagement skills—the ability to integrate complex systems.

• Executives need decisiveness, flexibility, knowledge of political processes, ability to develop peer relationships, and resourcefulness. Technical skills are much less critical at this level.

The easy part of the leadership formula is identifying these skills. The hard part is developing them.

### **Developmental assignments**

The Bureau has a history of internal promotion and geographical mobility for staff. For the most part, each developmental step-for example, from supervisor to manager-requires the individual to move to another facility, where he or she is likely to be confronted with a new institutional "culture," a different staff mindset, and a fresh set of supervisory issues. Rising through the ranks often means that an individual will work at progressively more "difficult" or highersecurity facilities. The agency has designed an automated database system to track employees at the management level and above regarding prior assignments, future career plans, geographic preferences, and other relevant data (such as performance appraisal results and training needs).



Former American Correctional Association Executive Director Anthony Travisono, who is the director of International Studies at the Salve Regina University.

The agency has created a key developmental position at each facility to help in the transition from single-function to multifunction managers. This position, executive assistant to the warden, involves contact with the media and other functions associated with the position of public information officer. The executive assistant is also exposed to decisionmaking at all levels of the facility without having any direct management responsibilities.

Before promotion to the executive level, most mid-managers have had assignments at the agency's regional offices or central office, giving them a broad view of the organization and its many constituents who need to be served.

Not all developmental assignments require an individual to take a new job. Other possibilities include acting for one's superior, temporary job rotations to



The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

learn a new function or the same function in another facility, task force and work group assignments, and assignment as a member of an audit team at another facility. For many positions, the Bureau has actually mapped out the assignments needed to develop the required skills.

### Formal training

The Bureau offers a full range of training assignments for leadership development, each tailored to the skill demanded at various levels. All supervisors receive 40 hours of basic supervision trainingmotivating and developing subordinates and acquiring interpersonal skills. More technical, function-specific training is common for new supervisors in several disciplines.

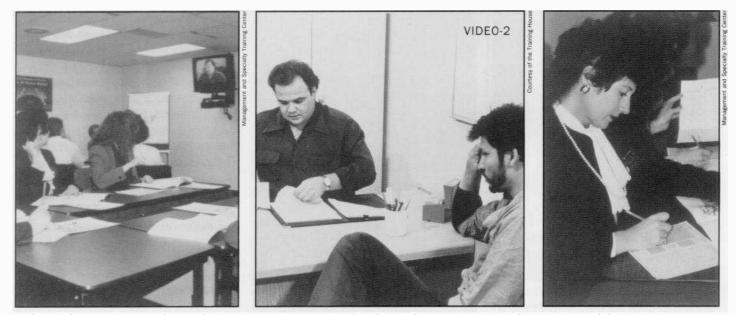
At the management level, formal training is strongly emphasized. Extensive training in personnel and financial management is mandatory. The Bureau has also initiated the Training Institution Program (TIP) for new managers. This is an intensive residential program dealing with leadership, management, and style issues.

Mid-managers need an understanding of many different functions and broader leadership skills. The Bureau has designed a series of self-study courses, one for each function in a facility, that can give employees an understanding of the role, mission, and policies of their functions. New mid-managers (associate wardens) also receive a 40-hour course that deals with complex union and employee disciplinary issues, budget development and management, development of subordinate managers, situational leadership, and self-management.

The Bureau has also begun to involve high-potential managers in a variety of courses and seminars offered by the Center for Creative Leadership, in Greensboro, North Carolina; The Salve Regina University Program on Correctional Leadership (a graduate program keyed to high-level administrative issues in correctional systems); the Aspen Institute's Justice and Society Program; the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University; and the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. The Federal Government also offers a variety of executive development seminars. Several Bureau executives attend the University of Southern California's School of Public Administration.

### Feedback

For any individual, the key to successful leadership is awareness of one's strengths and weaknesses, values, and behavioral and personality preferences—



Students at the Management and Specialty Training Center, Aurora, Colorado, watch actors (center) in video scenarios and develop responses to these scenarios in the Management Assessment of Proficiency.

and their effect on performance. With this in mind, the Bureau tries to build feedback and evaluation into all developmental assignments.

For supervisory through mid-management positions, Position Development and Professional Growth Plans have been developed. Each plan identifies the skills needed for that position—and requires an assessment by the individual and his/her supervisor as to where he or she stands on each skill. A skill development guide for each plan provides suggestions for improving weak areas.

In supervisory training, role plays, case studies, and simulations are essential components. Professional training staff watch each role play and critique participants' performance. In management training, the most common instrument is the Managerial Assessment of Proficiency (MAP). Based on the participant's written response to 12 video scenarios, MAP generates a profile that gives the participant feedback on specific managerial competencies, management styles, and personal values as related to communication styles. MAP also compares the individual's profile with norms based on more than 15,000 previously tested managers.

At the mid-management and executive levels, the Bureau extensively uses the "Benchmarks" instrument developed by the Center for Creative Leadership. Benchmarks uses 360-degree feedback from subordinates, peers, and superiors to give the participant an awareness of his/her skill level in 16 areas deemed critical for success.

Developmental assignments, training, and feedback are three interlocking components of the truly critical dimension of leadership development—learning. Excellence in leadership ultimately requires learning that is active and neverending. On this learning process rests the future of the Bureau of Prisons, as well as the creativity, vitality, and energy of its leaders.

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# **Holistic Health Comes to Prison**

### Tracy Thompson

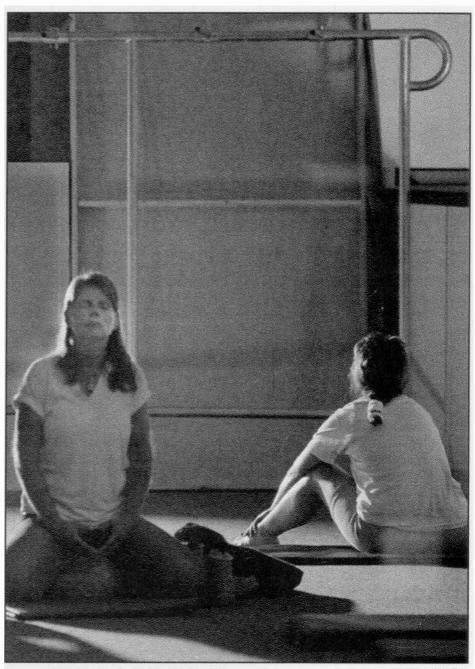
Maria stopped in her tracks, noticing the onset of the first stages of the panic attack that usually preceded her seizures. Her heart was beating rapidly, and she felt afraid. She began to regulate her breathing and tried to connect with the feeling of being centered and grounded.

She turned to her friend Rosa and asked for help. Rosa saw at once what Maria needed and began to speak calmly, instructing her to focus on her breathing and concentrate on staying fully present in her body. As contractions passed through Maria's body, Rosa stayed with her. The seizure passed quickly, and Maria gradually regained consciousness without any of the fear and distress that usually accompanied her seizures. She felt grateful for Rosa's help and for the breathing and centering techniques they had both learned in the prison's holistic heath program.

This is but one of the success stories of the Prison Integrated Health Program (PIHP), serving the entire prison population-both inmates and staff-at the Federal Correctional Institution (FCI), Dublin, California. This innovative volunteer program began in 1990 as a stress management workshop for 20 long-term inmates. The program was taught by Kathy Park, an artist and somatic education teacher, under my supervision as Clinical Director of Health Services. From a two-session stress management workshop taught by one volunteer, the holistic health program at Dublin has expanded dramatically in the years since.

The volunteer organization Prison Integrated Health Program was created by its co-directors in spring 1991 to bring together teachers (along with community resources) to develop comprehensive holistic health programming for FCI Dublin and to serve as a model for a new approach to health promotion and disease prevention in correctional facilities.

Meditation workshops, which help reduce stress, are part of the Prison Integrated Health Program.



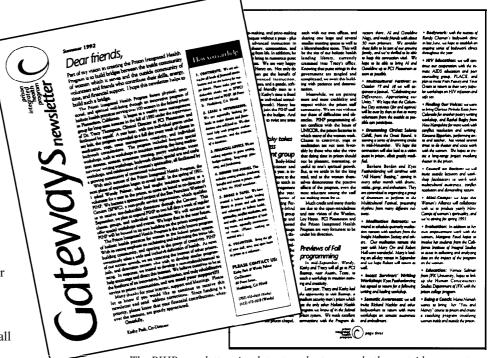
Jim Ketsdever/Valley Times

Central to the program is the belief that health is a function of physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being: only by addressing all aspects of people's lives through a holistic approach can we change behavior, prevent disease, reduce symptoms, and promote health. PIHP has developed the first holistic health program in a Federal women's prison. It has already inspired the creation of similar programming in several other jails and prisons nationwide.

PIHP is co-directed by volunteers Kathy Park and Wendy Palmer, who is a teacher of meditation, conflict resolution, and intuition. Its core teaching staff currently consists of five facilitators, an auxiliary staff of 25, and many guest speakers-all volunteers. PIHP is a sponsored project of the San Francisco Women's Centers, a nonprofit organization. It is independently funded by individual donations and foundation grants and has received many in-kind donations of books, tapes, and art supplies. PIHP has also assembled a national advisory board of professionals concerned with holistic health issues, including renowned authors George Leonard (Mysterv) and Clarissa Pinkola Estes (Women Who Run With the Wolves).

# Women inmates' many stressors

PIHP arose out of a need for a fresh, creative approach to prison health problems resulting from chronic stress and exacerbated by overcrowding, limited resources, and "bandaid" or symptom-oriented solutions. These stressors adversely affect both inmates



The PIHP newsletter circulates to volunteers and other outside supporters.

and staff, as well as their families. Research in the new field of psychoneuroimmunology gives credence to the holistic approach: it has illuminated the many ways in which chronic stress erodes health while demonstrating that holistic approaches can diminish the damage wrought by stress.

Women prisoners must cope with multiple stressors and are at particular risk for health problems. In a national survey of women in correctional facilities, more than 40 percent report previous sexual or physical abuse. More than 50 percent report histories of substance abuse. More than 75 percent are mothers.<sup>1</sup> Because there are only seven Federal women's prisons (and only two house high-security women), most mothers are incarcerated great distances from their children, families, and in many cases, their countries. Visits are few. Women of various cultures, ethnicities, and classes are mixed in cramped

quarters, resulting in conflict and impairing both individual and community health. (A third of FCI Dublin's population of 850 is Hispanic, a third is white, and a third is African or African-American, while a small number are Asian, Middle Eastern, or Native American.) In addition, many Hispanic inmates have difficulty communicating in English and feel estranged in a foreign culture.

More than two thirds of the inmates at FCI Dublin suffer from such chronic problems as hypertension, heart disease, asthma, chronic pain syndromes (e.g., headaches; neck, back, or other musculoskeletal pain; and pelvic pain), gastrointestinal disease (gastritis, peptic ulcer disease, irritable bowel syndrome), and infectious diseases (more than 80 have been infected with Hepatitis C).



Tracy Thompson (second from right) talks with teacher Richard Strozzi Heckler, Ph.D. (second from left) and other PIHP volunteers.

Psychological problems include depression, addictive behavior, insomnia, posttraumatic-stress syndrome, and adjustment disorders. In any given week, 260 or more may be seen for sick call, emergencies, or injuries, while as many as 200 may come in to be seen by the physicians. Many common medical and emotional problems in the inmate population are exacerbated, if not caused, by stress.

Inmates participating in PIHP identify their most intense stressors as separation from family, overcrowding, lack of privacy, work, racial tension, the threat of violence, and lack of creative outlets. They also complain of anxiety, hopelessness, depression, low self-esteem, frustration, anger, alienation, sadness, loneliness, and bitterness.<sup>2</sup> Prison staff suffer from such stressors as overcrowding, tight budgets, and perceived understaffing. These chronic stressors often result in family conflicts and impaired health, which negatively affect prison conditions. Although many staff benefit from support programs and groups, there has not been, until now, any attempt at a holistic approach.

## Creating a healthy community

Instead of "bandaid" solutions, PIHP offers inmates and staff comprehensive parallel programming to promote health and prevent disease. PIHP's philosophy is to create a healthy community by encouraging individuals to take charge of their own physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual health. It offers inmates 30 hours a week of classes in meditation, conflict resolution, stress management, somatic education,<sup>3</sup> parenting skills, and creative expression in fine arts, voice, and crafts, all of which enhance integration of mind, body, and spirit, and create a supportive community within the prison setting. A special project of PIHP, the Council on Racism, is working to dismantle racism among prisoners, improve inmates' communication skills, and promote tolerance and appreciation for the cultural diversity found at FCI Dublin.

In addition, PIHP offers inmates individual consultations, special workshops, and cultural events. In fall 1991, PIHP sponsored a day-long celebration of women's spirituality entitled "The Spiritual Path of Imprisonment: The Quest for Inner Freedom." A year later, PIHP and the Council on Racism cosponsored a festival with the theme "Celebrating Our Differences: Appreciating Our Unity." For 2 days, the prison enjoyed workshops, wonderful ethnic food, cultural displays, and live performances from talented outside artists and from the inmates themselves. The festival drew a record-breaking 90-percent attendance on the evening of inmate performances and helped instill hope, pride, and appreciation of the diverse groups that make up the prison community.

The intention behind PIHP programming for inmates is to support them in successfully handling the challenges of incarceration, parole, and reintegration into society as responsible, motivated, and caring individuals. It encourages them to redefine their goals; to work with their anger, bitterness, and other dysfunctional patterns; and to support one another in the difficult process of change.

FCI Dublin's Health Services Department has reported a significant improvement in the health and well-being of PIHP inmate participants over the last 3 years. Inmates in the original long-term stress group have reduced their use of medication for chronic pain and stressrelated disease by more than 50 percent. We have also seen positive changes in more recent participants:

 Many have stopped smoking, improved their diets, and begun practicing more skillful ways of expressing negative feelings.

• Many, including those previously dependent on antidepressant medication, have embraced meditation as a

The creation of a community that supports understanding and respect is a powerful antidote to the toxic loneliness, alienation, and hostility that commonly afflict prison populations.

cipline through which to handle life's difficulties.

• They also demonstrate more effective communication and leadership skills, and more tolerance, understanding, and compassion.

• Many have begun a process of reconciliation by opening up communication with loved ones on the outside.

• Participants themselves report improvements in health, well-being, and self-esteem; at least two PIHP graduates have gone on to serve in the fields of social work and substance-abuse counseling.

For staff, PIHP programming promotes alternative methods of coping with stress and offers education in relaxation techniques, somatic awareness, conflict resolution and meditation, multicultural diversity, team-building, parenting skills, and preventive health care. For Health Services Department staff, meditation has helped reduce intradepartmental conflict and tension, and has contributed to a redefining of the department's mission, thereby making the work environment healthier and permitting staff to provide more effective service to inmates.

Funding has been committed for a new combined chapel/holistic health unit that will house PIHP and its lending library. The library, which has been put together entirely by donations from publishers, community libraries, and individuals, is an extensive collection of books, journals, and audiotapes in the fields of health, spirituality, women's issues, meditation, yoga, and personal growth and transformation.

### **Building on success**

Many forces have combined to make PIHP successful. The enthusiasm of PIHP volunteers has gone a long way to reduce the loneliness, isolation, and alienation felt by many inmates. In addition, volunteers are empowered by the opportunity to be of service and come away from prison with a fresh perspective on problems in their own lives. PIHP has flourished at FCI Dublin due to consistent support by the administration, which is dedicated to finding new ways to improve the health of the whole prison community.

Essential to the program is the belief that *change is possible:* we can all learn to take responsibility for our own health and healing. We can develop insight into dysfunctional behaviors, and develop confidence to make positive changes. By encouraging such change, and by working with both sides of the equation, we can transform the health of the prison community. (Not incidentally, such a transformation can significantly reduce

expenditures for diagnosis and treatment of chronic health problems, as well as serve as a passive security device.)

In February 1993, the Holistic Health Committee was created at FCI Dublin to bring together all departments in support of the mission to improve the physical, mental, and spiritual health of staff and inmates. The Committee includes department heads from Health Services, Psychology, Religious Services, Education, and Recreation; a director of PIHP; the institution's volunteer coordinator; a union representative; and the warden and associate wardens. The Committee coordinates all holistic health activities and may soon develop an evaluation component for the program.

The experience of many behavioralmedicine/holistic health programs throughout the country has been well documented.<sup>4</sup> It is now widely accepted that mental and emotional factors—the ways we behave and our beliefs about our ability to affect our own health significantly influence not just our sense of well-being, but also our ability to adapt to, or recover from, illness or injury. What is new is bringing this model to the prison setting.

In addition, the creation of a community that supports understanding and respect is a powerful antidote to the toxic loneliness, alienation, and hostility that commonly afflict prison populations. A recent study of women with metastatic breast cancer demonstrated that creation of a support community, by itself, doubled survival rates; studies of support groups for people with AIDS have also reported positively on the healing efficacy of supportive communities. The



Inmates receive a dance lesson from community volunteer Karen Hunt during the fall 1992 multicultural festival.

Holistic Health Program and PIHP at FCI Dublin support the creation of such a cohesive community and encourage participants, inmates, staff, and volunteers to explore new ways of being with self and others. While the program is still young, there are many individual success stories that hold promise for the future.

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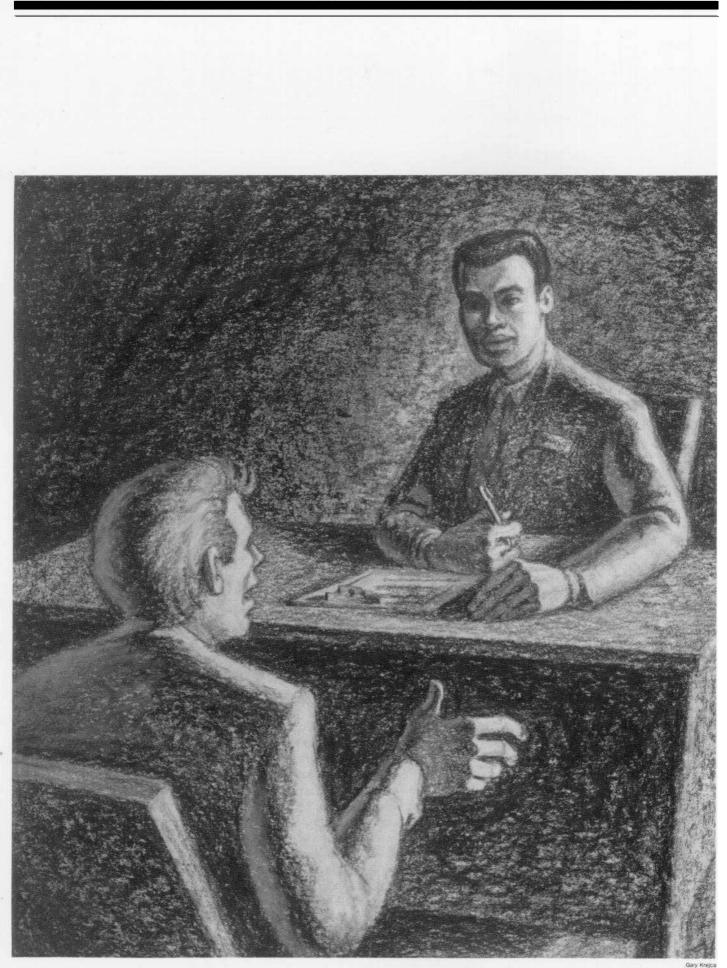
#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Statistics from American College of Physicians position paper: "The Crisis in Correctional Health Care: The Impact of the National Drug Control Strategy on Correctional Health Services," 1992.

<sup>2</sup>From a survey of 70 participants in the Prison Integrated Health Program in fall and winter 1992.

<sup>3</sup>Somatic education, or bodywork, is a methodology for working through the body to facilitate mind/ body/spirit integration.

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, Jon Kabat-Zinn, *Full Catastrophe Living: Using the Wisdom of Your Body and Mind to Face Stress, Pain and Illness* (New York: Delta, 1990), an account of the program of the Stress Reduction Clinic at the University of Massachusetts Medical Center. Other recent additions to the field of mind/body medicine are Bill Moyers, *Healing and the Mind* (New York: Doubleday, 1993) and Daniel Goleman, Ph.D., and Joel Gurin, eds., *Mind Body Medicine: How to Use Your Mind for Better Health* (Yonkers: Consumer Reports Books, 1993).



### **\*\*5270.7 Tells the Tale?** Administering discipline in the Federal Bureau of Prisons

### John J. DiIulio, Jr.

An associate warden I once interviewed, a man who had worked in nearly a dozen different Federal prisons, had this to say about the administration of disciplinary actions against inmates in the Federal Bureau of Prisons: "Discipline is the core of a prison operation. To be effective, it's got to be consistent, not just within an institution, but throughout the system. But to make it consistent, that takes some doing. I think we do it as well as it can be done." Inevitably, prison officials exercise discretion in the disciplinary process. But throughout the Bureau, the disciplinary process conforms to official agency policy, is valued by employees, and is administered in a way that minimizes discretion and results in like infractions receiving like penalties.

Like most prison systems, the Bureau of Prisons has developed a detailed policy on the administration of disciplinary actions against inmates. Over the years, this policy has been spelled out and amended in various official "Program [policy] Statements," including number 5270.7 on "Inmate Discipline and Special Housing Units," dated December 29, 1987. Not counting the dozens of sample disciplinary forms and flow diagrams incorporated into 5270.7, the statement runs for some 45 single-spaced pages.

In part, its introduction reads: "So that inmates may live in a safe and orderly environment, it is necessary for institution authorities to impose discipline on those inmates whose behavior is not in compliance with Bureau of Prisons rules....Only institution staff may take disciplinary action....Staff shall control inmate behavior in a completely imparThroughout the Bureau, the disciplinary process conforms to official agency policy, is valued by employees, and is administered in a way that minimizes discretion and results in like infractions receiving like penalties.

tial and consistent manner. Disciplinary action may not be capricious or retaliatory. Staff may not impose or allow imposition of corporal punishment of any kind." Those words may seem simple and unexceptional. For three reasons, however, they are anything but.

■ First, contrary to the historic norms, policies, and practices of many prison systems, including the Bureau itself until the late 1960's, this statement limits prison staff to disciplining inmates who violate specific rules. As one retiree recalled: "In the old days, a guard could write up a convict for looking at him crossways, or for having a surly attitude, or just because he felt like it. Nobody would say too much about it, and the convicts just took it for granted as part of what 'doing time' was about."

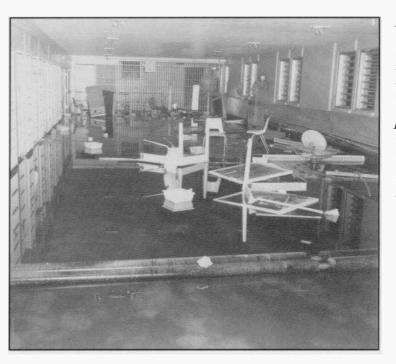
■ Second, 5270.7 empowers the staff (and only the staff) to administer discipline, prohibits arbitrary, retaliatory actions, and forbids corporal punishment. Well into the 1960's, many prison systems, especially in the south, used inmates to punish other inmates ("trusties," "building tenders," "con bosses"), sometimes by means of officially sanctioned inmate-on-inmate beatings. In many systems, prison officials routinely used corporal punishment on unruly inmates. Although such actions are now prohibited by law, in some places the administration of discipline still takes this form, albeit covertly.<sup>1</sup>

■ Third, 5270.7 mandates that staff administer discipline "in a completely impartial and consistent manner." But nowhere in the 45 pages that follow does it establish precisely what constitutes a "completely impartial and consistent" disciplinary process, or how to apply general precepts to particular cases. As a Bureau medical worker, one who over the years had initiated several disciplinary actions against inmates, observed: "Every medical problem is unique, every disciplinary problem is unique. In both cases, however, you've got to employ judgment, and to apply universal principles to particular cases. There's no two identical heart problems calling for identical bypass operations. And there's no two identical assaults on staff calling for identical punishments. But you do your best and try to treat like cases alike, for moral and practical reasons."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Probably because their administrative systems tend to be more primitive, jail systems seem to have more vestiges of such disciplinary practices than do prison systems. This includes not just small county jail systems, but big-city systems as well. During my tenure as a consultant to the New York City Board of Corrections (1986-87), for example, there were numerous incidents of officers physically abusing inmates in retaliation for some alleged infraction. In 1991, several Philadelphia officers were criminally charged with making inmates who had rioted run a gauntlet, beating them with fists and clubs as they moved down the line.

The closest 5270.7 comes to specifying what constitutes an "impartial and consistent" disciplinary process, and how to administer one, is in its section on "Prohibited Acts and Disciplinary Severity Scale." This specifies four categories of prohibited acts ("greatest"-code 100's, "high"-code 200's, "moderate"-code 300's, and "low moderate"-code 400's) and sanctions for each. In the "greatest" category, for example, are such infractions as killing (code 100), rioting (code 105), and possession of illegal drugs (code 109). Among the recommended sanctions for such infractions are "parole date rescission," "disciplinary segregation (up to 60 days)," and "loss of privileges" (recreation, visiting). At the other end of the continuum, in the "low-moderate" category, are such infractions as "possession of property belonging to another person" (code 400), "tattooing or selfmutilation" (code 405), and "unauthorized physical contact" (kissing, embracing) (code 409). Among the recommended sanctions for such infractions are "monetary restitution," "loss of job," and "reprimand."

However, there is no shortage of ambiguities in this section. For example, conduct that "disrupts or interferes with the orderly running of the institution or the Bureau of Prisons" is listed in all four categories (codes 199, 299, 399, and 499). One moderate infraction is "being unsanitary or untidy" (code 330); one low-moderate infraction is "feigning illness" (code 402). It is simply unclear how to interpret and apply such provisions in a way that serves the end of a "completely impartial and consistent" disciplinary process.



Aftermath of 1974 disturbance at USP Marion. Participants in an incident of this type would probably be charged with code 199 "disruptive conduct" or code 105 "rioting."

It would not be surprising, therefore, to find all manner of disparities and variations in the characterization of disciplinary offenses and the levying of sanctions. In most prison systems, and, indeed, within prisons from one warden to the next (or even one shift to the next), such discrepancies are easy to see. Within the Bureau, however, the "Prohibited Acts and Disciplinary Severity Scale" is understood and applied in much the same way by personnel at all levels throughout the system. More than that, the disciplinary process is valued by employees at all levels as an effective and fair way of ensuring that "inmates live in a safe and orderly environment." As one Central Office administrator asserted before I had fully researched the matter: "I'm telling you, John, you might not believe it based on what you've seen in other systems, but in the Bureau the discipline process is pretty damned uniform. It works in practice just like it does on paper, and we think it works mighty fine. Have you seen 5270.7?

When you've had a chance to look into it more, tell me if 5270.7 tells the tale. I bet you find it does."

In three high-security Federal penitentiaries I studied in detail—Lewisburg, Pennsylvania; Leavenworth, Kansas; and Lompoc, California—the administration of disciplinary actions against inmates has mirrored the letter and spirit of Program Statement 5270.7. In all three prisons, the disciplinary process has the same five basic steps, and it is worth sketching them here.

• Step one is the detection by staff of the commission of a prohibited act by one or more inmates. In all three prisons, staff estimated that about a quarter to a third of all potential code 300- and 400-level disciplinary charges were dropped or resolved informally short of a formal

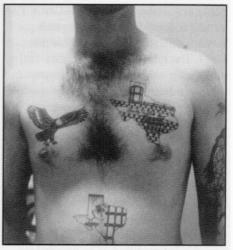
disciplinary report. A veteran Lewisburg correctional officer noted: "If a guy is always dogging it on the [prison industry] job, you might see that he's threatened with an incident report. After the second or third time, you might even put pen to paper. But it's best to give him a chance to respond without having to go the whole 9 yards." A Leavenworth administrator stated: "Obviously, you can't police every little thing. If we're talking about repeated minor rule infractions, then, yes, they're going to get a report on them, and they know it. They understand how far they can skate with the small stuff. But even with that, it's generally three strikes and you're out, we make it formal." A former Lompoc correctional officer recalled: "At Lompoc, you'd have some tough guys who always had to act tough. You get these types in all of the heavier facilities. Now, guys like that, you'd be writing 300's and 400's till your arm fell off. For the petty infractions, an individual inmate's bound to get one or two free rides. But you can't bluff them. If they push it, it has to go on paper and you've got to take it to some available penalty."

■ The second step in the process—taken on all potential code 100- and 200-level infractions and more than half of the 300and 400-level offenses—is the preparation and filing of a formal "Incident Report" by prison staff. The reports all follow the same basic form, relating the "who, what, when, and where" of the incident. Normally, notice of the report is provided to the inmate, and the disciplinary report is filed with a lieutenant, within 24 hours of the incident. In about 10 to 15 percent of all cases that reach the lieutenant, the charge is dropped or resolved informally.



■ In all other cases, a third step is taken—the appointment by the warden of an incident investigator. The investigator is a supervisory level employee. No one who was a party to the incident, least of all the report writer, can serve as an investigator. At Lewisburg, Leavenworth, and Lompoc, lieutenants have normally served as disciplinary investigators. The investigator interviews all parties to the dispute, both staff and inmates, and completes a report. When the investigation and report are complete, the matter is automatically referred to a "Unit Discipline Committee" (UDC).

■ The UDC represents the fourth step in the disciplinary process. Most Bureau prisons are administered around unit management teams, and two or more members of the unit team normally serve as a UDC. The UDC holds an initial hearing on the alleged misconduct. The UDC is authorized to drop or resolve informally any 300- or 400-level violations, and to impose minor sanctions.



Above. Of the four categories of prohibited acts, "tattooing or self-mutilation" is in the "low moderate" category.

Left: "Possession of property belonging to another person" is considered a "lowmoderate" infraction.

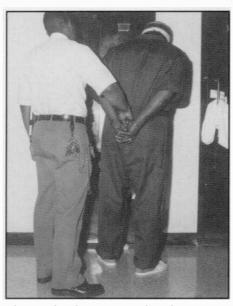
There are no good data on the rate at which UDC's drop charges or resolve matters informally; the best historic guesstimates for Lewisburg, Leavenworth, and Lompoc range from about 5 to 10 percent.

■ The final step in the disciplinary process occurs in code 100-level and some 200-level cases when the UDC concludes that a severe sanction (recommendation of a later parole date, loss of time earned for good behavior, transfer to a disciplinary unit) may be in order, or that criminal charges may need to be filed, or both. In these cases, they refer the matter to a "Discipline Hearing Officer" (DHO)—a specially trained, supervisory-level employee who may serve in this capacity at one or more prisons.<sup>2</sup> The UDC files all materials

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Prior to 1986, the Bureau used a three-person Institution Disciplinary Committee (IDC) at this stage in the process. DHO's replaced IDC's in 1988.

pertaining to the case with the DHO. The inmate charged has the right to call inmates or staff witnesses before the DHO. The DHO is empowered to informally resolve the incident report, but that almost never happens at this stage, and most inmates who find themselves before a DHO are found guilty.3 At this or any other stage of the process, inmates found guilty have the right to challenge the decision via the Bureau's elaborate administrative remedy procedure; however, because the disciplinary hearing process is so exhaustive, the chances that an inmate will have a punishment modified or overturned are slim.4

Across Lewisburg, Leavenworth, and Lompoc penitentiaries, the vast majority of disciplinary actions against inmates (about 80 percent on average) have been for code 200- and 300-level violations, with the rest divided more or less evenly between the most serious (code 100) and least serious (code 400) actions. Based



Above and right. Inmates in disciplinary segregation for "code 100's" have 1 hour per day of enclosed recreation.

on the data available, it is difficult to calculate rates of disciplinary action across these three facilities. Bureau research analysts have reported that, in the early 1980's, the average number of incident reports per 100 inmates per month at all high-security facilities was about 9.5 The institutions varied little around this average; such variations as did occur could be explained by changes in inmate population mixes and other factors, rather than by any systematic differences in the way discipline was administered. The few published accounts of the Bureau disciplinary process produced by independent analysts do not contradict this view.6

Indeed, four Bureau employees, each of whom had worked in at least two of the three facilities under consideration here, all reported that the processes were virtually identical from one prison to the next. One would expect as much from looking at each prison's "Inmate Handbook." In each, the basics of Program Statement 5270.7 were conveyed straightforwardly; in all three handbooks, parts of the text of 5270.7 were reprinted verbatim.

Beneath the superficial differences are profound operational uniformities in the administration of disciplinary actions. Indeed, I could not find a single example of comparable incidents that were handled in significantly different ways at Lewisburg, Leavenworth, and Lompoc. Almost without exception, in each prison, reports on all sorts of minor infractions were preceded by informal warnings to the inmate-perpetrators. In each, investigating lieutenants, UDC's, and DHO's played almost precisely the role assigned to them by 5270.7. In each, the relevant associate wardens (and, in serious cases, the wardens) were actively involved in making sure that the facts were straight, the penalties proportionate, and the entire process conducted in accordance with policy.

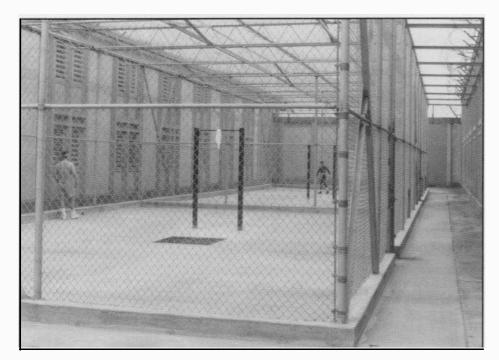
As a final, loose test of the "5270.7 tells all" notion, I asked a nonsupervisory and a supervisory employee at each of the three penitentiaries how they would characterize and dispose of a hypothetical incident in which an inmate set fire to his cell, several officers saw him do it, and conclusive evidence showed that the inmate committed this act as part of a would-be escape plan. All six of those to whom I posed this hypothetical incident characterized it as a 100-level or "great-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>A 1987 study of DHO's at six pilot facilities found that DHO's issued "not guilty" findings in only 1.9 percent of all cases; see Loren Karacki, *Research Review: Evaluation of the Discipline Hearing Officer Pilot Project* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Bureau of Prisons, December 1987).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>The administrative remedy procedure is invoked by the use of BP-9, BP-10, and BP-11 forms. Inmates who wish to raise issues concerning any aspect of their confinement can file the BP-9 with institutional officials, and, if necessary, the BP-10 (with regional office officials) and the BP-11 (with central office officials) on appeal. In the mid-1980's. the agencywide denial rates for BP-9's, -10's, and -11's were about 85, 95, and 95 percent, respectively. For example, in 1986, 422 Lompoc inmates filed BP-9's and 322 (89 percent) were denied; 165 of those denied by the institution filed BP-10's, and 151 (94 percent) were denied by the regional office; 63 of those filed BP-II's, and 59 (94 percent) of those were denied.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>For one such account, see Mark S. Fleisher, *Warehousing Violence,* Frontiers of Anthropology Series, Volume 3 (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1989). p. 80-86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Michael Janus et al., "Security and Custody: Monitoring the Federal Bureau Of Prisons Classification System," *Federal Probation*, Volume 50, Number 1, March 1986, p. 35-43.



est severity" offense (three correctly specified it as a code 103 offensesetting a fire to further an escape attempt); all six summarized the disciplinary process in much the same terms, with as much excruciating detail as I would allow; and all six correctly specified the categories of sanctions that could be applied. Five of the six said that the hypothetical inmate would be a likely candidate for loss of good time and, depending on where he was housed, for disciplinary transfer; only one said that the incident would definitely result in parole date rescission. As it turned out, their responses mirrored what has actually happened in such cases.

To find that the administration of disciplinary actions followed official agency policy, and that it varied little from one prison to the next within the system, was surprising. But to find that staff at all levels seemed to prize the process as a management tool left me a bit incredulous. After all, in many prison systems, the dominant ethos, at least among line staff, has favored "curbstone justice," not bureaucratic procedure, as a means of handling inmates who violate the rules or seriously challenge authority.

But, as a Bureau Central Office administrator who had worked as an agency legal counsel explained: "For most of prison history, discipline was arbitrary. Sometimes, staff are going to want to just dispense justice on the spot, and to get physical. But, when that officer out there knows the pen is mighter than the sword, when he knows by experience that if he properly writes up an inmate for some offense the inmate really did, then the inmate's almost certainly going to get punished, that's all it takes." In the same vein, a regional administrator who had served as a DHO remarked: "Look, when staff get used to doing things a certain way, then, even if that way is not natural, they'll just do it, especially if it's proven

effective. That's the story with our disciplinary process." Likewise, a junior correctional officer recalled: "They stress in [pre-service] training that you don't ever rough up an inmate. You do and you lose your job, and you may go to jail, too. But they also stress that you have a far better way to keep discipline. That's the [incident] reports....Sure, I've already had times when I'd like to forget about the DHO's and all that and let an inmate have it. But the older officers here would never respect that. They only respect guys who do their jobs the right way all the time."

Former Bureau Director Norman A. Carlson was a bit amused by my interest in the disciplinary process, and completely unmoved by the "finding" that it seemed to work as called for in policy. "The staff get lots of training and oversight. They administer that process every day. They know it works well, and that it's certainly a heck of a lot better than any sort of vague, variable process.... I'm just not too surprised." Carlson's successor, J. Michael Quinlan, had much the same reaction: "I'd be shocked if it didn't work the way it's supposed to. When I was a warden, I found the process very useful. Again, it's not just that it's official policy....It's that it's a good policy, and one we really do believe in." ■

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### Myrl E. Alexander 1909–1993

### John W. Roberts

The entire Federal Bureau of Prisons family was saddened by the death of Myrl E. Alexander last year. Alexander, third director of the Bureau and one of the leading figures in American corrections for more than half a century, died in Corpus Christi, Texas, on January 14, 1993, of cardiac arrest. He was 83 years old, and had been in poor health since suffering a stroke in July 1991.

Myrl Early Alexander was born in Dayton, Ohio, on August 23, 1909, the son of John and Florence Alexander. He received his A.B. degree from Manchester College, North Manchester, Indiana, in 1930, and pursued graduate studies at Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. He was awarded honorary doctorates of law from Manchester College in 1956, Pacific Lutheran University in 1966, and Susquehanna University in 1972. Alexander was the author of a book, Jail Administration (1957), and was a frequent contributor to professional journals. His most recent article, in the Federal Prisons Journal, Winter 1992, concerned the jail system administered by the Bureau in Alaska during the 1950's and 1960's.

Alexander began his career in 1931 as a junior warden's assistant at the U.S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia. He went on to assignments at the U.S. Penitentiaries in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and Leavenworth, Kansas, before being named Parole Executive in 1937. As Parole Executive he was in charge of administrative operations for the United States Parole Board in Washington, D.C. From 1940 to 1943 he served as associate warden at the U.S. Penitentiary,

Continued on p. 69





Top: Myrl Alexander (seated third from left), instructor for a training class, U.S. Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, c. 1935.

Above: Assistant Director Alexander at an awards ceremony, Springfield, Missouri, 1949.

Left: Alexander shortly after joining the Bureau in 1931.

Photos courtesy Bureau of Prisons Archives

### Myrl Alexander

A former colleague of Myrl Alexander once referred to him as a "human dynamo." Indeed, Alexander kept active long after his retirement from teaching in 1981. In addition to operating his tree farm in Pennsylvania, he spoke at Bureau of Prisons conferences, participated in various Bureau history projects, and contributed to the Federal Prisons Journal. He also devoted considerable time to writing his memoirs.

While Alexander was unfortunately unable to complete his memoirs, a chapter that he did complete, entitled "Three Inmates," appears here in print for the first time. The stories he relates not only depict varying inmate reactions to prison, but also reveal how different from today's environments prisons were when Alexander began his career.

We were having dessert and bridge recently with our condo neighbors, Frank and Mary Saturn, retired from business in Ithaca, New York.

Frank had developed an interest in the classic Russian writers. While Mary and Lorene were in the kitchen brewing a pot of coffee and dishing up a dessert, Frank and I sat talking in the living room.

"Alex, I have two questions about some incidents I've just read in Tolstoy's *Resurrection*. My questions involve conversations among some prisoners. Do you mind?"

"Not at all. I'm interested. They should have a ring of authenticity, since Tolstoy, like Dostoyevski, was once imprisoned for political crimes."

### **Three Inmates**



Associate Warden, USP Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, 1942.

Frank read from his notes, "Tell me if these sound like what prisoners today might say. Prisoner Novodnorov says: Now when I was in solitary confinement, I never let my imagination run away with me, but arranged my time most systematically; that's why I could endure so well. What do you think?"

The quote suggested several personal experiences in my career. "Frank, there may be differences between today and a century ago in Russia. But I'm certain the reactions of men isolated from other human contact haven't varied too much."

"What experiences have you had with that sort of thing?"

"Many. Let me give you two examples. When I began working in the Atlanta Penitentiary in 1931, we had about 10 inmate clerks working in our office. One was an affable young typist, Sammy Schwartz, jolly and well liked. One morning he didn't show up for work. We reported his absence and then discovered he had been sent to isolation, the 'hole.' He had been reported for 'insulting an officer'." Frank was puzzled. "How did he insult an officer?"

"We learned the details a few days later when Sammy reappeared for work. While marching in line down the main corridor, he walked past the guard at the entrance to the mess hall, glanced at the officer's feet, and grinned a Bronx smirk.

"That was interpreted by the guard as 'disrespect.' The fact that the guard wore size 15 shoes, scowled as he inspected passing lines of inmates, all the while clenching his night club between two fists, was a common joke among the inmates. Sammy thought the man was a **bizarre**looking character and made the serious error of smiling as he surveyed the underpinning of that guardian of prison discipline!"

Frank was flabbergasted. I explained that the incident happened more than 50 years ago when major change in the Federal prison system was scarcely underway.

"But back to Sammy. When we asked him how tough it was to spend 3 days locked up alone, he laughed and said it was a breeze. Other guys were cursing and yelling in their cells. The worst part for him was living on a few slices of bread and a quart of water a day."

"At first a few flies bothered him. But he concocted a game. He caught some flies, 'dewinged' them, raced the flies around the cell floor while mentally betting which would win. When a few cockroaches invaded the territory, he pulled some threads from his clothing, harnessed the roaches, and raced them with the flies!"

My host exploded, "Ye gods, wasn't he angered by the entire incident?"

"Not Sammy. He simply didn't fall into the trap of bitterness, but insisted it was worth the 'vacation' when he saw the guard's face turn scarlet as he ordered Sammy out of the marching line."

"I'm amazed at the man's reactions. But he said other men were yelling and cursing. That suggests a wider range of reactions to solitary confinement," Frank observed.

"Right. But let me tell you of another case with a different reaction. When I was the associate warden at Lewisburg [Penitentiary, in Pennsylvania], this man, Wally, was committed on a forgery charge. He was a narcotic addict who forged checks to buy narcotics.

"Then, in the 1940's, addicts were committed for treatment to the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital at Lexington, Kentucky [now a Federal Medical Center]. Inmate Wally was in turmoil, wept and moaned. Other inmates ridiculed and taunted him. When I told him he would be transferred to Lexington, he was profuse in gratitude.

"But he protested he couldn't stand the jibes of other prisoners until his transfer orders arrived from Washington. We agreed to place him in a segregation cell with regular meals and reading material. I saw him every day when I made my rounds of the segregation cells. All was fine.



Alexander on a fishing trip with Bureau colleagues in Minnesota, 1939.

"Then the transfer order arrived. 'Good news, Wally. You will be leaving in the morning for Lexington.' The inmate grasped my hand and expressed his 'eternal thanks'.

"Later in my office, the emergency phone rang. 'There's an emergency in Segregation. Suicide attempt! '

"I ran to Segregation, located in the hospital building. Psychiatrist Ken Chapman was injecting adrenalin into Wally's heart. 'It's useless. He's gone,' Ken explained.

"Wally had made a noose with tom sheets and clearly had it made when I visited him that morning. We were never certain what kind of mental process led to his suicide."

Mary interrupted our conversation, "Dessert and coffee are ready, you guys, come on and then we can get to bridge."

As we prepared to follow Mary's invitation, Frank interposed, "Let me read one more quote from Tolstoy. Another prisoner says: I was often very glad to be safe in prison. When you are free you are afraid of everything...of getting arrested, or entangling your friends and doing more harm than good. But once you are locked up, your responsibility ends. Then you can rest. All you have to do is just sit and smoke. How typical is that today?"

"That sort of thing happens more frequently in jails

than in the big houses," I suggested. "While we're eating dessert let me tell you about the man we knew as Old Folks."

Lorene gave me her "what, again?" look, suggesting I slow up on prison stories. I gave her the "just-onemore" response.

While we munched on Mary's fruitcake, I continued, "This inmate called Old Folks had been committed regularly to Atlanta [Penitentiary] in the fall, usually with a sentence of a year and a day and always for a minor postal violation. He always worked at the farm piggery. After 9 months he was discharged in early summer with 3 months off for good behavior.

"Years later, when I was the Bureau Director, the warden of the Tallahassee institution phoned, 'We've got a prisoner here who is raising hell. Claims the U.S. Marshal doublecrossed him by bringing him here instead of to Atlanta where he's gone for years. Claims to have known you personally for 20 years.' "Let me guess, George. Does he go by the name Old Folks?'

"You got it. He's the man.' We agreed he should be transferred to Atlanta, back to his familiar piggery.

"Several years went by. Then one day Mary Rawlings, my secretary, called on the intercom, 'There's an old man out here who claims you knew him for years in Atlanta. Wants to see you.'

"I knew who it was. I went directly to the outer office and grabbed his hand. 'Old Folks, what in hell brings you to Washington? Come on into my office.'

"Well, Mr. A, I don't reckon the good Lord has too many years left fer me and I figured I oughta see these here headquarters while I can.'

"Old Folks pulled out a sack of Bull Durham and deftly poured some tobacco on a slip of paper. 'Reckon it's OK for me to smoke here in headquarters?'

"Here, have a Camel,' I offered.

"He refused and explained, after 50 years of smoking prison-issue 'makings,' he had no use for 'tailor-mades.' For 15 or 20 minutes we talked about old times. The old man opined that 'them fancy young guards and social workers don't know nuthin' about us old cons.'

"It was a good visit with an old friend.

"Well, I've gotta go now that I've seen headquarters. Have to be back in Birmingham Monday morning to see the judge.'

"I thought I knew, but asked, 'What's that all about?'

"Hell's fire, you know it's September and I gotta get back to the piggery for



farm in Mifflinburg, Pennsylvania, 1990.

winter. Went out to a nice section of town the other day, picked up a rock and smashed one of them cast iron mailboxes. Took damn near an hour to get someone to stop and call the cops.'

"A few weeks later Warden Blackwell called from Atlanta. Old Folks wanted me to know he was safely back at the piggery.

"Then in mid-winter the warden called again. 'Kinda unhappy news for you today. Old Folks died in our hospital today. Doc says it was heart failure and pneumonia.'

"The old man was buried in the prison cemetery. A single bouquet of flowers lay on his pine casket. It was charged to my personal florist account."

"Don't you ever get tired of telling those prison yams?" Lorene asked later as we went to bed.

"That story about Old Folks was rather nice, I thought." And she turned out the light.

### Alexander cont. from p. 66

Lewisburg, and in 1943 he became warden of the Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Connecticut-at 34, one of the youngest wardens in the history of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

When the U.S. entered World War II in 1941, Alexander received a commission as an officer in the United States Army. Before he could enter the service, however, Attorney General Francis Biddle announced that senior officials of the Department of Justice would have to stay at their posts.

In July 1945-only 10 weeks after Germany's surrender—Alexander was detailed from his assignment at Danbury to accompany then-Director James V. Bennett to Germany to establish control over civilian prisons in the American occupation zone. Bennett returned to Washington a month later, leaving Alexander in charge of the German prisons. Attached to the Legal Division of the U.S. Military Government, Alexander served as chief of prisons until June 1946. One of Alexander's primary responsibilities was to "de-Nazify" the German prison system-that is, to ensure that Nazi officials were removed from positions of authority. Alexander discussed his work in Germany in an interview that appeared in the Spring 1991 issue of the Federal Prisons Journal.

From 1947 to 1961, Alexander was assistant director of the Bureau in charge of field operations. In that position, he was credited with numerous innovations that improved institutional climates throughout the system. During that period, he was elected president of the American Correctional Association (1956).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Nope!"

Alexander retired from the Bureau in 1961 to establish the Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, Illinois, and to serve as its first director.

In August 1964, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy appointed Alexander as director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, replacing Alexander's long-time friend and mentor, James V. Bennett, who was retiring.

Shortly after becoming director, Alexander announced in a speech that the challenge of developing more effective prison programs was "part of the larger effort to reduce or eliminate our major social problems" and that "as the roots of criminal and delinquent behavior lie deep in the community," prison had to cease being isolated from the community and had to work to "prepare and guide" prisoners "for community adjustment, rather than adjustment to probation or to the correctional institution." Seeking to achieve greater community involvement in corrections, Alexander supported enactment of the 1965 Federal Prisoner Rehabilitation Act, which greatly increased halfway-house, work-release, and study-release opportunities for inmates, and was responsible for implementing its provisions. He considered the expansion of community-based alternatives to incarceration to be one of his most important contributions to the field of corrections.

As director, Alexander also became deeply involved in international corrections activities. In 1965, he was appointed to the 10-member United Nations Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. He was vice chairman of the U.S. delegations to United Nations





Above: Assistant Director Alexander meets with Warden Harold E. Hegstrom at the National Training School for Boys, Bladensburg, Maryland, c. 1950. H.G. Moeller, in the background, later served as Alexander's deputy director.

Left: Alexander visits Warden William Hartwick at FCI El Reno, Oklahoma, 1951.

Below: Judge Charles Fahy swears in Alexander as director, August 1944. Outgoing Director Bennett and Attorney General Robert Kennedy look on.







Above: Alexander shows characteristic exuberance at a wardens' conference, c. 1966. Mrs. Alexander is at left.

Left: Alexander shows model of FCI Morgantown, West Virginia, to Senator Robert C. Byrd, 1967.



Above: Alexander (far right) meets with (left to right) former Director James Bennett, Senator Roman Hruska (Nebraska), Warden Lawrence Carpenter, and Senator Quentin Burdick (North Dakota), 1965.

Right: Attorney General Ramsay Clark looks on as Vice President Hubert Humphrey presents Alexander with the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service, 1967.



Congresses on the Prevention of Crime that were held in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1965, and in Kyoto, Japan, in 1970.

In July 1967, he received the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service from President Lyndon B. Johnson. The award recognized Alexander's work as "a progressive and farsighted administrator" who pioneered "more effective methods of treatment in correctional institutions."

Alexander retired as director in January 1970 and rejoined the faculty of Southern Illinois University. In 1973, he moved to the University of Florida in Gainesville to establish the Studies in Criminal Justice and Corrections program, and direct the program until 1979. He continued to teach at the University of Florida until his retirement in 1981. During the 1970's and 1980's, Alexander also served as a consultant to numerous State prison systems.

Throughout his life, Alexander participated in professional and church organizations. He was a member of the Professional Advisory Council and the Board of Directors of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, and was also a member of the American Correctional Association, the American Society for Public Administration, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the National Jail Association. He was also active in the Lutheran Church, serving on the Executive Board of the Illinois Synod of the Lutheran Church in America (1961-64), on the Board of Social Ministry (1966-72), and on the Bishop's Commission for Economic Justice (1985-87).

For many years, Alexander and his wife divided their time between residences in Gainesville, Florida, and Mifflinburg, Pennsylvania, where they maintained an award-winning tree farm. They moved to Corpus Christi, Texas, in 1991.

Alexander is survived by his wife of nearly 59 years, the former Lorene Miller Shoemaker, a native of Mifflinburg. He is also survived by his daughter, Nancy Alexander Hibbs, his son, John L. Alexander, four grandchildren, and four great-grandchildren.

In his Presidential Address to the American Correctional Association in 1956, Alexander enunciated what he called "a bill of rights for the person under restraint in a free, democratic society." Alexander said that inmates had a right to "clean, decent surroundings," to maintain ties to family and community, to "develop and maintain skills as productive workers," to receive "fair, impartial, and intelligent treatment" while incarcerated, and to enjoy "positive guidance and counsel from correctional personnel."

Upon Alexander's death, the current director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Kathleen M. Hawk, noted that "Myrl E. Alexander made enormous contributions to society and to the American system of criminal justice. He once observed that when he entered the field of corrections, 'respect for human dignity in prison was hard to find' and 'public esteem for those who worked in prison was non-existent.' Alex devoted his career to securing better living conditions for prisoners, more effective prison programs, and greater appreciation of the professionalism and hard work of corrections personnel. He played a vital role in creating modern, safe, humane, and progressive prisons in the United States." ■

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Above: Alexander (with faise beard) portrays legendary 19th-century warden Zebulon Brockway at the 100th anniversary meeting of the American Correctional Association, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1970.

Left: Alexander devoted the latter part of his career to university teaching. Here he speaks to a class at Southern Illinois University, 1971.

Below: Alexander with his first two successors, Norman A. Carlson and J. Michael Quinlan, at the Conference on the History of Federal Corrections, Smithsonian Institution, 1991.



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