

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Corrections



Setting the Jail Research Agenda for the 1990s

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Setting the Jail Research Agenda for the 1990s

Proceedings from a Special Meeting

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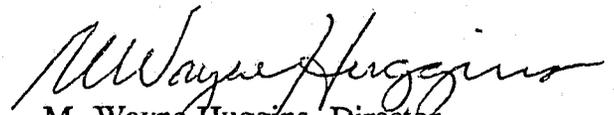
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FOREWORD

Lack of research on jail issues has hampered local governments' efforts to improve their jail systems and plan for future needs. As the issues facing jail administrators become increasingly complex, research and information bases gain more importance than ever.

The National Institute of Corrections has long been committed to advancing jail practices throughout the country. Recognizing that jail research is critical to modern-day jail management, the Institute sponsored a meeting of researchers and practitioners to devise an agenda for jail research during the 1990s.

This document reflects the proceedings of that meeting. We hope it will help encourage research on jail issues and that such research will further the improvement of jail operations nationwide.



M. Wayne Huggins, Director
National Institute of Corrections
August 1992

PREFACE

Local jails have suffered from a tremendous amount of neglect throughout history. This condition includes financial neglect, physical neglect, and, as indicated by this report, research neglect. The position papers in this document represent the views of academics (and in one case a practitioner) concerning their visions about what a national research agenda on jails would include. All of the authors are actively involved in jail research, and most have been doing this research for many years. Therefore, while the position papers may represent somewhat narrow perspectives, they represent the perspectives of very informed individuals. Each paper should be read as presenting one part of a broader, long-range research agenda for the much neglected and often maligned local jail.

This document represents a beginning and an end. It is the end of a process that began in March 1990. At that time a group of jail researchers huddled with representatives of the National Institute of Corrections at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences in Denver, Colorado. The basic questions were simple: (1) What kinds of jail research should we be doing? and (2) How can we pay for it? The "what kinds" question was aimed not only at what we would like to be doing as researchers, but more importantly at what the practitioners in the field really needed. The "how can we pay for it" question clearly recognized that good research is not free, although the price can be reasonable.

A special meeting was subsequently planned for September 1990 to bring together a group of jail researchers (academic researchers who are affiliated with colleges and universities and who have focused some of their research on jails) and practitioners to discuss jail research for the coming decade. The structure of the meeting encouraged maximum interaction and participation by the 12 researchers and 11 practitioners attending. No titles were allowed, and casual attire was required. On breaks practitioners and researchers mixed and mingled freely. The two-day meeting was organized around four sessions in which three researchers presented position papers to which the practitioners and other researchers were asked to respond, reply, criticize, or suggest changes.

The two days proved to be lively and stimulating, and several interim research efforts were prompted by the initial efforts. However, the meeting and these proceedings clearly are a beginning and not just an end.

Jail research, in many ways, is in its infancy. The items for the jail research agenda for the 1990s are preliminary, tentative, and illustrative. No one, least of all the editor of this volume, would begin to suggest that the areas included are the final word on jail research. Instead, they are a starting point for a more coherent approach to doing research on jails.

It is my fond desire that researchers, practitioners, and policymakers nationwide will read this volume knowing that all of the meeting participants agreed that critical research needs to be done on jails and should be started as quickly as possible. However, with so many pressing needs of jails, it was difficult to decide where to begin. In a sense, all of the areas of research suggested are critical needs. We all recognized that we excluded many areas, but we had to start somewhere. No one involved in this project can be accused of "rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic." Jails as institutions, and jail research as an academic exercise, are much too important to waste time and money on such an effort.

G. Larry Mays, Ph.D.
June 1991

INTRODUCTION TO JAIL MEETING PROCEEDINGS

**Mary Stohr
New Mexico State University**

As we rapidly approach the 21st century, a new focus of interest and concern among jail scholars, practitioners, and policymakers is on the legal, operational, and administrative problems facing American jails. From a historical perspective, inadequate facilities and conditions of confinement are endemic to jails as institutions. Added to this history of physical neglect are contemporary challenges to jail administration--crowding, special inmate populations, personnel needs, and legal issues.

While jail scholars and administrators agree that these challenges are immediate, there is no systematic body of information or data on jails to facilitate decisionmaking or to direct a dialogue between jail practitioners and researchers to begin to address both the historical and contemporary problems of jails. There is clearly a need to begin to identify and prioritize the most critical needs of jails and to design systematic and deliberate investigations of these needs.

As a first step toward jail needs assessment, jail practitioners and researchers from across the United States met on September 17 and 18, 1990, in Denver, Colorado. Focusing on the need to direct applied research to jails, the National Institute of Corrections sponsored the meeting with the specific purpose of developing a research agenda for jails in the 1990s.

To accomplish this goal, Larry Mays of New Mexico State University and Joel Thompson of Appalachian State University gathered a diverse group of 11 jail administrators and 12 researchers from various colleges and universities around the country. The jail practitioners came with one or more affiliations to the American Correctional Association, the American Jail Association, and the National Sheriffs' Association. The researchers were invited on the basis of their active interest and engagement in jail research. All participants were apprised of the general goal of the meeting and the specific objective of developing a jail research agenda based on the input of jail practitioners.

The meeting was organized around four sessions: Session I - "Inmate Populations," Session II - "Jail Architecture and Operations," Session III - "Special Inmate Needs," and Session IV - "Legal Issues and Jails." Each session featured three papers presented by jail researchers and an opportunity for specific comment and feedback from jail administrators as to (1) the relevancy of the research, (2) specific jail needs and issues related to the topic, and (3) the priority of these needs and issues. The final session was devoted to developing and prioritizing the most critical needs and issues. The product of this dialogue is the jail research agenda outlined in the conclusion of these proceedings.

Following the meeting and in response to practitioners' comments and critiques, each researcher and one jail administrator submitted revisions of the original papers for inclusion in these proceedings. As proposed by Kurt Siedschlaw of Kearney State College, the papers are arranged

under three general headings: (1) The Need for Research in Jails, (2) The Specific Needs of Jails, and (3) Solutions to Jail Problems.

Included under the first heading are two papers, "Narrowing the Gap Between Theory and Practice" by William Osterhoff and "Use of Applied Social Science Research" by Eric Poole and Mark Pogrebin. Dr. Osterhoff's paper sets the tone for the proceedings in documenting the need for applied jail research to "narrow the gap between correctional theory and practice." Effective and ongoing dialogue between jail administrators and researchers is the key, according to Osterhoff, to finding answers to jail problems, maximizing resources allocated to jails, and improving jail management. The remainder of the paper offers suggestions for jail research applications in inmate population forecasting; the use of computers in jail administration; the development of intervention strategies for special populations; and the design of personnel, supervision, and training models specific to jail needs. The Osterhoff paper thus provides an overview of topics that are more specifically addressed in other papers.

Drs. Poole and Pogrebin also focus on the need for bringing theory and practice together in the jail setting. On the basis of their experience in applied research, the two authors provide some guiding principles for both making research useful and ensuring its application. On the practitioner side, there is a need for motivation and readiness to use the research data. On the researcher side, there must be a willingness to define and reformulate operating problems so that the relevance of applied research can be perceived. Overall, Poole and Pogrebin emphasize the importance of the teamwork of practitioners and researchers to successfully apply theory and research findings, a theme that was reiterated throughout the meeting.

The second section includes works that discuss some of the more specific and pressing needs of inmates, administrators, staff, and citizenry as they relate to jails. All lament what Kurt Siedschlaw has termed "the great void of information" in our knowledge of jail populations, assault rates, care and supervision of inmates, technical knowledge linked to human resources, and strategies to retain and develop jail staff. These works are particularly compelling in view of the knowledge and insight they provide on the need for research on these particular topics and the obstacles they foresee in applying research.

Michael Welch, in "Social Class, Special Populations, and Other Unpopular Issues," focuses on contemporary problematic jail populations, particularly as they relate to jails as institutions for "managing the underclass." Drawing on the issue of the poor in jails, Dr. Welch addresses the need for jail research related to housing PWAs (persons with AIDS), the assessment of holding pens and detention centers for illegal aliens, and the use of makeshift jails as a response to jail crowding. In addition to raising issues of human and civil rights violations, Welch recommends research funding support for jails and a focus on those who work in our nation's jails.

Stan Stojkovic draws our attention to the problem of drug use in jails. "Assessing Drug Usage in Jail Environments" asks "--to what degree drug behavior is found in jail settings, and what, if any, types of treatment programs are available to inmates to deal with their drug problems?" Dr. Stojkovic provides a number of recommendations concerning the development of a national research agenda on drug usage in jails. These include recommendations for a national study on the prevalence of drug behavior in jails, a national study on jail substance abuse treatment

programs, and an assessment of "new generation" jails regarding drug prevalence and treatment programs.

Given the growing problem of crowding and the increasing number of more dangerous offenders in the nation's jails, Dale Sechrest draws on his own research on assaults in jails. "The Need for Research on Jail Assaults" summarizes Dr. Sechrest's studies on the relationship between jail assaults and population density and the role of type of supervision in controlling disruptive behavior. His findings indicate that more important than jail population density in causing assaults was the type of inmate being supervised. Moreover, research in facilities that used direct, remote, and traditional supervision practices suggests that officers trained in new generation practices may provide the most effective approach to managing all types of jail inmates.

These special population issues have brought legal issues in jails to the forefront of policy discussions. Kurt Siedschlaw examines the trends in the topics and quantity of litigation brought against jails between 1979 and 1988. "Is There a Trend in Jail Litigation?" provides a model for future jail litigation research. Dr. Siedschlaw's study documents the importance of researching litigation trends on the content of jail standards, staffing, and training. His study further recommends the need for a system to gather information about jail litigation.

Steven Cuvelier similarly emphasizes the need for better information to improve jail administration and policymaking. "Computer Simulation Applications in Jail Research" reports on Dr. Cuvelier's work in the application of computer models and simulation to jail populations. The paper provides an explanation of the tools used in Harris County, Texas, to develop an offender/case-flow model. Beyond the operational application of population identification and management, the paper discusses the critical link to research and policy issues that can be obtained from a better understanding of the jail and the local criminal justice system.

Concluding the second section is "Human Resource Development" by Ben Menke, Linda Zupan, Mary Stohr, and Nicholas Lovrich. Among the emerging needs of jails is the quality of the workforce. The authors propose a jails and human resource research agenda that includes exploring the link between jail architecture, organizational culture, behavior, and in-house programming; an assessment of personnel and human resource development policies; the cross-training of male and female jail officers; and an evaluation of decentralized decisionmaking models and problem-oriented correctional strategies.

The final section offers possible solutions to the challenges identified by the authors in the preceding sections. "Reintegration: A Strategy for Success" by Samuel Saxton offers a practitioner's solution to the problem of returning jail inmates to the community as productive citizens. Mr. Saxton offers a reintegration model based on a partnership between the Department of Health and the Department of Corrections in Prince George's County, Maryland. That collaboration created a Driving While Intoxicated (DWI) Facility that houses offenders with a history of alcohol abuse. The paper outlines the program elements that ensure the offenders obtain skills necessary to reenter society. The approach is based on a philosophy of gradual, deliberate, and structured reintegration.

Barbara Price revisits the concept of regional jails as part of the national research agenda. "Regional Jails" recommends an "in-depth assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of regional jails and an explication of the process whereby jurisdictions are mobilized into action to establish a jointly operated jail." Dr. Price offers a number of research questions to guide the evaluation, including this basic question: "How well has jail regionalization operated to provide relief for those localities which have turned to it for a solution to the difficult problems involved in operating a local jail?"

John Klofas' paper, "Jail Crowding," calls for policy-relevant research to address the endemic problem of jail crowding. Focusing on the deficiencies in jail research, Dr. Klofas calls for comparative studies across jails that investigate the full range of crowding conditions and variables and that elaborate on the crowding problem. Klofas also calls for investigation of the causes and consequences of crowding and studies that explore variations in jail use.

THE NEED FOR RESEARCH IN JAILS

Narrowing the Gap Between Theory and Practice

**William E. Osterhoff
Auburn University at Montgomery**

Local corrections, like most of society's institutions, is being forced to deal with increasingly complex management, operations, and funding problems. At the same time, local corrections must compete with other institutions for increasingly scarce resources. The challenges and opportunities for local corrections probably have never been greater than now.

As local corrections approaches the challenges of crowded facilities, litigation, staff turnover, high recidivism rates, and a public that is less than enthusiastic about increased taxes to resolve jail-related problems, the need for developing an objective and systematic approach to resolving these problems is critical. To continue to operate as in the past is no longer possible. Local governments cannot continue to provide more funds in the hope that additional funding will resolve their jail problems in the traditional hit-or-miss fashion. Instead, jail administrators are going to have to be able to demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of their programs and to justify the benefits and solutions that additional funds will provide. The public and their elected officials are aware that resources are scarce; they also realize that every dollar spent on local corrections is a dollar that cannot be allocated elsewhere.

Along with the challenges are opportunities. Local corrections has an opportunity to change its image from one with unskilled, low-status employment to a profession that can deal more effectively with complex jail problems than in the past. Among the requirements for the status of a profession is a theoretically grounded body of specialized knowledge, as well as the creation and dissemination of new knowledge. These requirements, however, imply a foundation of research and evaluation. In setting a jail research agenda, it is important to include efforts that reflect both researchers' and practitioners' concerns in order to narrow the gap between correctional theory and practice.

Communicating a basic understanding of the need for and benefits of research should be an important objective of any jail research agenda. To bridge the gap between researchers and jail practitioners, an effective and ongoing dialogue must be established that will help jail administrators realize that the outcome of jail research should transcend an article in an academic publication. Outcomes of well-formulated research and evaluations can help provide answers to jail-related problems, maximize resources that have been allocated to jails, and improve management effectiveness. Research can also assist in the prediction and control of inmate behavior, thereby enhancing the safety and well being of inmates, staff, and the general public.

The National Institute of Corrections (NIC) should develop a training program to inform jail managers of the potential of jail research in fostering the development of detention facility management as a profession. The role of research in organizational management and

decisionmaking also should be stressed. Jail managers should be familiar with the basic skills and requirements for conducting and/or understanding research and evaluation projects; limitations of research also should be discussed. Since jail-related data are more accessible and important for decisionmaking and accountability than ever before, a basic understanding of data analysis by jail managers may soon become a job-related requirement.

Research should be conducted to maximize the use of computers in all areas of jail management, inmate classification and programming, staff training, and research and evaluation. These computer programs should be developed for use in small, medium, and large jail facilities. Similarly, computer simulation programs, if properly developed, could provide valuable assistance to jail management and staff in attempting to predict the complex interactions that result whenever changes occur in the criminal justice system and in public policy.

Jails are used primarily for pretrial detention and for holding sentenced offenders. Another area of research would be to explore, develop, and evaluate supplemental roles for jails. The fact that millions of individuals are detained, at least temporarily, in the nation's jails each year provides a unique opportunity for a variety of interventions into the arrest, incarceration, rearrest, and reincarceration cycle that characterizes the lives of many offenders.

The traditional institutions of social control (i.e., family, community, school, religion, occupation, military, and society's system of rewards and punishments) are neither effective nor applicable for many offenders. Once offenders have been arrested and transported to jail, however, they are under the control of jail personnel from the time of booking until the time of release. It should be possible to use that period while the inmates are in pretrial or sentenced status for inmate self-improvement programs. For example, it would be easy to assess inmate literacy during booking and classification. Illiterate inmates could be introduced to programs or community volunteers who teach adults how to read. The process could begin by using inmates, staff, or computerized literacy development programs in the jail. If even a small percentage of illiterate inmates pursued a literacy program, their occupational opportunities would expand significantly.

Similar examples can be postulated for providing assistance with parenting skills for inmates who have problems managing their children. Unless some intervention occurs, many inmates will continue to pose problems for society for much of their lives. The cumulative costs of nonintervention will be high for the inmates, their families, the criminal justice system, and society in general. If we consider the costs of confinement and the potential deterioration that can occur during confinement, new roles for jails should be explored through research and evaluation designs that would determine which of the interventions, if any, have a positive impact on inmates. The relative cost-effectiveness of the intervention efforts also could be determined.

The cycle of recidivism is characteristic of many, but not all, inmates. As stated above, jails should not continue to be mere processors of inmates but should attempt to identify effective interventions in the cycle of offender recidivism. Multivariate comparisons of variables or combinations of variables between jail inmates who repeatedly recidivate and those for whom jail is a one-time experience might reveal differences that would suggest cost-effective intervention strategies on the part of jail and community programs.

Another potential area for research would be inmate population forecasting. New jail construction has significant short-term and long-term fiscal implications for local government. Consequently, accurate inmate population forecasting is obviously important. Some research on past inmate population projections has been reasonably accurate while other research has been highly inaccurate. In some cases, crowded conditions have occurred almost immediately after new jails have been completed. While the policies and practices of public and criminal justice systems usually govern system growth, research could help determine what commonality existed among jurisdictions whose projections were accurate and which factors, if any, were common to the jurisdictions whose projections were inaccurate. One example might be whether a total systems planning approach, such as the process recommended in the National Institute of Corrections' Planning of New Institutions (PONI) Program, had been used by the local jurisdictions in planning their new facilities.

An important area for a research agenda for the 1990s would be an objective comparison of various types of jail designs. A number of management, staff, and inmate-related variables should be compared among different facility designs. Excellent examples of such research already exist, but more are required.

Research on determining and matching the styles of jail officer supervision with inmate supervision requirements also is suggested. For example, some officers are able to work effectively with inmates who need a great deal of direction or who have special management needs; other officers work more effectively with inmates who need only minimal direction. While inmates are viewed as having different supervision needs by jail administrators, jail staff members are frequently viewed as being homogeneous in their supervision styles and abilities and are assigned supervision responsibilities accordingly. By matching staff supervisory styles with inmate supervision needs, more effective use of staff resources should result. Similar lines of research have been conducted in matching therapist and client characteristics in psychological settings.

Another important area for research lies in comparing and evaluating various aspects of public and private jails, including plans, design, finances, construction, transition, and management and operations. Research on privatization should involve both short-term and long-term designs. A willingness to consider advantages and disadvantages of private sector jails was endorsed by both the American Correctional Association and the President's Commission on Privatization, but was discouraged by the American Jail Association and the National Sheriffs' Association. Any research agenda for jails should address the importance of objective inquiry into innovative or different methods of dealing with jail-related problems, including privatization and public-private partnerships. Too often it is assumed that innovative programs and procedures are superior to traditional programs and procedures, and those assumptions are not challenged or supported by empirical research.

With the continuing problem of jail crowding, research should be conducted to evaluate various strategies to reduce inmate population. The relative merits, cost-effectiveness, and impact of different population reduction strategies are ideal topics for empirical study. Empirical research into the effects of jail crowding under various conditions should be supported, along with efforts to mitigate possible deleterious effects of crowding.

As the demographics of our society are changing, so are jail populations. Strategies for jail management, supervision, and operations strategies will also need to change. Research can aid proactive jail administrators in predicting changes in inmate populations before they occur. Similarly, research can assist in determining the most effective methods of managing those inmates and the most appropriate programs and facility designs for accommodating the changing inmate populations. One example of changing inmate demographics is a projected increase in elderly or geriatric offenders. Few jails are designed to handle inmates who have long-term physical or mental health disabilities. Similarly, the increasing presence of gangs in society and in our jails throughout the next decade must be anticipated. Changes in inmate populations as a result of increased arrests for drug offenses, domestic abuse, sex offenses, and Driving Under the Influence (DUI) offenses will require changes in inmate management, staff training, inmate programs, and organizational management. Research can guide the direction and evaluate the effectiveness of these changes.

Research during the 1990s should also be directed toward academic programs in criminal justice, since graduates of these programs will, in many instances, become the jail administrators, staff members, and criminal justice system policymakers of the future. An analysis of course content should indicate what is being taught and how that material is related to operational requirements of jail management. Furthermore, an analysis of information sources for corrections courses at community colleges, four-year institutions, and graduate programs should be conducted. It is possible that much of the information available from NIC's lesson plans, training programs, and research projects is not being disseminated to or used by many instructors in academic programs. A goal of this type of research project would be to determine how the informational needs of jail staffs and administrators can be reflected in criminal justice curricula and how information already available through NIC can be incorporated into the course content of criminal justice education programs.

Comparing the self-reported informational needs of current jail administrators and staff members with those perceived by criminal justice researchers might suggest modifications to current criminal justice curricula. Validation of academic course content with informational needs of jail practitioners should not imply that academic education and jail training should be synonymous; however, a better mutual understanding of the informational needs and priorities of practitioners and researchers would be of value.

The growing trend toward jail industries programs offers one method by which jails can become more cost-effective and beneficial to inmates, institutional management, and the public. A benefit-cost analysis of jail industries programs and an analysis of community needs would be appropriate areas for research during the next decade. Development of job selection and training programs to reflect short-term and longer-term confinement of inmates should be approached systematically with emphasis placed on the educational and vocational deficits that are characteristic of many jail inmates. Provision of basic educational and vocational skills to inmates should be facilitated through the use of computerized programs and by inmate and community volunteers. Research should be conducted to assess the relative merits of various programs and training approaches. Development and evaluation of new computerized programs to aid in inmate skill and educational enhancement also would represent appropriate research areas and should increase the potential effectiveness of jail industry programs. Studies are also needed to resolve potential conflicts between jail industry programs and local businesses and

unions. Support for studies on work release, community service, and restitution programs also is recommended.

In summary, research and evaluation are important requirements for the development of a profession. Jail administration has evolved to a point where appreciating and understanding research are becoming requisites for successful management and operation of jail facilities and programs. With adequate research and evaluation, effective policies can be developed and justified. Similarly, ineffective policies can be identified, thereby allowing reallocation of scarce resources. Without adequate research and evaluation, the decade of the 1990s is likely to repeat the errors and failures of the past.

Use of Applied Social Science Research

Eric D. Poole and Mark Pogrebin
University of Colorado at Denver

This paper's primary focus is to highlight the issues involving the use of applied social science research by jail administrators and practitioners to improve policymaking, planning, and evaluation. The underlying tension between research and practice that will be addressed is often stated as follows: How can social science research regarding "what causes what" provide guidance in seriously considering "what will happen if"? Formulating plans for action on a research base (a practitioner's perspective) often calls for more and different data than the data needed to understand why things are the way they are (a researcher's perspective). In this paper we review some ways of addressing questions about utility of applied research and some ways of facilitating the application of research findings.

Motivations for Applied Research

The use of applied research initially depends on the willingness of practitioners to seek solutions to their operational problems through scientific investigations of these problems. This readiness and initiative seem primarily to be tied to three sources of motivation:

1. **Problem Sensitivity.** Motivation for the use of scientific findings and methods often stems simply from the fact that the present state of affairs is unsatisfactory for someone. Such problem sensitivity is frequently a reason why responsible administrators look outward for sources of help to get a deeper understanding of their problems and to find new principles and methods of operation.
2. **Image of Potentiality.** Perhaps from their own imagination, or from observations of situations elsewhere, certain administrators have an idea of how a situation might be improved if it were changed in certain respects. This image or tentative question about potentiality stimulates the need for further information about possibilities.
3. **Experimental Attitude Toward Innovation.** Some administrators have explicitly accepted the standard that a continuous effort to keep up with new discoveries and to try out new ideas is an organizational imperative. For such individuals the use of applied research is an important goal in itself and is integral to organizational development.

Even when there is motivation to turn to applied research for help, this is just the beginning. As administrators consider turning to applied research for problem-solving information, they typically assess first the utility and applicability of research from other settings. Several key questions inevitably arise: To what extent and in what ways is their situation comparable to those in which applied research has been conducted? Does a theoretical concept or principle seem relevant to their understanding or conceptualization of their problem? Is the way of handling the present situation all that they can learn from the previous efforts, or is there also

something concerning the substantive content of the findings and generalizations that can be applied to the analysis of their problem? Unfortunately, many administrators do not review these questions in assessing the utility of applied research; hence, they often reject much research and its implications because of certain manifest differences between the situations or populations on which the research was conducted and their own. Or, rarely, they may uncritically accept all the findings and insights as relevant to their own situation and proceed unsuccessfully on this unrealistic assumption.

Next, complex issues of research application in the present setting must be identified and strategically addressed. For example, there are concerns of whether the research is focused on major dimensions of the problem rather than on symptoms; whether the data-collection activities have been accepted and understood by the practitioners who, it is hoped, will use them; whether the research gets communicated to the practitioners in such a way that its practical value can be realistically assessed and acted on; and whether the present research findings will be helpful in confronting similar organizational problems and situations in the future. The remainder of the paper assesses these and related concerns, and we suggest ways to promote more effective use of research.

Organizational Preparations for Applied Research

The major purpose for conducting research, from an organization's standpoint, is to improve its operation. However, improvement always requires change. This problem is not new; organizations are continually undergoing change. All that research does is to increase the amount and magnitude of change. Consequently, all the problems involved in changing the activities of an organization are present when attempts are made to apply research findings.

It is common experience that orders, by themselves, are seldom sufficient to produce effective change in an organization and its functioning. Other procedures, including those that use some participation, are usually required. The persons who need to seek the participation or cooperation of others are those persons who possess information as to what changes might bring improvement. When this information is based on research, it is the researchers who are primarily faced with the problem of obtaining participation and cooperation of the others if the research results are to be applied successfully.

Applying new ideas requires both a knowledge of the new idea and an understanding of the present operation. Thus, researchers face the problem of obtaining participation not only to facilitate cooperation in bringing about desired changes, but also to ensure that the changes sought represent the best available thinking based upon past experience and current research findings. Cooperation in seeking and achieving change grows out of honest participation with full recognition and appreciation of the important ideas that the many kinds of people involved can contribute. Cooperation is not created by manipulation--at least, not for long.

Avoiding Resistance

When an organization contemplates research, some important persons in influential positions may view the proposed research with reservations. It is best not to proceed with the research until

these criticisms and reservations have been examined fully, including an examination of the advantages and disadvantages of undertaking the research. People's resistance will manifest itself sooner or later, and it is usually better to have that reluctance out in the open and faced early in the proceedings. Often, if this is done candidly and unemotionally, these persons will become more involved in the research and increasingly favorable in their attitude toward it. If resistance is ignored or brushed aside, it is likely to result in efforts to stop the research when difficulties are met, or it may result in attempts to block applications of research.

Creating Realistic Expectations

Just as some persons are unduly skeptical as to the probable value of the results that research will yield, others are unduly optimistic. This latter group tends to have unrealistic expectations as to what the research can do for them or the organization. This optimism can result in serious difficulties, for even the best research cannot possibly achieve some aspirations. If people within an organization maintain unrealistic expectations, they will be disappointed with the results obtained from any study, no matter how good these results are. Such disappointment may lead them to reject the idea of using research in the future.

To avoid the disappointment that occurs when unrealistic expectations exist, it is important to create expectations that are modest in relation to the probable contributions from research. Creating these moderate expectations is best done during the planning stages of the research project while studying the problem and discussing the probable character of the results to be obtained. When expectations are modest, the value of the research results is likely to be greater than anticipated. This satisfaction encourages the further use of research.

The Need for Theory-Driven Research

Prioritizing Problems

It is common for an organization to request that research be done on some problem currently seen as a crisis and about which something must be done soon. Often, however, when the problem is examined, it proves not to be the best problem upon which to do research. It may be only one part of a fundamental problem. Or it may not be stated in dimensions that permit systematic, quantitative research. Discussing the problem fully with the administration and staff of the organization facilitates this diagnosis. Attempting to state the problem in dimensions based on the best available theoretical conceptualizations can also help.

The final statement of the problem and of the research objectives must be acceptable to the organization. Often the discussions involved in diagnosing the problem lead to a recognition and acceptance of the problem as stated in research objectives. Sometimes, however, this does not occur. If further discussions do not lead to an acceptance of the problem as stated, the researcher may have to start on a pilot or small-scale study devoted to a peripheral problem, but one that the organization perceives as requiring immediate attention. From the results obtained in this pilot study, the researcher usually can demonstrate the nature of the basic problem upon which the major research should be concentrated; moreover, the researcher often can gain clearer understanding of the basic problem itself.

Relating Theoretical and Applied Objectives

It is impossible to emphasize sufficiently that research devoted to the operating problems of an agency need not and, if done well, will not be concerned with the symptoms of problems or with minutiae. Nor will it be concerned solely with finding specific answers to specific problems. Evidence points to the advantage of designing research dealing with specific operating problems in such a way that the results can be generalized and applied to other related situations.

If researchers conducting a study for an agency seek only to find specific answers to specific problems, they are likely to run into serious difficulties. One difficulty, for example, is that there are so many specific problems that they will be hopelessly swamped. Another is the cost of the research is likely to exceed the value of the specific answers. But particularly important is the fact that by the time the research has provided a specific answer to a particular problem, the situation may have changed so that the original problem is no longer the problem. New ones may have replaced it. By inference, this approach indicates that research designed to meet the long-range problems of an organization will be more valuable and have greater application than "fire-fighting" research designed to meet immediate problems.

The great value of generalized knowledge for dealing with specific problems has been aptly stated as a dictum of applied social science research: "Nothing is so practical as a good theory." In the design of research focused on major variables, the probability of significant findings is increased if the best available theory is used as a guide to what to measure and what relationships to test. The better the theory used in guiding the research design, the greater the probability of finding marked and important relationships. Obviously, the more the research discovers about those major variables that have a marked relationship to the problem being studied, the greater the contribution of the research to solving this and related problems. Generalizations or statements of principles that summarize the important relationships discovered in the research have two valuable uses. They serve as guides to help solve problems like the one upon which the research was focused, and they contribute to available scientific knowledge and the development of theory.

If important changes in the character of the problem are likely to occur between the beginning of the research and the availability of the results, researchers must take this approach into account in designing their research. In addition to concentrating research on the major variables involved, researchers often will adequately cover any reasonable range of change that may occur in the situation during the time required to do the study. One way of doing this is to design the research so that it will yield results satisfactory for dealing analytically with two or more widely differing situations. If these assumptions involve situations more extreme than any that are likely to occur, then the actual situation at the end of the study will fall between the extreme situations assumed. By bracketing the problem in this manner and having adequate data to deal with a range of situations, researchers usually are able to make valid and useful derivations from their findings to the situation that exists when the research findings become available.

Focus on Research Objectives

In organizational research it is useful for researchers to emphasize and reemphasize that the objective of the study is to discover the relative effectiveness of different methods and principles

and that the study is in no way an attempt to perform a policing function. The emphasis must be on discovering what principles and methods work best and why, and not on finding and reporting which individuals are doing their jobs well or poorly.

Unless these objectives are made explicit to all and are rigorously adhered to, it will not be possible for researchers to obtain the full cooperation needed from the people in the organization being studied. It is critical that researchers make it clear that the interviews, questionnaires, and other data obtained from each person will be kept strictly confidential. People need to know that these materials are being collected for purposes of statistical analysis and that no one will be able to tell which specific answers were given by which individual.

An organization focused on discovering better principles and methods of organization and leadership reassures persons who may feel threatened by the research. If those people feel that the research is to learn how to help them do their job more successfully, they usually are eager to cooperate. This cooperation usually increases as they see the research results used for this purpose rather than to discharge or demote people whose work is not presently successful.

Promoting Use of Research Results

Measurements of any commercial, industrial, or governmental operation almost always show that some things are being done well and other things not so well. In examining these research results, administrators can take primarily either a constructive or a defensive attitude toward the data. Fortunately, most administrators take a constructive point of view. Occasionally, however, administrators take a defensive attitude and immediately become fearful when data are obtained that show their operations are not now functioning in the best possible manner. Their impulse, as soon as they have seen such research results, is to lock up the data immediately so that no one else can learn the bad news. Some administrators take the opposite point of view when looking at similar data. Their reaction is to look at the results that present a favorable picture with pleasure but to look hastily. They quickly turn with genuine enthusiasm to the results that indicate where and in what manner the operation can be improved. Then they share this information with their management and line staffs so the necessary steps can be taken that will lead to further improvement in the organization's operations.

Project Participation and Commitment

If people are unfamiliar with a research project and know little about it, they are not likely to understand the findings or be interested in applying them. Personal involvement not only decreases the barriers to the use of the data, but it increases the probability that the results will be understood and accepted and, particularly important, yields positive motivation to apply the results. This involvement should include all those who can influence the application of the results; it should begin at the very outset of the project and increase as the project reaches analysis stages. To wait until research results are available before attempting to obtain participation represents a failure to use participation and may lead to the full or partial rejection of the results.

The effectiveness of participation and involvement depends upon the rate or timing of the factors devoted to this purpose. There seems to be no substitute for taking adequate time at many points in the process. The first point occurs when an organization is considering whether to have research done on a problem it faces. If high-pressured sales techniques are applied, resistance is likely to occur. On the other hand, if the problem and needs of the organization are examined carefully and if consideration is given to the help that research can and cannot provide, without pressure for a decision, administrators usually are more likely to understand and accept the assistance that research can probably provide. Also, researchers are more likely to understand the problem and be more able to design an efficient study than if the decision to proceed with the study is made hastily. When an organization has decided after careful consideration that it will benefit from having research done on its problems, administrators are much more likely to be sufficiently interested in the study and to take the time and energy required to become actively involved in the project.

Obtaining the participation of relevant personnel in the planning stages of a study yields two dividends. It enriches and improves the material used in planning the study and it also achieves the desired involvement. Similar gains result from using participation in the analysis and interpretation phases of the research project.

Utility of Preliminary Findings

The involvement and interest of administrators tend to wane if the researchers wait until the completion of the analysis before presenting any results to them. Moreover, people usually can do a better job of interpreting research results if they are given time to assimilate gradually the major findings emerging in the research. If nothing is reported to an organization until the final analysis is presented, administrators are confronted with a body of data that often includes some results that surprise them. The administration is thus faced with what amounts to a "take it or leave it" situation, and neither alternative is desirable from the standpoint of the researchers. On the other hand, when researchers present to administrators some preliminary inkling of the probable results but present them as highly tentative, the administration is not compelled immediately to accept or reject the data. Also, as further data are reported to them and progressively build a clearer picture of the results, administrators follow the research with interest. During this period, they can test the validity of the results by using other evidence or clues. This testing and discovering that the results are valid will facilitate their acceptance.

People find it difficult to make major, rapid changes in their thinking. It requires both opportunity and time for each of us to test new ideas and new results, to gradually discover their validity, and to accept them. Not until then are we willing to base decisions on these new findings. There seems to be no substitute for experiential learning in this process. Whenever pressure is exerted to achieve changes in points of view or in thinking in unduly short periods of time, there is likely to be strong emotional resistance to such pressure.

Summary

The complexities of using applied research are so great that in most cases it requires the teamwork of practitioners and researchers to successfully apply theory and research findings.

The following steps seem to be necessary (or at least highly desirable) in promoting the process of using:

1. The prerequisite first step is the practitioner's motivation and readiness to use information derived from applied social science research. This initiative to seek new knowledge typically arises from a reactive search for help on a specific problem (e.g., the fire-fighting approach); however, in some situations it represents an exploration of potentialities of application (e.g., the strategic planning approach).
2. The next step involves an active process of defining and reformulating operating problems so that the relevance of applied research can be perceived. For example, researchers should first listen to practitioners' statements of their problems and then attempt to break these problems down and reformulate them for scientific analysis. Although it may sound somewhat paradoxical, one way in which researchers can give their work concrete significance for practitioners is to do adequate theorizing about the current research problems. The spelling out of abstract theoretical conceptualizations that drive problem formulation in a specific situation provides one of the most helpful means of relating these insights to subsequent research findings and their interpretations. This is possible because the concepts used to organize and interpret data are concepts that are easily seen as relevant and important for many organizational concerns.
3. It is also critical that researchers become oriented to the problem as the practitioner sees it in order to select appropriate methodological strategies and research designs for the particular organizational setting. They must be permitted to conduct a thorough diagnostic assessment of the operating situation before undertaking any study.
4. Researchers need to sensitize practitioners to the assumptions and requirements of applied research. In addition, researchers should assist practitioners in gaining an understanding of the implications of research application by addressing such concerns as (a) changes in target populations, (b) elements of organizational dynamics, and (c) extrapolations of theoretical and empirical generalizations to different situations.
5. Finally, even though the directions for application may be well understood, successful use of research requires creative and realistic thinking about "what would happen if." The researcher should be able to offer predictions of probable consequences of various problem-solving alternatives and to develop procedures for measuring and assessing the consequences of new lines of action.

Applied research is being done increasingly in criminal justice organizations and on problems whose significance extends beyond the organization and into the community. This trend is likely to continue as the methodologies and findings of this research become more extensive, are replicated, and demonstrate efficacy in problem-solving practical settings.

THE SPECIFIC NEEDS OF JAILS

Social Class, Special Populations, and Other Unpopular Issues

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Introduction

In his recent article devoted to setting a jail research agenda, Mays (1989) put forth three recommendations:

(1) it is necessary to receive input from some of the nation's leading practitioners concerning jail problems; (2) there should be a national conference of scholars who are actively involved in increasing our knowledge base on jails; and (3) there should be recommendations to federal agencies, like the National Institute of Corrections, and their state counterparts to provide reasonable levels of research funding support relating to jails.

For some readers, Mays' recommendations might have been looked upon as the perfunctory closing we have come to expect at the conclusion of professional articles that simply call for additional research. However, it is now apparent that Mays' call for additional research has been taken seriously, and the task of constructing a viable agenda for jail research is currently taking form. Taking into account Mays' proposal that a research agenda should be formulated by both practitioners and researchers, I am pleased to have this opportunity to share my thoughts concerning a jail research agenda for the 1990s.

In this paper, I will introduce some of the jail issues discussed in my recent writings, as well as those that I am currently investigating. A central theme to this position paper involves an emphasis on social class and special populations: more specifically, underclass detainees and persons with AIDS (PWAs). Furthermore, I will discuss the need to examine other neglected institutions and facilities, including the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) detention centers (for illegal aliens) and the holding pens (also known as bull pens or court pens) located in the basements of large court houses. Finally, I will summarize my thoughts on makeshift jails (jail barges, etc.) and conclude this paper with a brief outline of my personal recommendations for setting a jail research agenda. However, before I elaborate on each of these items, I shall make some introductory remarks about jail research and theory.

Jail Research and Theory

In an earlier essay (Welch 1989a), I pointed out the importance of deliberately examining jails without relying too heavily on the assumptions and concepts that are sometimes borrowed from

prison literature. "The separation of jail research from its dominant counterpart, prison research, is long overdue. Jails traditionally have been treated as 'little prisons,' which subsequently contributed to the development of many misconceptions about the use of jails" (Welch 1989a, 136). Among those misconceptions are the types of persons routinely processed through the jail system.

Whereas most writings on jails and detainees have only mentioned the issue of social class, Irwin's (1985) analysis goes further and exposes the social function of the jail, which is the management of the underclass. His contribution stands out in the correctional literature because Irwin keeps the focus on jails without using similar, yet sometimes misleading, prison issues. Having considered the need to advance social theory as it relates to the jail's role in society, I will now underscore some of Irwin's assertions regarding the underclass.

Social Class and Detention

In his book *The Jail: Managing the Underclass in American Society*, Irwin identifies a specific subordinate social group that he classifies as "the rabble." In short, the rabble represents those persons who are socially detached and are generally viewed by the conventional world as being offensive. As part of the permanent underclass, the rabble has limited means to survive. Irwin purports that the rabble accounts for most of those persons who are confined in our jails and who are typically held for minor offenses. They simply do not match the stereotype of the dangerous and threatening criminal.

In sum, Irwin concludes that the jail is an extension of the welfare state; it becomes a means by which society manages and controls the underclass. (A similar position is argued in Piven and Cloward's *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, 1971.) Irwin also points out that criminal justice agencies are likely to continue to focus on the rabble to the exclusion of more serious offenders. If we consider this, the current form of law enforcement, which emphasizes the offenses of the rabble, serves as a political diversion that deflects attention from the system's lack of success in dealing with serious offenders (Irwin 1985, 112).

In accordance with this view, many jails conform to the tendency of detaining the poor while allowing other more affluent suspects to leave the system by posting a reasonable and affordable bail. This phenomenon not only supports Irwin's claim, but also explicates the problem of crowded city jails. New York City is a case in point: Whereas there are certainly many dangerous and high-risk detainees at Rikers Island (and the borough jails), two-thirds of the detainees are held because they are too poor to meet bail, which is sometimes as low as \$200 to \$500, and not because they are violent or pose a high risk.

Persons with AIDS in Jail

Social class is sometimes intimately related to the institutional category known as the "special population." This is precisely the case when dealing with PWAs. In this section I shall

characterize how PWAs in jail both constitute a special population and maintain membership in society's underclass.

As I noted in a recent article, AIDS has emerged as one of the most pressing issues for correctional institutions: "Given the current controversy of AIDS in corrections, administrators are compelled to deal with the ideological, political, legal and ethical crosscurrents which shape policy and decision making" (Welch 1989a, 135).

It is clear that the prevalence of AIDS is extending beyond the gay male population to urban, poverty-stricken intravenous (IV) drug users of both sexes. Furthermore, AIDS is becoming more prevalent among specific groups within the underclass, and it is these persons who are more likely to be confronted by the police and subsequently processed through the jail system. Therefore, it is important to understand the implications of AIDS as it relates to both social class and special populations in jails. Generally speaking, PWAs in jail occupy both of these social categories: They tend to be members of the underclass (or rabble) and, because of their medical condition, they are also regarded as a special population within the institution. As I elaborated in some recent writings, PWAs in correctional institutions are designated as a special population because they have an unusual medical condition. Consequently, PWAs have special medical needs, and because of the nature of their disease, their correctional experience often is complicated by negative relations with staff and inmates (Welch 1990a; 1989a).

To briefly identify the scope of the problem, Hammett (1989) writes that as of January 1, 1989, almost 83,000 cases of AIDS in the United States had been reported to the Centers for Disease Control. In addition, more than 46,000 persons had died from AIDS nationwide as of January 1, 1989. The distribution of cumulative total AIDS cases among inmates has also been documented: As of October 1988, 2,047 PWAs were confined in the 51 state and federal prison systems. Moreover, the cumulative total of AIDS cases in city and county jails has been estimated at 1,089. It is important to point out that these confirmed cases in the city and county jails are based on questionnaires returned by 28 systems surveyed (actually 37 questionnaires were originally sent out: a response rate of 76%).

Understandably, critics argue that these figures greatly under-estimate the extent of the AIDS problem, especially in jails where the inmate population is transient and rarely classified. It is also obvious that there are some gaps in compiling these data since the method currently in use relies on each jail voluntarily reporting cases to the researchers.

The limitations surrounding AIDS research in corrections notwithstanding, several worthwhile articles and reports have been published (Hammett 1989; Jeffers 1989; Benson 1987; Moriarity 1987; Lawrence and Zwisohn 1990; Olivero 1990; and Welch, 1989a and 1990a). Some issues addressed in these works are social stigma, violence, mortality, medical attention, legal restrictions, segregation, testing, education, staff development, and management strategies. In light of the fact that the war on drugs has contributed to the increase of detained and incarcerated IV drug users, clearly jails will have to deal with this problem indefinitely. Indeed, because of the urgency of this challenge, it is imperative that AIDS in jails remains a high-priority research agenda item.

Holding Pens and INS Detention Centers

The statement that criminal justice scholars traditionally have neglected the study of jails has emerged as one of the most common introductory remarks prefacing articles on jails. But, whereas some jail facilities have been included in discussions about the neglected areas of the criminal justice system, others have been totally neglected and deserve our attention. Two such facilities are holding pens and the INS detention centers for illegal aliens. These facilities currently face widespread charges of inhumane conditions and other violations of civil and human rights, especially against the poor and minorities.

The holding pens in large city court houses are not so much facilities as they are sections in the basement where suspects are held until they are arraigned. Unlike officially recognized institutions and facilities, holding pens "have no standards covering their daily operations, for even such fundamentals as the capacity of the cells, appropriate food, health care, and access to the outside. It is thus difficult to hold any agency accountable for the deplorable conditions" (Gangi 1990, A-24). In New York City, the Correctional Association and the Bar of the City of New York have exposed the problems of holding pens. Although these organizations have provided the much-needed resources to begin reform in New York, I suspect that many other cities do not benefit from the efforts of such groups.

One might argue that holding pens exist outside the scope of jail agenda. However, because many jail researchers are basically reform-minded and are intent on focusing attention on neglected areas of the criminal justice system, I strongly feel that we should include holding pens among the research items.

Another system of detention that has been charged with violating the civil and human rights of underclass persons of color is that operated by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), also known as the Simpson-Rodino law, was passed requiring all workers to prove their citizenship. One consequence of this law was the use of repressive measures against illegal persons (or illegal aliens). Since the mid-1980s, more than 26 INS detention centers have opened; currently, tens of thousands of illegal persons are detained. Critics argue that whites seeking asylum in the United States are met with much less resistance and certainly are not forced into detention for indefinite periods of time. However, this is usually not the case for persons of color whom the INS unfairly detains. Among the most unpopular detainees are those from Cuba, Haiti, and Central America who seek asylum in the United States because they fear persecution in their homelands. (For additional criticisms on the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, see Arp, Dantico, and Zatz 1990.)

These types of detention centers are rarely, if at all, included in deliberations on jails, yet I feel the existence of such facilities raises serious and fundamental concerns regarding detention. First, with the exception of a few human rights attorneys, there does not appear to be any regulatory (watchdog) agency available to monitor these detention centers; hence, they have little, if any, accountability. Second, some facilities are operated by private correctional services, such as the INS detention center in Queens, New York, which is currently managed by Wackenhut Corrections Corporation, a private security firm. Considering the criticisms surrounding the privatization of corrections and the potential for civil rights violations,

investigations of these detention centers are warranted. Finally, there have been numerous complaints regarding lengthy periods of confinement, living conditions, food, medical services, and access to legal counsel. But while these charges are common in most jails, little is known about the day-to-day operations of INS detention centers.

I realize that most INS detention centers are governed by the policies and bureaucratic procedures of the State Department. However, because of the number of unanswered questions about their day-to-day operations and the ample evidence of widespread civil and human rights violations, I feel these centers require further scrutiny.

Makeshift Jails and Public Policy

In a recent book chapter on the expansion of jail capacity, I highlighted an interesting consequence of the jail construction treadmill (Welch 1990b). That is, as the building of new jails fails to keep pace with the massive influx of inmates and detainees (especially in large urban settings), correctional administrators are finding new ways to reduce crowding in the primary jail facility. An increasingly popular strategy is the reliance on makeshift jails (or jail annexes) by which existing buildings or structures are converted into jails. Some examples of makeshift jails are vacant government buildings, old schools, abandoned gas stations, or, in New York City, refurbished Navy barracks that function as floating jail barges moored along the city's waterfront.

Without going into detail about the advantages and disadvantages of makeshift jails (see Welch 1990b), it is important to point out that these types of structures are rapidly being added to the correctional arsenal. Therefore, as we discuss the current and future use of makeshift jails, a better sense of correctional policy is likely to emerge.

Summary

The crisis and conflict at Rikers Island in New York City during summer 1990, featuring a wildcat strike, a brutal riot, and charges of excessive force, remind us that we are still struggling to effectively manage our nation's jails. Because of the jail's role in society, however, reform attempts are thwarted by several external forces, ranging from the social and economic conditions that contribute to crime patterns, to the reality that jails simply are not a high enough priority to receive adequate funding.

To conclude, I should mention that this position paper was designed to discuss some jail issues that I am personally familiar with; it was not intended to be complete or exhaustive. I realize many more significant research issues deserve our attention. Nonetheless, I shall briefly summarize my recommendations for the jail research agenda for the 1990s:

1. We should continue to address the class bias existing not only in society and the criminal justice system, but within the jail system itself. In addition to bail reform, we should

continue the ongoing effort to use the existing alternatives to jail and detention (see Steelman 1984).

2. Given the pressing issues surrounding the AIDS crisis, especially as it adversely affects the underclass and those in jail, a research agenda without this item appears incomplete.
3. To keep pace with the need to protect civil and human rights, we should turn additional attention on holding pens as well as on INS detention centers.
4. We should renew our interest in making better use of existing jails (see Klofas 1987) and should discourage the construction of additional jails, as well as the use of makeshift jails
5. Although mentioned only briefly in this paper, the jail research agenda should center more on those who work in our nation's jails. In addition to improving their training, professionalization, and working conditions, we ought to understand the unique responsibilities of jail officers, being careful not to generalize from studies involving prison officers (see Welch 1989b and 1984; and Blair and Black 1984).

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Assessing Drug Usage in Jail Environments

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With the growth of jail populations over the past decade, policymakers have been interested in ways of addressing specific problems associated with jail confinement. One such problem is drug usage. There has been a concern that drugs have become commonplace within jail settings and that jails have become places where drug abuse continues unabated with very little hope for treatment. Yet, to date, very little information has been generated to assess the nature and extent of drug usage among jail prisoners. In addition, little is known about the types of drug problems among jail inmates and how they are being dealt with by jail administrators and staff. This position paper proposes a number of descriptive studies to determine the extent of drug problems among jail inmates and the kinds of service available to them within jail settings.

Introduction and Statement of Problem

Beginning with the works of Clemmer (1940) and Sykes (1958), research literature on the social organization of prisons has been plentiful. Two theoretical models have been created to explain the organization and development of prisoner social systems.

On the one hand, the functional model examines the role of the prison environment in the development of relationships among prisoners. More importantly, the functional model highlights the importance of prisoner adaptation to the "pains of imprisonment." Sykes (1958, 63-83), in his seminal piece *The Society of Captives* points out that prisoners experience pains that force solidarity among them. These pains are loss of autonomy, deprivation of heterosexual relations, denial of material possessions, lack of security, and deprivation of liberty. To deal with these pains, the inmate social system serves as a focal point. Such activities as homosexual relations (Wooden and Parker 1982; Nacci and Kane 1983), illegal contraband systems (Kalinich 1986), and gang activity (Jacobs 1977) are all-important components of the prisoner social world.

On the other hand, research literature has also suggested that pre-prison influences are equally important to understanding the inmate social system. Works by Irwin and Cressey (1962), Irwin (1970), and Jacobs (1977, 138-174) suggest that pre-prison experiences are relevant to the development of social systems behind bars. Some have also suggested that an integration of both the functional model with its emphasis on the prison environment and the importation approach with its reliance on pre-prison experiences may be more useful to a comprehensive understanding of the social world of prisoners (Thomas 1977).

Despite the debates as to which is more powerful in explaining the social organization of prisoners, each does suggest that the pains of imprisonment are a visible aspect of prison life. Current research attempts to explore these pains more directly and how they affect both prisoners and staff (Johnson 1987; Toch and Johnson 1988). Of particular interest has been the

work of Toch and Johnson (1977) and Johnson (1987, 159-186) who have examined the human service perspective to correctional staff work and its role in ameliorating the pains of imprisonment. What is critical, however, is to generate information on the extent and nature of the pains of imprisonment in the contemporary jail. Much research literature is dated and limited to certain institutions and jurisdictions throughout the country. In addition, studies of the modern jail tend to focus on either general surveys of inmates or a census of the types of jail settings found throughout the country.

What is sorely needed is more direct research on the functioning of the jail setting, with an emphasis on how prisoner social systems develop and adapt to the pains of imprisonment. In an earlier work, I suggested that much is known about prison social systems, yet very little is known about how these systems function in jails (Stojkovic 1986). Most importantly, today there is a growing crisis concerning the presence and influence of drugs in society. The system of criminal justice has been asked to respond to this crisis, and now more than ever we are finding a significant number of individuals incarcerated for drug offenses. What requires the attention of both researchers and jail practitioners is to what degree drug behavior is found in jail settings and what, if any, types of treatment programs are available to inmates to deal with their drug problems.

We know about the influence of drugs in our nation's prisons and that the prison contraband system, for example, is a very powerful and important component of the social world of prisoners today. Yet, very few studies have been able to document the extent and nature of such systems (Williams and Fish 1974; Davidson 1977; Gleason 1978; Kalinich 1986, 15-20). With increases in drug offenses and more drug offenders being sent to prison (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1989), information is needed about the extent and influence of drugs within both jail and prison environments. Current research has identified the pervasiveness of drug trafficking in society (U.S. Department of Justice 1989). In addition, governmental bodies have made recommendations to prison officials about the problem of drug trafficking within prisons (GAO Report 1989). The extent of the problem has forced officials to construct strategies to curtail the flow of drugs into prison settings, including random drug testing procedures among employees. The National Institute of Justice (NIJ 1988) reports that the major reason why drug testing has been implemented in prisons throughout the country has been the problems created by increased contraband, such as drugs.

Similar research is required in our nation's jails. With the jail being the first place of confinement for all offenders, it would be useful to know the prevalence and degree to which drug behavior exists, along with its impact on the socialization process of jail inmates. At present, we suspect that drug behavior is in our jails, but the degree to which it influences the day-to-day operations of the jail is unknown. This is where research could be useful to jail officials.

Lawrence (1989) has suggested that the presence of substance abusers in jails is where health service breakdowns occur. In his analysis of five deaths in New York jails, he argues that the deaths could have been prevented with proper health care delivery systems. More specifically, he suggests that a number of improvements be instituted to reduce the risk of death among inmates who are substance abusers. They are increased risk classification and health appraisal,

treatment plans, observation and monitoring, education and training, and a role for private contractors in the delivery of health care services in jails.

While the suggestions provided by Lawrence (1989, 132-133) are useful to practitioners, the focus of his research was on a very small number of cases, and he provides no way to determine the prevalence of drug users and abusers in jails. While the survey of jail inmates (NIJ 1983) does provide a wealth of information on drug use by inmates prior to incarceration, there is nothing on the degree to which drug behavior continues in jail. Current research efforts are needed to assess the extent of this problem in our nation's jails. This research effort requires a national focus. In this way, the identification of both low- and high-risk jails could be made. Most importantly, jail administrators could learn from one another how to curb the flow of drugs into their jails.

Additionally, more information could be generated on the kinds of treatment programs found in jails. The survey of jail inmates provides only one question on drug treatment programs. What requires research is the question of what types of drug treatment programs are available to jail inmates nationally, and how to identify those programs that have some positive effect on both the inmate and the climate of the jail. At present, we have very little information on the types of treatment programs available to jail inmates. Most importantly, very little is known about those programs that have some success in dealing with drug problems among inmates.

Finally, a national study on drugs in jails could open the door for basic research on the effects of drugs on the jail social system. As stated earlier, much of this research has been conducted within prisons. This type of research is virtually non-existent in the jail setting, however. By focusing on the presence of drugs in jails, we begin a line of inquiry that taps part of the operation of the prisoner social world. Such information would be useful in that we could identify how powerful drugs are in shaping the behaviors of both inmates and staff. Moreover, jail settings that operate under differing management philosophies could be compared.

Much today has been written about the "new generation" jail and its management focus on inmate supervision by front-line officers (Nelson 1986). Descriptions of the prevalence of drugs within these facilities could be compared to more traditional jail settings, such as first and second generation jails. A national study on the prevalence of drugs in jails would allow other comparative data to evaluate the effectiveness of the new generation concept. Additionally, how these new generation jails provide treatment to the substance abuser could be evaluated, and prescriptions on the treatment and care of the drug abuser could be created.

National Research Agenda on Drugs in Jails

The following research agenda would be useful in the investigation of drugs in jails. This agenda is by no means exhaustive, but it does provide a direction to the study of drug usage in our nation's jails.

1. A national study should be conducted about the prevalence of drug behavior in jails. This study would use a research design that incorporates jails of differing sizes and jurisdictions. By providing a national focus, the study should be able to get a handle on the extent of drug

usage in our jails. Unique methodologies would be needed to assess drug usage. Past research has used interviews as the primary technique in assessing the phenomenon (Kalinich 1986, 6-8). Interviewing inmates as they leave the facility may be the most successful strategy.

2. A national study should be conducted about the presence and operation of treatment programs for substance abusers in jails. The focus of this study would be to find out what types of programs are actually available to inmates who are substance abusers. Presently, we know that a sizable number of jail inmates have abused or are currently abusing drugs. What we need to know are the types of programs available to deal with this problem. The current information from the census on jails tells us only the number of jails that have treatment programs. We do not know the specifics of these programs nor the characteristics of both successful and unsuccessful drug treatment programs in jails. The American Jail Association (1990) has taken the initiative in trying to identify model drug treatment programs in jails. Results from this study and future studies should provide a base of information useful to jail administrators in dealing with substance abusers.
3. A national study should be conducted comparing jails on the two dimensions discussed above that incorporate differing management philosophies. We have much prescriptive material on the benefits of the new generation concept when compared to more traditionally designed jail structures. What is needed, however, is more information comparing jail settings on how well they control the flow of narcotics into their facilities and how they treat inmates who suffer from drug abuse problems. This study would be able to assess the relative benefits of the new generation concept in more concrete terms and provide some management prescriptions to jail administrators.
4. A national study should be conducted focusing on the basic question of inmate socialization in jails. This study would be a new area of inquiry for jail researchers. Such research could yield useful information on how prisoners adapt to the jail environment and what roles drugs play in that adaptation process. Such information would have policy-relevant implications for jail administrators. More directly, the research could yield some policy implications for handling and managing jail inmates. We know, for example, that prison environments do not affect everyone equally (Johnson 1987, 97-118). Such findings may be similar in jail settings, and this would be useful in the classification process used in jails. Questions of "jail climate" may be addressed in such research, and valuable information could be generated on how jails are to be managed.

The aforementioned studies could be conducted simultaneously or under one research design. By combining differing research methodologies and analyses (e.g., interviews and questionnaires), data on the prevalence, usage, and treatment of drug behaviors in jails could be obtained. Moreover, how this activity affects the climate of the jail could be learned. With such research, more concrete policy prescriptions could be offered to jail administrators.

Pragmatic and useful research is needed in today's jails to deal with the myriad problems they face. One such problem is drug usage among jail inmates. The contemporary jail is being asked to house and treat more of these offenders today than in the past. Without some understanding of the extent of the problem, strategies to successfully combat it will be

unsuccessful. The proposed studies are only the first step in a long process to effectively identify, treat, and manage the drug abuser in jail. Such research will not only benefit the practitioner but also provide the researcher with a deeper understanding of the workings of the jail. Through such an understanding, both researcher and practitioner can work together toward the solution of problems that face jails today.

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The Need For Research on Jail Assaults

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The purpose of this paper is to argue for the importance of in-depth research on the relationship between assaultive and other types of disruptive behavior by jail inmates and factors such as inmate supervision practices, jail density, classification, staff selection and training, and facility design. Studies of inmate assaults conducted by the author in the Dade County, Florida, jails are summarized in an addendum. Findings indicated that more important than jail population density in causing assaults were the types of inmates being supervised. Additional research in facilities that used direct, remote, and traditional supervision practices suggested that detention officers trained in new generation practices may provide the most effective approach to managing all types of jail inmates. The question of facility design to support new generation practices could not be examined.

Research on inmate assaults and disruptive behavior should extend to a concern about how supervision practices influence suicides, inmate programs, and other aspects of jail operations. A major component of such a study would be the cost-effectiveness of the various supervision styles. The paper concludes with a listing of areas of detention facility operations that should be considered for future research.

Jail Populations and Density

Recent increases in jail populations raise questions about the potential for increased violence in crowded jails. Innes (1990) has documented decreases in spatial and social density in jails from 1983 through 1988. Jails in the 508 jurisdictions that have 100 or more inmates and that hold 81% of all jail inmates in the country were operating at 102% of rated capacity in 1984 and 116% of rated capacity by mid-1989 (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1986; *Corrections Digest* 1990). One-third of these larger jails were under court order to reduce the population and improve conditions in 1987; 84% were cited for crowded living units (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1988a). Of the 2,400 criminal justice administrators, 32% surveyed by the National Institute of Justice indicated that the "most pressing problem confronting (their) State's criminal justice system today" was "jail and prison crowding," with police and prosecutors identifying it more than twice as often as any other problem (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1988a).

Jail population increases beyond rated capacities will create operational, legal, and humanitarian issues regarding the future operation of jails. Does crowding yield greater assaultive behavior in jails, making them more dangerous for staff and inmates? Are constitutional minimums for safe and humane detention being violated? What features of the institutional environment contribute to assaults? What types of inmates are responsible for assaults on other inmates or staff? How do differences in staff or staffing patterns affect assaults? Answering these questions is critical to determining safe detention population levels for staff and inmates, and in

addressing significant constitutional and operational questions regarding acceptable correctional environments.

Increased institutional violence may be related more closely to spatial density or social density in the facility than to total inmate populations. Spatial density refers to the average amount of floor space per inmate; comparisons are made for the behavior of groups with the same number in spaces of differing sizes. Social density is the average number of inmates per housing unit; comparisons are made for the behavior of groups of differing numbers of inmates in the same-sized space. Increases in social density were the primary concern of the studies discussed in this paper.

Increased social density can produce effects on inmate conduct, but the evidence to date, most of which is based on prison studies, is meager and controversial. Nacci et al. (1977) linked density to assaults, while Megargee (1977) found that the less space available for inmates the higher the incident rates. Paulus, Cox, and McCain (1977) saw that sustained crowding at high levels had negative psychological and physiological effects as manifested in illness complaints, higher death and suicide rates, and increased disciplinary infraction rates. Gaes (1985) and others have seen fewer effects.

Gaes (1985, 136) states that research on prison crowding has not convincingly demonstrated the adverse effects of crowding, although he agrees that dormitories produce more clinic visits, higher blood pressure, and slightly higher assault rates. Also, prisons housing significantly more inmates than a design capacity based on 60 square feet per inmate are likely to have high assault rates. Gaes (1985, 134) saw crowding, not age or transiency, as the best predictor of assaults.

Crowding has received little attention in jails, possibly because of the brief stay of most inmates, a median time of three days in the 1988 jail census (1990). However, transiency itself; crowding; system variables such as reduced staffing, budgets, or programs; and related system strains may contribute to higher incident rates and their related costs (cf. Cobb 1985; Jan 1980). These factors could not be assessed in the Dade County jails because of a lack of data. Such an assessment would require funding for research specific to these areas. It is anticipated that studies of inmates involved in incidents may lead to (1) an improved understanding of the antecedents of violence in jails; (2) recommendations for improved classification systems for jails; and (3) a better sense of the effectiveness of supervision styles, namely, direct, indirect, and traditional supervision. A national study would provide findings and recommendations specific to reducing incidents through the adoption of specific types of supervision styles and related training. However, some jail inmates may not benefit from newer types of supervision.

Studies of the effectiveness of remote or direct supervision practices are few or not well done (cf. Nelson et al. 1984; Black and Nesterode 1989; Pima County c. 1989; Wallenstein 1987). A study of two podular direct supervision jails sponsored by the National Institute of Corrections in 1987, one of which was the facility cited above, concentrated on the management of these facilities but provided little useful data on reductions in assault rates (Sigurdson 1987a and 1987b). Performance outcome measures were given in terms of reductions in various types of inmate behavior, but without rates or time frames (Sigurdson 1987a, 88; 1987b, 74-75). Officers were seen as being in total control of these units. In one facility, only one assault on

an officer was reported in two and one-half years, threats of violence were seen as rare, and sexual assaults were totally absent (Sigurdson 1987a, 89).

A valid study of the new generation philosophy would require that the jails selected for study clearly represent different supervision practices in both officer training and facility design. Their incident reporting systems would have to be assessed for accuracy and completeness. Several variables would have to be controlled in the experiment, especially the numbers of inmates under supervision in relation to staff in the various units. As Ard (1988) has indicated, once the population of a direct supervision unit exceeds 64 inmates to one officer, problems of control often develop. Ideally, the direct supervision units would be subdivided into those with fewer than or more than 60 inmates supervised by one officer. Other variables to control are staff age and experience; staff-to-inmate ratios; classifications used (inmate demographics and offense types); space use (single cells, double cells, dorms, etc.); racial and ethnic composition (staff and inmates); staff turnover; expenditures per inmate per facility; and availability of services (recreation, library, etc.). With these variables controlled, it would be possible to determine if direct or remote supervision facilities produce lower overall incident rates and other operational improvements. Such a study should include women's facilities. Findings from the study would have implications for the operation and design of new detention facilities throughout the United States in helping to ensure better, safer, and constitutionally acceptable jails for staff and inmates.

Research Questions

If we use incident rates, especially assaults, as variables, the following questions should be addressed:

- Is the incident reporting system accurate and complete in reporting problems in the facility?
- How are incident rates affected by increases in population and/or density levels?
- To what extent do incident rates vary by type (security level) of facility and by offender characteristics, such as age; sex; race or ethnicity; status (e.g., adult or juvenile, mentally ill, homosexual); or crime of commitment?
- Are incident rates higher at certain locations within facilities or between facilities in the same system? Are they higher at specific times (hours, days, seasons, etc.)?
- Can (or do) different types of facility supervision practices contribute to reductions in incident rates?
- Are rates related to staffing (racial or ethnic composition, numbers, turnover, etc.); specific conditions in the facility; budget limitations; or programs available?

These questions have both theoretical interest and practical significance for the operation of detention facilities. They should be examined within the context of the three supervision models. It is hypothesized that the direct supervision management style is more effective in both

managing inmates and reducing incidents, and that remote supervision is next best, both in comparison to traditional supervision practices.

Additional Research Concerns

Research on a specific topic, such as that outlined above, is only one of many concerns regarding improvements in the operation of detention facilities. The following represent some of the author's concerns, not necessarily in order of priority.

1. Appropriate/Optimal Use of Facility. Research Question: What are the best strategies for developing programs that will help reduce jail populations and related costs as well as improve jail management?

Demographics. Can population forecasting tools be useful in planning for jail use, expansion, or programming?

Diversion to Programs. Can better use be made of diversion to other services and programs such as substance abuse treatment and mental health, rather than having the jail be the social service provider of the last resort? Should more minimum security (community) facilities be built for programs? How can pretrial release and house arrest programs be expanded to divert more offenders?

Juveniles. Under what circumstances should juveniles be held in detention facilities? What are the best diversion techniques for juveniles?

2. Programs. Research Question: Can effective programs be operated in jails?

Drug Abuse. Can effective substance abuse treatment programs be operated in detention facilities? What kinds of programs can be provided for mentally ill and/or the dual diagnosed "substance abuse-mentally ill" offender? Can the public inebriate be helped in the detention facility? What would be the effect of giving inmates more choices in seeking assistance?

Work. Research Question: Can effective work programs be developed for jail inmates?

Education. Research Question: What kinds of educational and vocational training programs should detention facilities operate? What educational or vocational training organizations can best provide these programs?

3. Management. Research Question: In what ways can the overall management of the facility be improved, as measured by fewer problems with inmates and cost-effective staffing and procedures?

Community Relations. What is the role of detention officials in public relations and community involvement, both for ongoing and new programs, facilities, and the like? How is support best gained from local officials?

Future Personnel Needs. Where will future personnel be found to operate detention facilities? Can more women, minorities, and ex-offenders be recruited? Where will professional and technical personnel be found? Can job satisfaction (and retention) be improved? What types of training work best and for whom?

AIDS. How can AIDS be best managed in the detention setting?

Costs. Can methods be developed to allow facilities to collect more of their costs from clients (e.g., drunk-driving clients)?

Private Enterprise. What services can be contracted most effectively to private enterprise? What kinds of contracts work?

Technology. Can more efficient population accounting systems work to control populations and costs? In what types of detention facilities is video arraignment a useful tool for bail hearings?

New Facility Construction. What methods can be used to ensure that new detention facilities will be designed and built to provide the best operational environment for the staff and to serve the needs of the criminal justice system, inmates, and the community? Should lease-back arrangements be explored? To what extent is community involvement important (e.g., open siting techniques as opposed to closed siting of new facilities)?

Addendum: Research on Jail Assaults

Assaults in Traditional Supervision

Research in the Dade County Pretrial Detention Center (PTDC) addressed the question of density and assaultive behavior by inmates. Examination of 1984 incident data for all Dade County jails showed that the greatest occurrence of incidents is inmate-to-inmate assault requiring medical attention--13.1% of 9,424 incidents and 61% of all assaults--followed by inmate/inmate assaults without medical attention (6.2% of all incidents and 29% of all assaults). Inmate assaults on staff made up the remaining 10% of all assaults. While these rates were not excessive, any reductions would be beneficial to staff and inmates as well as cost-effective with respect to potential liability for injuries and deficient jail conditions.

The research question addressed was this: Are assaults by inmates on other inmates or staff significantly associated with density levels of the living units, types of inmates on the living units, racial or ethnic composition of living areas, and inmate age?

The study focused on density and inmate assaults on other inmates or staff for ten locations on nine floors that made up the principal living units of the PTDC. The first question on density and assaults showed no strong evidence that increased density led to greater rates of inmate assaults on other inmates or staff of a large jail. When adjusted for the effects of location, race, and age, assault rates by inmates on other inmates and staff declined as density increased,

although the decline was not statistically significant. Rates of assault on staff declined significantly when facility density increased.

Inmate assault rates appear to be better explained in terms of their location, which is a proxy for classification. Inmates are classified onto floors for reasons that lead to different kinds of behavior. Assault rates will remain constant, either higher or lower than average, at some locations no matter what density exists in that particular area of the facility. Factors other than density, age, or race may be better predictors of assaults.

Thus, assaults on other inmates tended to occur on the floors that held the most troublesome inmates--not necessarily the youngest, or any particular racial group--or in the most crowded areas. These findings are consistent with those of Nacci et al. (1977) and Jan's (1980, 298) finding that the rate of disruptive behavior in prisons did not increase with density. It is also consistent with Gaes' (1985, 136) statement that research on prison crowding has not convincingly demonstrated the adverse effects of crowding, although he concluded that crowding alone, not age or transiency, appeared to be the best predictor of assaults.

These findings support the conclusion that the number of inmates or correctional officers at a location may not be as important as the training and experience of the correctional officers, particularly in living units that manage difficult inmates. Another area that might prove fruitful for future research is suggested in Bernard's (1990) discussion of a "subculture of angry aggression that arises out of conditions of social isolation" and can be exacerbated in a confinement setting. Rather than find instrumental solutions to problems that might increase the aggressor's well-being, the inmate is forced into a situation--physically and by background--where aggression is used to "reduce the target's well-being" (Bernard 1990, 76). Consistent with Bernard's concerns, it appears that improved facility design coupled with direct supervision of inmates can improve the nature and quality of their contact with staff and reduce problems (Wegner et al. 1987; Nelson 1988), although the exact nature of this improvement must be further explored.

Assaults in New Generation Facilities

A second study provided analysis of inmate assaults for living units in which the staff used either traditional, remote, or direct (first, second, and third generation) supervision practices. Unfortunately, the remote and direct supervision units were not podular designs, which meant that any differences found had to be attributed primarily to supervision styles. Traditional supervision was represented by three floors of the PTDC. The remote supervision units studied began operations in 1984 with officers trained in third-generation supervision practices, although the units themselves were operated much more like traditional units than true podular second-generation living units, largely because of their more traditional architecture. Inmates did not commingle in a common day room, and officer access was limited by barriers, although it was more frequent and easier to do than in the traditional jail.

Officers trained in direct supervision techniques staffed the living units at the Dade County Training and Treatment Center (TTC, or stockade), which operated nine third-generation living units in late 1984 and four more in 1985. The direct supervision units studied were six single-story dormitories that were converted to direct supervision to train staff for the opening of a

new, 1,000-bed facility that was designed for direct supervision (and opened in 1989). These units were staffed by two officers in each dormitory, a higher ratio than the remote units.

With rates of assault as the criterion variable and with the design limitations indicated, differences in assault rates based on supervision style were anticipated. It was expected that the rates of assault would be highest in the traditional first-generation facility, next highest in the remote supervision units, and lowest in the third-generation, or direct supervision, living units.

Summary

Inmate assaults on other inmates and staff were not found to be significantly reduced by the use of more direct supervision methods in the living units of the jail studied. When race or ethnicity, age, and density were controlled, assaults were not found to be less serious in the direct supervision units, a finding supported by a departmental study. More serious assaults were not related to any of the supervision styles. These findings were perhaps due to the lack of proper facility design for the supervision styles. While not statistically significant, however, assault rate reductions were in the expected direction on the basis of types of supervision used, which provides some encouragement for proponents of new generation models, and supports the need for further study. Contrary to expectations, however, the remote supervision units showed a greater reduction in assaults than direct supervision units.

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Is There a Trend in Jail Litigation?

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Introduction

What one activity involved in jail operations is guaranteed to get attention and recognition? Above all else, a lawsuit usually will not be ignored. With jail personnel, deputies, sheriffs, and county commissioners being held personally liable in certain situations, no one can afford to ignore a lawsuit. A suit from an inmate may be readily dismissed by a court once it gets heard. Many lawsuits are dismissed via negotiated settlement. How many lawsuits are filed? How many are filed and dismissed through negotiated settlement, or how much might the average settlement be?

If we use the *Detention and Corrections Caselaw Catalog* produced by CRS, Inc., as a reasonably accurate compilation of prison and jail litigation, the cases being decided in the courts demonstrate erratic movement from one year to the next. The following list demonstrates the number of case decisions handed down from year to year from 1979 through 1988.

1979	59
1980	132
1981	108
1982	66
1983	82
1984	52
1985	120
1986	201
1987	184
1988	95

What factors contribute to a more than doubling of cases from 1984 to 1985? Why were half as many decisions handed down in 1988 as there were in 1987?

Examination of the trends involved in the topics and quantity of litigation focused against jails can help develop an understanding of what may cause an increase or decrease in lawsuits filed. But before those trends can be examined, a method needs to be developed to gather information as to the number and types of lawsuits filed against jails. None of the major national organizations involved with jail issues can accurately identify the volume of lawsuits filed in federal court.

We have various indexes of court decisions but no record of total challenges brought against jails and jail administrators. For jail administrators to be prepared and to plan for such action, they need to know the full extent of legal challenges brought against other facilities.

General Trends

The trend over the past ten years appears to have moved from challenges on the basis of specific conditions and on failure to provide for basic human needs, to litigation meant to examine administrative procedures and test for the limits on the quality of services provided. The following summarizes the number and type of lawsuits filed in 1979 and 1988.

During 1979 the *Detention and Corrections Caselaw Catalog* identified 59 case decisions affecting detention issues handed down that year. These 59 cases raised 86 issues. Those issues are listed below in rank order as to the number of times an issue was raised within the 59 decisions.

Civil Rights	8
Failure to Protect	8
Release	7
Medical Care	7
Access to Court	6
Administrative Segregation	5
Classification and Separation	5
Liability	5
Free Speech, Expression, and Association	4
Prisoners' Personal Property	4
Conditions of Confinement	3
Cruel and Unusual Punishment	3
Habeas Corpus	3
Pretrial Detention	3
Mail	3
Rules and Regulations	3
Attorney Fees	2
Discipline	2
Food	2
Intake and Admissions	2
Personnel	2
Privacy	2
Religion	2
Sentence	2
Use of Force	2
Supervision	2
Juveniles	1
Facilities	1
False Imprisonment	1
Immunity	1
Programs	1
Training	1
Transfers	1

Services	1
Standards	1

In 1988, legal decisions in 95 cases raised 229 issues relating to detention and jails. Listed below is the distribution by frequency of appearance of the topics within the cases.

Civil Rights	20
Liability	18
Access to Courts	18
Failure to Protect	15
Classification and Separation	11
Personnel	9
Discipline	8
Conditions of Confinement	7
Cruel and Unusual Punishment	7
Immunity	7
Release	7
Prisoner Work	7
Sentence	6
Medical Care	5
Pretrial Detention	5
Religion	5
Rules and Regulations	5
Food	4
Facilities	3
Administrative Segregation	2
Attorney Fees	2
Free Speech and Expression	2
Intake and Admissions	2
Mail	2
Prisoner Personal Property	2
Use of Force	2
Visiting	2
Privacy	1

The most frequent topics for lawsuits against jails for the respective years were as follows:

<u>1979</u>		<u>1988</u>	
Civil Rights	8	Civil Rights	20
Failure to Protect	8	Access to Courts	18
Release	7	Liability	18
Medical Care	7	Failure to Protect	15
Access to Court	6	Classification and Separation	11
Administrative Segregation	5	Personnel	9
Classification and Separation	5	Discipline	8
Liability	5	Conditions of Confinement	7
Free Speech-Expression	4	Cruel and Unusual Punishment	7

Prisoner Personal Property	4	Immunity	7
Conditions of Confinement	3	Prisoner Work	7

Civil rights lawsuits over nine years increased 150%. Challenges relating to access to courts increased from 8 to 18, or 125%. Suits testing liability increased from 5 to 18, or 260%. Failure to protect was addressed in 8 cases in 1979 and 15 cases in 1988 for an increase of 87%. Actions questioning classification and separation increased from 5 to 11, demonstrating a 120% increase.

The quantitative change demonstrated over time may appear obvious. Lawsuits involving civil rights, access to courts, liability, failure to protect, and classification have increased beyond the numbers expected, given the overall increase in litigation. A few basic conclusions can be made about the move from specific challenges (food, facilities, physical surroundings, diet, and basic care) to a greater emphasis today on questions that are more oriented to challenging the administration, policies, and procedures within a jail.

If we examine the litigation involving jails, very few things remain constant. The topics of the legal challenges have undergone quantitative and qualitative change. The question is, what has this change been? Have certain legal issues been addressed and resolved? What have the popular topics been? What are today's most frequently litigated topics, and is there a trend that might allow us to forecast and resolve legal issues before personal liability attaches to the sheriff, jail administrator, county commissioners, etc.?

Jail administrators indicate that the changing characteristics of jail administration bring new legal issues. Jail administrators today tend to be aware of the basic standards established by historic litigation. Current areas of concern focus on the changing makeup of jail populations and staffing. Jail personnel issues are especially being raised as female correctional personnel are integrated into all aspects of jail operations. Jail administrators want to know what they need to look for to provide equal employment opportunity without stepping onto a legal landmine with the jail population or staff.

Litigation and Jail Standards

A popular topic among public administrators is loss prevention or reduction. The legal cases that get to court and end up being reported in the *Federal Reporter* system are the worst cases. Only the cases showing major deficiencies or errors make it through court. Should jail professionals make decisions based solely on the worst case situations?

From 1986 through 1989, one jail lawsuit resulted in a recorded federal court decision in the state of Nebraska. Only by manually reviewing the court docket sheets will a person find that 102 federal lawsuits were filed against jails and jail personnel during this time. These figures represent 101 challenges against jails in which something was done right or was sufficient to withstand challenge, with the case being dismissed or settled before to a formal court opinion. With all of the federally reported detention and correction litigation, much of which represents prison litigation, what is the nature of the legal challenges being raised against jails?

One factor that appears to be correlated with a decline in litigation over the past ten years within one state is the adoption and implementation of state jail standards. In 1977 the State Bar of Nebraska compiled a recommended set of standards for jail operations. In 1980 those jail standards were incorporated into law with authority for oversight vested with the Nebraska Crime Commission. Within the state of Nebraska a fairly stable level of litigation was experienced from 1980, with the adoption of state jail standards, until 1986 at which time 32 lawsuits were filed against jails with the federal magistrate court in Lincoln, Nebraska. The following years saw 29 cases in 1987, 24 cases in 1988, and 17 cases in 1989.

The establishment and modifications of jail standards are founded upon and molded by litigation initiated by either convicted state prisoners, convicted jail inmates, or pretrial detainees. The topics of litigation have flexed and changed over the years. Research documents move from very specific litigation challenging the provision of basic human needs such as food, living conditions, ventilation, and basic humane treatment, to general administrative policies and procedures, to qualitative challenges to services provided.

Litigation and Jail Training

A prime area of concern for jail administrators, after jail crowding, is the staff skills issue, which correlates to concerns with training. The areas of training that need improvement the most, as indicated by a 1988 NIJ study, include emergency medical procedures, security, AIDS, management training, crisis intervention, interpersonal relations, liability issues, handling special problem inmates, and stress management.

When we look at the areas of need identified in the NIJ study, a serious question arises as to the basis for the information included in training. Is the agenda of jail training based on litigation? Has the adoption of standards been led by litigation?

What Motivates Change?

When asked what may influence sheriffs and jail administrators to change a situation or condition within a jail, the past president of the National Sheriffs' Association chose state standards as a prime motivator when presented with a list of influences. The list of influences for change included (1) state standards, (2) ACA standards, (3) knowledge of a lawsuit filed against another jail, (4) personal observation, and (5) inmate complaints.

The immediate future will be a time of unprecedented trial and a time of opportunity. Those jail personnel who understand the recent past and the changes in jail issues since the mid-1970s are more prepared to assess the concerns of today and to prepare for the future. The very basic standards for all jails have been established by litigation of the past 15 years. Understanding the differences in the types of past litigation and the most current trends can provide an ability to fine-tune and refine recognized standards for jail operation of the future.

Summary

Jail litigation has significant impact on the content of jail standards, staffing, and training. Knowledge of the past gives us a foundation upon which to build for the future. A solid understanding of the trends in jail litigation and efforts to assess the various influences on the quantity and quality of litigation can provide those concerned with jail issues a direction for proactive or preventative activity in preparing to deal with jail issues of the 1990s and beyond.

The history of jail litigation shows an erratic volume of decisions, not a constant, ever-increasing number of court decisions against jails. Jail administrators understand the requirements for running a constitutionally acceptable jail. Current concerns about litigation relate to the changing makeup of jail personnel and populations. What legal issues are associated with the full integration of women into jail operations? Can a correlation be established between the adoption of state or ACA jail standards and a decline in jail litigation? Is there a correlation between a decline in jail litigation and training programs? There is no mechanism to record, collect, and report on the filing of lawsuits against jails; the average life of a lawsuit against a jail; the total number of cases settled out of court; or the number of jail cases dismissed in relation to court decisions initiated involving jail litigation.

A suggested priority for jail litigation research involves the following questions or issues:

1. What is the history and current status of jail litigation in general terms?
2. Is it possible to establish an information gathering system for jail litigation?
3. Is there a correlation between the adoption of jail standards and the number of jail lawsuits?
4. Is there a correlation between a decline of jail litigation and training programs?
5. What legal issues are being raised by personnel as a result of gender-integrated activities with jail staffing and populations?

Computer Simulation Applications in Jail Research

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Introduction

On July 31, 1989, of the 8,086 inmates in the Harris County Jail in Houston, Texas, 3,420 were convicted felons awaiting transfer to the Texas Department of Corrections (Alberti 1989, 19-20). Many of those felons will not see the inside of a state institution this time; they will be paroled before prison space becomes available.

The Harris County situation is not altogether unusual. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics' "Census of Local Jails 1988," 1 in every 12 inmates was held in the nation's jails because of crowding in other institutions (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1990). The census further reveals that approximately one jail in eight was under federal or state court order or consent decree to limit the number of inmates. Despite court intervention, the census reports the nation's jail population as a whole exceeded jail capacity by 1%.

What is being portrayed here is that jail crowding is not simply a jail problem. Rather, as the crossroads of the criminal justice system, jails suffer directly and indirectly from pressures created by other components of the criminal justice apparatus: County jails may become overcrowded as a result of crowding at state-managed correctional facilities, backlogged courts, escalation in law enforcement, and so on.

To manage jail resources effectively, we need a better understanding of how the many components of the criminal justice system interact with each other. We need to better understand the impact of specific changes in policy, as well as general changes in the social, demographic, economic, and political context of the criminal justice system, and the impact of these changes on jail operations. To accomplish this, we need methods that enable us to move from the abstract levels of theory to concrete policy analysis.

Assimilating the volumes of data and generating models of sufficient detail are best achieved through advancements in computer technology. In this paper I will discuss the use of computer simulation and its application in jail research and policy formulation.

Computer Modeling and Computer Simulation

Computer modeling applications in criminal justice have borrowed from disciplines such as economics, business, and engineering (Kleijnen 1974). Not only is the technology shared, the ambiguities in terminology have been imported as well. Central to the ambiguity is the use of the terms "modeling" and "simulation." This discussion will briefly define these terms as they will be applied in this paper.

Models

A model is something that shares certain properties (physical or behavioral) with something else. A model airplane may take on the same shape in small scale to the actual production version. At a more abstract level, mathematical models may share behavioral patterns with a jail system without any physical similarity. The kinds of models that concern this discussion are mathematical and logical abstractions of jail system behavior. Regression equations or time series models may be applied to explain or anticipate the numbers of inmates a jail may hold under certain conditions or in certain time frames. Logical models may replicate the accumulation and flow of cases through a jail system. Models may take on different forms, but all share three attributes: (1) They are limited in their scope, focusing on a subset of behaviors that compose the domain of jail operations; (2) they are interpretive, abstracting observed system performance; and (3) their value is determined by their level of utility.

Models do not possess meaning outside of a specific context. The choice of system behaviors to be modeled, knowledge of what the outputs represent, and their intended purpose must all be taken into account. It is difficult, therefore, to undertake the construction of general purpose models and to anticipate all aspects of a jail system that may be of interest to decisionmakers. It may be more appropriate to view modeling needs as requiring a battery of models, each of which serves specialized functions.

The interpretive role of models may be based upon either a deductive or inductive process. Regression models are often applied in an explanatory or predictive role (Pedhazur 1973). Explanation may be seen as a deductive process. From a volume of data, underlying relationships are uncovered that simplify and organize our perceptions and enhance our understanding of system performance. Prediction is inductive, building upon the underlying relationships between components to anticipate future outcomes. Thus, deductions based on current system performance may be used to induce future performance.

A good model is one that is useful. The utility of a model is based upon a cost-benefit economy. The costs of production, whether in data collection, analysis expertise, or complexity must be balanced against the value of the information returned. Building models that cover a broad range requires greater overhead, but more narrowly defined models may not address relevant theoretical or practical issues. Achieving a satisfactory balance of complexity and utility poses perhaps the greatest challenge for the future of jail modeling.

Simulation

Naylor et al. (1967) and Kleijnen (1974) described simulation as "experimenting with a model over time," indicating the critical role that time plays in replicating system performance. Simulation is not a model but a method of temporal unfolding. Time is not simply a variable in a model but rather the medium within which transactions occur. The simulation process animates the underlying model, producing results that may carry over to succeeding iterations, thus replicating the continuous nature of system operation.

Much of what is called simulation in criminal justice today does not conform to the definition I propose. Applications that compute average or expected population levels that are based on

a mathematical or statistical formula do not conform to the definition because time, if a factor at all, is treated as a variable. As such, those applications may model a system and be integrated within a simulation framework, but they are not simulations in and of themselves. Simulation generates a (potentially) large volume of time series data, which reproduce a detailed description of system performance from a set of parameters that compose the model. Thus, model production is like condensing system performance to a powdered form and simulation is like adding water.

Simulation provides the framework for unifying theory development, testing, and practical application. Theory expressed as a logical network of statistical or mathematical models may be constructed from jail operations data. Animating and interrelating these models should produce outputs similar to those observed in the jail itself. If one recognizes that policy is theory in practice, the potentiality of simulation to unify theory development and practice becomes clear.

If we recognize that various simulation techniques are possible, the balance of this discussion will center on applications of discrete event simulation. This approach applies mathematical models of individual (discrete) events that may occur within a dynamic system. Uncertainty is modeled by random numbers that are interpreted in a way that replicates the expected range of outcomes. This form enables us to study system performance and the role of unexplained variation in the system, which indicates the degree of risk inherent to a given policy implementation (Gottfried 1984, 9).

Discrete Event Simulation Models in Jail Research

The use of discrete event simulation in criminal justice is not a recent phenomenon. The California Department of Corrections has operated such a model for 12 years or so. Indeed, many states are operating simulation models. Texas, Nevada, Illinois, Ohio, Tennessee, Louisiana, Michigan, Virginia, Florida, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Rhode Island are known to be operating simulation models of their prison systems (McVey 1990).

Discrete event simulation applications in jail research is a more-recent development. Without a complete inventory of America's county jails, I am aware of only five cases in which this methodology has been applied: Wayne County (Detroit), Los Angeles County, Cook County (Chicago), San Francisco County, and a state-sponsored pilot project in Washington involving two counties. Of these, only Los Angeles County and the Washington state project participants currently maintain the technology with the county staff (McVey 1990).

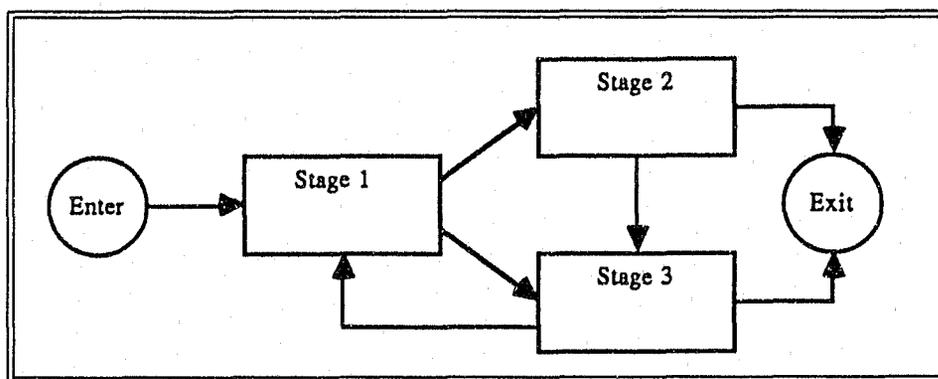
How Discrete Event Simulation Works

Discrete event simulation can take many forms. My intention is to give some examples, not define the range of possible applications. As previously discussed, simulation animates a system model. It is helpful to picture a jail model as a flow chart. This chart consists of boxes, representing statuses a prisoner may occupy, and lines connecting the boxes that are flows. Flows represent potential paths that prisoners may take in transcending from one status (stage) to another. A prisoner may change from pretrial to sentenced status, or from minimum security

to trustee status. These transitions are represented by arrows connecting the appropriate status boxes in a flow diagram. Prisoners may be grouped by personal attributes, crime type, or any other characteristic that may affect the paths or time taken from entry to exit. Figure 1 represents the logical structure of a simple model.

People enter the system model in Figure 1 at Stage 1. They will spend a certain amount of time in this stage before continuing to Stage 2 or 3. The length of time spent in Stage 1, and the event that will send cases down one path or the other, will be based on data reflecting the actual system performance. From Stage 2 a person may exit or go to Stage 3. From Stage 3 a person may exit or return to Stage 1 to begin the cycle again. The ability to simulate recursive processes such as this is a powerful feature of discrete event simulation.

Figure 1. A Simple Flow Model



Inputs

Having established the model's structure, it is necessary to enter data to replicate system performance. The kinds of data required by a jail simulation include intake, length of stay, and transitional probabilities. Intake is the number of cases entering the jail during a discrete time interval (i.e., day or month). If the simulation is designed to group cases by personal attributes, it is important that intake and all other measures be disaggregated by prisoner group.

Information about length of stay relates to the length of time a prisoner of a given group will stay in a given status before change occurs. For example, how long might a black male charged with assault stay in pretrial detention before making bail? Or how long might a white female convicted of a drug sale spend in jail waiting transfer to a state facility? A length of stay for a simulated case can be derived (computed or randomly selected) from past experiences, preserving not only the typical or average time spent in a given stage, but also the mix of individual lengths of stay as well.

Transitional probabilities ask the question of how many cases take one path as opposed to another. For example, our black male charged with assault may take any of several paths. He may make bail, he may be released on recognizance, he may stay in jail until trial, he may be

recharged, and so on. By collecting data across time on the number of cases that change status from one stage to another, we can establish the proportion of the flow taking each of the alternate paths. The proportion of cases taking a given path becomes the probability that a simulated case will do the same. Suppose we observe 100 cases entering Stage 1 of our simple flow model. If 60 go to Stage 2 and 40 go to Stage 3, the probability that a single simulated case in Stage 1 will go to Stage 2 is $60/100$ or 0.60.

Having entered the data for all prisoner groups and all stages these prisoners may occupy, we can process simulated cases through the model using simulation.

Processing

The simulation program instructs the computer to generate a series of hypothetical events that conform to model specifications. Animating the system model is the process of simulation. Examples of processing operations include processing stock populations, determining intake, processing individual cases, and altering system performance. Stock populations are those prisoners who are in the various statuses and in different stages of processing at the start of the simulation. The model must process out these existing populations, tracing their progress until all have left the system or the maximum simulated date is reached.

For each time period (i.e., day or month), the number of intake cases is determined. These cases are distributed among the prisoner groups allowing realistic fluctuations in actual intake proportions. For each entering prisoner, an entry status is determined. Once an entry status is determined, the computer logs the person into that status in the appropriate simulated date of arrival.

After it is logged into a status, the case is processed until it exits the system or the maximum simulated time limit is reached. For each status occupied by a case, the computer randomly draws a length of stay in that status, and chooses the next status the prisoner will occupy. From the date of entry into a status until the day of exit, the computer marks the presence of the prisoner in the status. Once the simulation is over, these records reflect the aggregate population of a specific prisoner group, in a specified status (i.e., all Hispanic, male, drug offenders in pretrial status may be displayed monthly for a 10-year period).

Altering system performance is a method for simulating the impact of environmental or operating policy changes. We may wish to make a 2% per annum increase in drug enforcement expenditures. The ability to change the operating environment and monitor system response to change are the most powerful and relevant features of discrete event simulation for jail research.

Outputs

A simulation produces time series data, reflecting population counts in a given period of time (i.e., day or month). Typical output for a 10-year simulation with monthly time intervals would be 10 rows (years) by 12 columns (months) of numbers reflecting populations or movements. Getting output from a simulation does not signal the end of the analysis, but a shift to statistical or graphical methods for summarizing and presenting the generated information.

These outputs reflect the expected consequences of policy reflected in the underlying model. Policymakers may experiment with alternative policies by altering a set of decision rules that send certain prisoner groups along alternative paths, or alter their length of stay in certain statuses. Running the simulation on the basis of revised model specifications produces outputs that anticipate the impact of the alternative policy implementation.

Applications of Simulation in Jail Research

Practice

There is growing awareness that decisions being made in one part of the system are having an impact on other parts of the system. The criminal justice system contains many feedback loops and alternate branches. The complexity of this system has often made it difficult to foresee the full ramifications of decisions. Commonly applied statistical or mathematical treatments will continue to make their essential contributions, but as Puccia and Levins (1985) demonstrate, such models can become extremely ponderous when the number of variables becomes large.

The advantage of computer simulation to policymakers is that it produces a relatively concrete modeling form that enables them to observe the accumulation and flow of offenders in their system. Changes in policy may be modeled by altering the rates of flow along established paths, or by creating or eliminating paths in the model.

The use of computer models will help policymakers monitor the performance of their systems. System performance this year can be compared to last year, taking into account external factors that may have changed the operating environment. This modeling approach also gives us a better basis for comparing systems by giving us a framework for identifying common and divergent characteristics between systems and their probable impact on system performance. Discrete event simulation models will better enable us to compare systems within their respective operating contexts.

Simulation models may assist in resolving conflicts over remedies in conditions-of-confinement suits. The Wayne County simulation was built around the need to forecast the net impact of a number of court-ordered remedies. The most critical question was how many beds should be built (Nathan and Balazis 1988). The plaintiffs, defendants, and judges all had different numbers in mind. Simulation was applied to help sort out the changes and arrive at an estimated figure. Further application in litigation could be to determine the degree of compliance. Simulation modeling can be an effective tool in estimating the impact of external factors on the jail's ability to comply with court orders.

The impact of new programs may be projected by integrating the experiences of other jurisdictions, the insights of key actors, and the analysis of comparative dynamics of the systems. The modeling effort does not provide unerring projections of new program performance, but it does provide a framework for organizing our assumptions, experiences, and theories to produce our best estimate of system performance.

As programs are implemented, the model provides a framework upon which to compare our projections to actual performance. In this way we can evaluate the degree of implementation achieved by the new policy. Questions of whether programs are reaching their targeted populations and whether the programs are having the intended impact may be answered within the context of system-level performance. Anticipated results that are not obtained from a certain policy implementation may indicate other changes in the system, not flawed policy. In addition, we can systematically examine our assumptions and refine our procedures to improve the quality of future projections, an activity that bridges the gap between theory and practice.

Theory

Developing computer models enables us to evaluate the relationships between changes in the operating environment and changes in the system performance. Whether developed within the modeling framework or independently, interpretations of system dynamics that can be coded into the model may be tested by comparing expected and observed outcomes.

Applications of computer models for social theory development have been proposed (see Hanneman 1988), but the potential to integrate theory with practical applications must be developed. The potential to move from the abstract to the concrete within the framework of this single model would be a significant source of power in understanding and solving jail problems. As knowledge takes a form that can be codified into the model, such knowledge may be made immediately available to all those who use the model at any number of levels or any number of purposes. With this information we find the unification of theory and practice within a common framework.

Modeling and Simulating the Harris County Criminal Justice System

Recently a partnership has developed between Harris County, Texas, and the Criminal Justice Center at Sam Houston State University to "identify and analyze current and emerging policy issues related to crime and the administration of justice and to identify alternative policy strategies which will improve the administration of justice" (Criminal Justice Center 1990). A primary objective of this partnership is the development of an "offender/case flow model" of the Harris County criminal justice system.

The enthusiastic embrace of the case flow model arises from the recognition that despite the high quality of their Justice Information Management System (JIMS), the partners need an enhanced capacity to interpret the volumes of data being generated. They need answers when they ask, "What if...?" If Pretrial Services is expanded, what is the impact on the jail population? With an already overcrowded jail, what will happen when 500 more police officers are added to the Houston Police Department? What impact will the war on drugs have on the jail? How much relief would 10,000 new state prison beds bring to jail overcrowding in Harris County, given the present space needs of the remaining 253 Texas counties?

The partnership developing between Harris County and Sam Houston State University is expected to be a step toward providing general modeling tools for other jurisdictions by (1) developing a modular approach by building smaller models that may be interchanged or

interrelated; (2) developing automated data entry and model construction, thus eliminating the labor-intensive aspects of simulation; and (3) developing an interface standard to maximize the potential for compatibility between model components.

Computer simulation is no panacea. It demands a volume and quality of data that many systems cannot yet provide, and a mixture of practical and technical experience not widely found in this field. Yet it is a significant advancement in developing decision support tools that can be used to assimilate the vast quantities of data being generated by the criminal justice system.

Summary

The problems faced by America's jails are not simply jail problems. Jails suffer directly and indirectly from pressures created by other components of the criminal justice system. To regain control of our jails, we must understand how the many components interact. We must inform officials and educate the public. I believe that discrete event simulation will contribute substantially to these goals.

In closing, I want to underscore one final point. While research methodologies, data, computers, and well-organized agendas are all-important components to resolving the problems that plague our jails, without partnership between research and practice we are only building castles in the sand. Practitioners must evaluate and anticipate the results of policy decisions. Researchers must attenuate their work to be sensitive to the needs in the field. Strengthening the bonds between practice and research must be item number one on the jail research agenda.

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Human Resource Development

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Introduction

The problems facing jails are indeed formidable. They include crowding; financial constraints; a limited ability to control or influence the political, social, and economic environment that shapes jail business; legal challenges; employee dissatisfaction and turnover; and relative neglect by researchers and policymakers, to name a few. If these organizations are to respond successfully to these challenges, attention must be paid to their human resources. That is, research and policy attention should focus not only on the numbers of persons necessary to accomplish jail tasks, but also on the quality of those persons and their organizational relationships (Kalinich and Klofas 1986; Zupan 1990).

All workforce projections show a scarcity of semiskilled and skilled labor in the very near future. In addition, when asked to rank the most serious problems facing jails, a national sample of sheriffs ranked personnel at the top of 37 problematic areas (Kerle and Ford 1982). Consequently, public agencies such as jails should be mindful of the need to compete more intensively for quality employees and to improve their retention strategies in order to maximize the return on their employee investment. One of the major challenges for jails will be to provide a workplace environment that is conducive to the development of an enriched work life (*Workforce 2000* 1990).

Typically, jails are hierarchically structured in a quasimilitary fashion with limited top-down communication. As a result, problem solutions are developed by those at the top and implementation is expected by those in lower levels of the organization, often without input or comment. Predictably, wholehearted commitment to decisions is not guaranteed when people are asked to invest time and effort into a job they do not own. Moreover, given the predicted broad range of work opportunities for the 21st century, staff members who are restricted in their ability to grow, change, and meaningfully involve themselves in their work environment may be inclined to leave it. We argue that those organizations that do not employ the problem-solving talents and intimate knowledge of those closest to the issues are seriously hampered in their ability to adapt to a changing environment (Zupan et al. 1986).

In summary, jail organizations face a burgeoning array of external and internal pressures for change. External pressures are manifested in rising rates of incarceration, strong pressures to open up employment and promotional opportunities for women and minorities, and either stable or shrinking budgets. Internal pressures are evidenced in rising expectations and demands of increasingly more educated employees, in increasingly suspicious unions, and in decreasing employee morale. Despite these changes and pressures, the typical jail organizational structure, designed to maximize control over rank and file behavior by a command staff of superior rank, remains unchanged. Such an arrangement of control and obedience places very little emphasis on openness of information sharing and on employee participation in decisionmaking, two key elements in organizational excellence and modern programs for human resource development. Thus, we are proposing a research agenda that focuses on the human resources of local jails. The purpose of such an agenda would be to improve--through descriptive, comparative evaluation and experimental research--the effectiveness of local jail operations. The specific targets of such an agenda would include the following:

- Organizational culture;
- Architecture, behavior, and corrections programs;
- Human resource and personnel policies: selection, training, job enrichment, career development, performance appraisal, and supervision;
- Vertical team building; and
- Problem-oriented correctional strategies.

As we see it, such an agenda would provide the following benefits. First, it would identify and promote promising, innovative, human resource programs. Second, it would provide the ability to evaluate their effectiveness. Third, it would encourage experimentation by facilities and subsequent collaborative research among scholars and corrections professionals. Fourth, it would promote a new awareness of the power of research as a crucial element in policymaking. And fifth, it could lead to planning and modeling benefits for alternative approaches to allocating jail resources.

Organizational Culture

Our own research on the dynamics of new generation, direct supervision jails, as well as other work both in the public and private sectors, leads us to conclude that the process of organizational culture is crucial to understanding the success or failure of change, indeed the effectiveness of jail operations. We found that an explicit link between architecture, philosophy, personnel practices, and operations was necessary for the success of direct supervision facilities (Zupan and Menke 1988). That is, specific architectural features, the ability of the chief executive and his or her command staff to effectively and clearly articulate what the facility stood for, and the effectiveness of personnel practices to reward those who translated the stated philosophy into practice all enhanced the implementation of policy. As in other fields of inquiry (the police and private business, for example), organizational culture remains a fuzzy concept

that is little understood, but appears to be crucial to the evaluation of organizational effectiveness (Deal and Kennedy 1981).

Architecture, Behavior, and Corrections Programming

A vast and growing body of literature demonstrates the link between architecture and human behavior. The new generation, direct supervision jails are a case in point. Our work and that of others has demonstrated that the association of an appropriate culture produces a safe, humane, and productive facility (cf., DiIulio 1987; Zupan and Stohr-Gillmore 1988). Of course, the work of environmental criminologists lends support to this argument.

This argument, coupled with crises in corrections, crowding, building costs, dwindling rehabilitative programs, etc., leads us to conclude the following. First, in-house programming depends for its success in part on a safe, well-planned facility environment. Second, these factors also are important for the implementation of the emerging notion of co-production of order (community/criminal justice agency partnerships). Third, it is likely that the "crises in corrections" will force some local jails to become the foci of inmate developmental programs. Thus, research exploring the link between architecture, organizational culture, behavior, and in-house programming becomes critical.

Personnel and Human Resource Development Policies

As we suggested above, workforce projections for the future show a changing labor market and the emergence of a new, self-directed employee. In addition, aside from the tremendous pressure placed on jails by increased levels of detention, the nature of jail operations is changing dramatically. A case in point is the emergence of new generation, direct supervision facilities and the development of in-house programs. Again, our own research demonstrates that these organizations require both line and staff personnel with qualities very different from those found in most traditional jails. In addition, the quality of employee supervision must change from an overreliance on a command-obey style to one of employee participation and coaching. In summary, inappropriate personnel practices have a dramatic impact on the effectiveness of these innovative facilities. The best available evidence suggests that the future will require innovative personnel policies that insure the best possible fit of employee and position (Schein 1981).

Deployment of Women and Minorities

The pernicious problems of racism and sexism pervade the local jail culture. Facilities continually face legal challenges regarding the recruitment, training, and retention of both women and people of color. In addition, they face serious challenges to their policies of the deployment of women within their organizations. It is imperative that researchers and practitioners alike place this issue high on their list of priorities for ethical and operational reasons. It is crucial that research investigate the effectiveness of model programs and document the outcomes of such programs as cross-training of men and women.

Vertical Team Building

Given the need for jails to adapt to internal and external pressures, and given the impending shortage of talented employees awaiting the Workforce 2000 setting, the development of a management system that provides for some decentralized decisionmaking by mid-managers and line staff would seem to be a timely matter. Fortunately, contemporary literature on organizational dynamics identifies a number of strategies for increasing employee participation in decisionmaking. For example, the "verteam" management concept (vertical cross-section team) uses the interactive group, problem-solving approach common to many of these strategies. While we are not arguing for one model, we do suggest that research is needed to determine the appropriate management fit for particular settings (Gray et al. 1990).

Problem-Oriented Correctional Strategies

In both public agencies and private businesses, employee participation in decisionmaking and a variety of problem-solving methodologies have been used to improve organizational effectiveness. Problem-oriented policing has initially demonstrated some striking successes (Goldstein 1990). Local jails, like the police, have long been reactive organizations and required individually tailored responses. An experimental process would shed light on the organization's ability to exercise some control over its environment in a proactive fashion. In addition, such experiments would allow the assessment of job enrichment policies that are believed necessary for the emerging workforce.

We have suggested a jail research agenda that focuses on organizational dynamics and human resource development. The architectural organizational culture foci allows us to account for outcomes associated with planned change. Research assessment of personnel policies allows us to document model programs and directions for the future. We chose to highlight the place of women and people of color on both moral and operational grounds. Finally, while we are not advocating any particular models, we believe that experimentation with employee decision-making and problem-solving strategies in light of their demonstrated successes are innovations worthy of implementation and evaluation.

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SOLUTIONS TO JAIL PROBLEMS

Reintegration: A Strategy for Success

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It seems that America is always at war. No, I'm not referring to war in the conventional sense. I mean a campaign waged by Americans to try to solve a social problem of concern to a particular group. For example, we have had past "wars" against drunk drivers, poverty, crime, and most recently drugs. It appears that declaring war from time to time has become very fashionable.

Historically, our approach to solving problems such as poverty, crime, and drug abuse has been to concentrate on the effect rather than the cause. That approach may be effective in medicine when we can treat disease by treating the symptoms; however, it does not work as a long-range solution when dealing with daily social issues.

I think I echo the concerns of many who work in criminal justice, social work, and related fields when I say that we must begin to address the root causes of drug abuse now if we hope to see any realistic progress.

Drug abuse has taken a terrible toll on this nation. The costs, both monetary and social, are staggering. The need for more police officers, judges, prosecutors, and prison beds, not to mention the demand for medical care brought about by the birth of cocaine babies, will cost the American taxpayer billions of dollars per year for many years to come.

Socially, the cost is just as great. Since substance abuse has created such a drain on fiscal resources, we are unable to provide funding for the kind of "people" projects that could go a long way in helping to break the cycle of poverty in this nation. Two concrete examples are education and housing. Another area relating to social cost, and one that I have emphasized during previous appearances before many civic, religious, and professional organizations, deals with the very future of this nation.

I am sure that we can recall the time when we were the greatest industrial nation in the world. We were envied for our expertise in both manufacturing and technology. That, however, has now changed. We have not only lost our top rating, but foreign interests are now purchasing American real estate at an alarming rate. Even the United States government is paying rent to foreign landlords who own real estate in Washington, D.C.

The problem with being number one, whether in sports or in the world market, is that it takes ability, imagination, guts, and a burning desire to stay there. The teams that win in professional

sports year after year are the ones that are futuristic, imaginative, and prepared. Unfortunately, our society has been more successful in creating losers. Our correctional facilities are monuments to that failure. We must turn that dismal record around.

It really isn't very difficult to determine the source of the next generation of inmates. Unless we intercede now, the profile will probably look something like this: 80-85% black, 15-20% white, high school dropout, functionally illiterate, drug/alcohol abuser, extensive juvenile history of trouble (began at early age), no marketable job skills, one-parent family, latch-key kid with low self-esteem.

The most frightening fact about this profile is that it hasn't changed over the past 20 years. Despite all of the rhetoric, the past wars, and the government's good intentions, things have not changed. Isn't it about time we begin to ask why?

A major tenet of our current drug strategy is prevention. Many people feel that if we can shrink the demand through prevention, the supply will dry up. Although the jury is still out on the merits of the prevention programs currently available, I think we must continue to educate all children, not only those most at risk.

However, the question remains, what do we do about those who are already on the criminal justice treadmill--those who in essence are doing life terms on the installment plan? Once they are released, how can we have an impact on their lives so that they may become productive, taxpaying citizens rather than our "prisoners of war"?

I hope to introduce a method of reintegration that will provide the offender with the support necessary to succeed after release. As a result of this proposed methodology, I am confident that we can begin to lower the recidivism rate.

Changing Role of the Local Jail

Before I discuss the details of my reintegration plan, I would like to offer a few thoughts on the changing role of the jail.

Historically, the local jail was a holding facility for pretrial offenders. There were, of course, some sentenced inmates; however, those occupants amounted to a relatively small percentage. Inmates with sentences of six months or more were usually remanded into state custody where they remained until discharged.

The nature of the local jail, however, has changed. Two major reasons for that change are (1) the states' need to purge their penal systems of short-term offenders as a means of managing their population, and (2) the desire on the part of the judiciary to protect offenders from already crowded, hostile state systems. With many more sentenced offenders remaining in our local facilities for longer periods of time, we have the opportunity to begin to work with them so that they will be prepared for release.

The Release of the Offender

If we examine just what happens to offenders once released, we realize why in nearly 80% of the cases they eventually return to crime. When offenders are released, they have very little going for them. They probably lack formal education or job skills. They may be retarded or victims of years of abuse. Some are indeed victims who victimize. There is also a good chance that they will continue to abuse drugs and/or alcohol.

The typical scenario of a newly released individual might go something like this: (1) The offender seeks instant gratification--wine, women, and song; (2) a period of depression may set in when the offender realizes that he needs to somehow make a living; (3) apathy sets in--the individual does not really care how he supports himself; and (4) the illegitimate opportunity arises and the offender takes advantage of it. Once arrested and found guilty, offenders are often sentenced not only on the current offense, but also on their past record. In other words, they are sentenced incrementally. The cycle continues.

Consider the following:

- The Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that one in every 27 males is currently under correctional supervision.
- Between 1983 and 1988, the number of individuals incarcerated in the U.S. increased by 33%.
- In Prince George's County, Maryland, the jail population more than doubled since 1987.
- In fiscal year 1990, Prince George's County, Maryland, spent \$90 million on public safety.
- In 1988, Americans spent approximately \$150 billion on illegal drugs.
- An estimated 30 million Americans are casual drug users, while another 7 million have used more serious drugs, such as PCP, LSD, and amphetamines.
- It is estimated that there are currently 600,000 heroin addicts and as many as 1.4 million cocaine addicts.
- IV drug use is estimated to have caused 27% of the nation's AIDS cases.
- Of the estimated 1.2 million IV drug users, 250-300 thousand are believed to be infected with the AIDS virus.

These statistics clearly mirror the magnitude of the current problem. We can no longer continue to recycle millions of Americans through a system that is simply not working. Because of the ineffectiveness of our current practice and because we can no longer write off millions of citizens, I propose a reintegration strategy that I hope will reduce recidivism.

The Reintegration Strategy

A major weakness of our current system and a significant factor in its failure to make inmates productive citizens is that we do not have a gradual, structured, and deliberate reintegration strategy. The strategy that I propose, I hope, will meet that need.

The reintegration process begins with identifying the offender as a viable reintegration candidate. Obviously, the screening and diagnostic mechanism must be valid so that we identify only those who are motivated to make a change in their lifestyle. Once that occurs, we are ready to begin.

It is common knowledge that a very significant percentage of those entering local facilities have a serious substance abuse problem. As policymakers responsible for the incarceration and treatment of those offenders, we have been charged with the job of designing a system to treat those individuals. Thus far, we have not been very successful. The time has come for us to seriously look at what we can do to change that.

Since 1985, Prince George's County has been operating a 60-bed treatment center for Driving While Intoxicated (DWI) offenders. Made possible by a partnership between the Prince George's County Department of Health and Department of Corrections, the DWI Facility houses offenders with a documented history of alcohol abuse.

I have always believed that if something proves successful, we should build on that success. As a result, I have been advocating the establishment of a Drug Treatment Center in Prince George's County. The Drug Treatment Center, which will be closely modeled after our DWI Facility, will be keyed toward the sentenced offender with a documented history of drug abuse.

As with our DWI program, the treatment cycle will run for 28 days. While in treatment, offenders would receive substance abuse education to provide them with insight into their particular situation. If the offender continues to adjust satisfactorily, he or she will be prepared to enter the next two phases of treatment--work release and home detention.

Following completion of the program at the Drug Treatment Center and approval by our classification personnel, offenders are eligible for work release. If job placement is required, that service can be provided before entry into the work release program. Also, if appropriate, vocational testing can be administered to determine where the offenders' skills and interests lie. Training within that field could be accommodated while in work release status. Additionally, while on work release, offenders may continue to receive instruction in release readiness skills, such as decisionmaking, social responsibility, and leisure or recreation. Also, where substance abuse has been linked to the offense, offenders would be required to undergo regular testing to ensure that they remain drug- or alcohol-free. While at the work site, offenders will also be supervised through telephonic communication with the employer and personal visits to the job.

Once offenders progress satisfactorily through work release, they would be eligible for placement in home detention. Home detention provides the opportunity for offenders to remain at home while serving their sentences. They may hold a job; however, they cannot leave the confines of their home unless granted permission to do so. Supervision is provided both

electronically (wristlets and random phone calls) and through personal visits. Release readiness programming to include other family members may also be required.

Again, by providing structure and supervision, we are allowing reintegration to proceed slowly and deliberately. At any point, should the offender regress, we can deal with that behavior decisively. If necessary, participants will be returned to the institution to complete their sentences.

It is very important to emphasize that, whether on work release or on home detention, offenders are actively supervised electronically or through personal visits to the home or on the job. Offenders would also be required to participate in counseling programs and/or drug testing. Depending on how the sentence is structured, the offender may also be required to continue under supervision as a special condition of probation or parole.

The basic philosophy of a gradual, deliberate, and structured reintegration process must not be abandoned once offenders are released. For that reason, I would like to propose an idea which, if properly supported, could go a long way in our effort to reduce recidivism.

Several self-help groups within our communities have been effective in dealing with a variety of problems. For example, Alcoholics Anonymous has been offering help for a number of years. Narcotics Anonymous has also been helping drug abusers. There are, of course, offshoots of these programs that deal with family members of alcohol or drug abusers. Their main focus is to treat not only the individual, but also significant others adversely affected by the disease.

The Prince George's County Department of Corrections currently has 24 after-care units throughout the county. Operated by volunteers in conjunction with Department of Corrections' staff, each unit services newly released individuals as they return to their communities. The unit usually works with the released offender for about six weeks. There have been cases, however, where volunteers have worked with clients for up to a year depending on the circumstances. After-care centers are located mainly within area churches; however, we do have several units sponsored by private organizations.

Although these groups have been of significant value to many individuals, I feel very strongly that we must expand our after-care efforts to effectively address the special needs of the newly released ex-offenders.

These after-care support groups would be self-help groups run by ex-offenders for ex-offenders. The organization would be anchored by the Department of Corrections' after-care unit and supported by various groups including, but not limited to, the County's Human Service Agencies and Private Industry Council. Each support group would provide its normal scope of services with a keen awareness of the need for close coordination. After-care support groups would be strategically located throughout the area being served. Each group could determine its composition as to whether it is co-ed or ethnically oriented. There could also be a speaker's bureau within each group to educate and work with high-risk groups, such as juveniles.

Although we envision after-care support group chapters throughout the county, we cannot expect them to spring up overnight. Therefore, I plan to set up test sites in areas where we currently have viable centers. By beginning with a manageable number of units, we would be able to fine-tune our efforts before going countywide. If the effort works well on a small scale, we could build on that success. Given the expertise of other human service agencies and dedicated volunteers, the after-care support group concept is a viable proposal.

Summary

America will continue to thrive as long as we realize that people are our greatest resource. Those currently in our jails must not be written off, because we will need all Americans to move us forward into the 21st century. Finally, by reducing crime, we are creating a safer, more productive society.

Regional Jails

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This paper describes a direction for jail research and identifies research questions specific to the challenges and problems facing jails administrators in the 1990s.¹

Serious inmate violence² and rising costs, caused in part by population growth,³ are critical, overriding problems for urban jails. Crowding and related staff shortages are also problems for most counties, urban and rural, across the nation (see Guynes 1988). Curiously, Guynes' findings, as well as those of an earlier study (Gettinger 1984) indicate that crowding is the major problem of the nation's jails. Crowding is followed by tight budgets, low salaries, limited space, and poor inmate programming, although his data show that one-third of all counties in the survey (n=375) under-utilize their jail space. We should also note that although Guynes' report does not mention violence, the nature of his study may have reemphasized factors for which the responding jail managers are responsible.

For a national research agenda to be helpful to jails and those responsible for their operation, the research must respond to actual current problems: cost containment, crowding, violence, staffing needs, training, service delivery, inmate health services, and the ongoing operation of the jail infrastructure.

One concept that seems to hold some promise for answering a number of these issues and thereby shaping jail policy and practices is the multijurisdictional or, as it is also known, regional jail. An in-depth assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the regional jail and an explication of the process whereby jurisdictions are mobilized into action to establish a jointly operated jail would be useful additions to the body of information available to jail administrators around the country. Very little evaluation of regional jails has been done. Two monographs (Price and Newman 1979 and American Justice Institute 1984) provide only descriptive overviews of such facilities; both are now outdated.

A regional jail refers to a central facility in which two or more jurisdictions, generally counties, enter a formal compact or agreement to jointly plan, build, and operate a facility that serves the

¹I want to express appreciation to several people for their contributions to the issues raised in this paper: Ms. Paisley Feingold, Dr. Nancy Jacobs, Mr. Richard Koehler, Dr. Douglas S. Lipton, Dr. Jesse Maghan, and Dr. Charles L. Newman.

²Inmate stabbing and slashing incidents increased nearly 50% in New York City jails, from 790 to 1,178, while the population during the same period (1988-1989) increased only 16%.

³New York City jails have gone from 7,000 inmates in 1980 to just over 20,000 in 1990. During the same period the operating budget grew from \$120 million to \$720 million.

participating jurisdictions by holding pretrial and sentenced inmates. A regional jail implies shared responsibility for all aspects of the jail operation. A regional jail is to be differentiated from a host jail in which space is leased to other jurisdictions, although a regional jail may also choose to serve in a host capacity. For example, several regional and traditional jails may supplement their tax-levied operating budgets by leasing space to governmental agencies, such as the U.S. Marshals Service, for their prisoners. In most cases, up until 1979, "the decision to regionalize was strongly influenced by the need for a new facility and the expectation of construction economies which would result from joining together" (Price and Newman 1979, 7). In other cases, under-utilized rural jails have seen regionalization as a way to make jail operations more economical.

Before further proliferation of regional jails occurs, we should examine, as part of a national jail research agenda, the following:

- What is the process whereby local decisionmakers mobilize their constituencies and work with other jurisdictions to plan, develop, build, and operate a regional jail?
- What is the nature of the multijurisdictional agreement? Can a model agreement be drawn up based on an assessment of those in operation?
- In which jurisdiction should the regional jail be located, and what are the implications of the location?
- Are responsibilities and risks to elected officials and jail administrators shared and, if so, how? Do regional jails establish a formula for allocation of space? What political problems arise when the regional jail is out of space?
- How can local criminal justice agencies with sole responsibility for jails before regionalization retain organization integrity and viability? What incentives or rewards are necessary to gain local system acceptance?
- How can prisoner transportation be handled in a cost-effective way? How do we meet the objections by lawyers to lengthier travel time? Is the inconvenience to inmate families addressed?
- Is the regional jail more likely to be designed for staff efficiency than the traditional local jail?
- Are construction costs of regional jails greater than, less than, or similar to those of local jails?
- How do operating costs compare?
- Is there efficiency in scale and, if so, how can this be articulated and measured?
- Does the regional jail affect inmate violence or the use of force by the jail's staff?

- Are inmate service delivery and programming affected by the regional jail? How are linkages to community services handled? (Newman and Price 1977.)
- What is the process whereby participating jurisdictions reach a consensus as to the level and types of programming?
- Can the rising costs of medical and other health care expenses for inmates be contained better by the regional jail than the local jail? Can medical personnel shortages be reduced by regionalization?
- Are savings within the infrastructure--kitchen, laundry, etc.--realized?
- Can the regional jail relieve crowding in participating jurisdictions and assist with under-utilization of other facilities?
- Are jurisdictions better served and, if so, can specific types of jurisdictions (population, geographic size, rural/suburban, etc.) be identified as especially suitable for regionalization?
- Do regional jail administrators require special training? Is staff training affected? Are staff shortages eliminated or less severe in regional jails? What are the implications for professionalization of staff?
- What is the impact of regional jails on public relations and citizen support?
- How does the presence of a regional jail affect alternative-to-incarceration programs and work release?
- And, lastly, are regional jails less likely to face inmate legal action? Are regional jails more likely to meet national accreditation standards than local jails?⁴

We know that both local jail and systemwide criminal justice problems have led to the establishment of regional jails in some areas, and those problems have not abated. However, we do not know, because we do not have aggregate data, the degree to which regionalism provides relief to those localities that have participated in or presently are part of a multijurisdictional jail venture. Fortunately, a sufficient number of regional jails today permit aggregate data analysis. In 1979 Price and Newman found that regional arrangements were regarded as possible solutions to both problems of funding and under-utilization in lightly populated areas of the country. Local governments hoped that regionalization would result in modern facilities, improved inmate services, and cost-effective resolution of problems without sacrificing essential elements of local control. We saw some evidence then, but only anecdotally, of success; research today could establish reliable empirical information.

⁴Currently, more than one-third of all jails are under court order for unconstitutional conditions of confinement (Guynes 1988, 7).

While the regional jail seems to hold promise on several levels, the idea also creates a set of new problems. On the positive side, some jurisdictions have found it less expensive to build a regional jail than to upgrade jail facilities in each county even while maintaining a temporary holding area in each county (see Nederhoff and Vandoros 1984). Claims made for regional jails include expansion of facilities and programs for special inmate populations (e.g., sick, aged, drug-addicted, AIDS-infected, etc.); reduced costs of construction and operation; and simplification of siting.

On the negative side, multicounty participation often means that some jurisdictions will have substantial distances between the jail and the court, which creates additional transportation costs as well as hardships for lawyers and inmate families. More complex management and budgeting structures must be devised for regional jails. Often the planning for a regional jail meets resistance from local law enforcement agencies that envision reduction of their power. They also identify concern about the need to reconcile different procedures, policies, and laws among participating jurisdictions.

The basic research question to be answered by a national study of regional jails is, how well has jail regionalization operated to provide release for those localities that have turned to it for a solution to the difficult problems involved in operating a local jail? Has regionalism proved cost-effective? Has it led to specialized services for inmates such as the mentally ill? Has it reduced lawsuits and pressure from courts, improved inmate services, increased the quality of staff, and made better use of cell space? What, if anything, has regionalization's impact on inmate violence been? Answers are needed and for our nation's jails--both the keepers and the kept--time may be running out.

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Jail Crowding

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In 1970 the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration conducted its first one-day count of the jail population of the United States and found 160,863 inmates (U.S. Department of Justice 1971). Since then, the number of jail inmates has followed a pattern similar to that of the prison population, declining by 1971 but climbing ever since, reaching 343,569 in the 1988 census of local jails (U.S. Department of Justice 1990). Growth in capacity did not keep up with the increasing number of inmates, and complaints of jail crowding became widespread during the late 1970s. In 1988, for the first time, the number of jail inmates exceeded capacity for the nation as a whole. Now 20 years since beginning the collection of national data on jails and with more than a decade's experience with epidemic crowding problems, it is appropriate to consider the progress made on understanding and addressing these problems. The passage of time, however, is not the only justification for such reflection. Arguments about prison crowding may also apply to jails. In both areas the reliance on the crisis metaphor can distort policy discussions by limiting options and focusing attention on the short term. Benefits can be gained by more systematic consideration. Furthermore, we may well be reaching a crossroads in social policy. The largest wave of jail construction in the nation's history seems to be cresting, yet the number of jail inmates continues to grow. In 1988 the jail population increased 16% over the previous year. But as Sherman and Hawkins (1981, 5) argue, the most significant effect of the ongoing crowding of correction institutions may not be in the continued crisis, but in the prospect for alternative futures that it lays open.

Recognition, consideration, and, ultimately, the deliberate choice of alternatives require the review of existing knowledge and the collection and analysis of new information. Planning can be informed and guided by a carefully considered agenda for research, an agenda that grows out of the discussion of researchers and practitioners. The purpose of this paper is to contribute to that dialogue.

If the aim is policy-relevant research, the articulation of goals that lay behind policy is fundamental to the development of a research agenda. In the climate of crisis that has accompanied jail crowding, immediate relief has been an understandable goal. Like patients seeking relief from acute pain, jail administrators have sought prescriptions for immediate reductions in population counts and have found some relief in programs such as citation and release (Whitcomb, Lewin, and Levine 1984); alternative sentences such as fines (Cole 1989); and home detention (Ball and Lilly 1988). However, these front-door, back-door, and side-door strategies have not solved the problem. Even increases in capacity have not eliminated, and should not be expected to eliminate, crowding. A reconsideration of goals may aid the development of a research agenda.

An alternative to viewing jail crowding as an acute problem is to recognize it as a chronic condition. When viewed that way, the nation as a whole can be expected to continue to operate near or above jail capacity, although individual jails may find some relief and some jails will

experience episodes of severe crowding. Over a decade of persistent crowding supports the expectation that jail resources will continue to be strained (see Pogrebin 1982).

In medicine both the research and the treatment of chronic conditions differ from those of acute illnesses. Treatment is aimed at controlling the problems associated with the condition and at minimizing adverse effects on patients' lives. Medical researchers investigate what can be learned from differences in patients' coping abilities. Viewing jail crowding as a chronic condition also has implications for research and policy. It shifts the focus from curing crowding to understanding and influencing how jail space is used. Intervention is directed at achieving relief while minimizing adverse effects on the criminal justice system. A research agenda based on such an approach would address the policy goal of controlling and managing jail crowding while maintaining the integrity of the criminal justice system.

Such a goal provides a basis for review of existing knowledge on jail crowding and the identification of directions for further research. The four propositions below outline broad areas for research while reflecting a view of crowding as a chronic problem and a goal of managing that problem while maintaining the integrity of the criminal justice system.

Proposition #1 -- We do not have adequate definitions or measures of jail crowding.

The purpose of defining and measuring crowding should be to make it possible to describe the true diversity of crowded conditions that exist across local jails. However, current approaches to jail crowding are incapable of this. Studies of jail crowding have often defined and measured crowding with reference to some combination of population size and space. The most commonly used measure has been the percentage of rated capacity that is occupied. Less commonly used have been measures of population density. For prisons, where the population does not fluctuate rapidly and where program space and scheduling are fairly uniform across institutions, these measures may allow for meaningful comparisons across institutions. Differences between jails and prisons, however, show the limitations of these measures of crowding.

When applied to jails, measures that use only space and population size cannot reflect diversity of conditions. Jail populations turn over rapidly, but the pace will differ by booking procedure (for example, whether the jail is also the central booking site); by court schedule (for example, whether night and weekend court is held); and by other variables. Likewise, population counts may fluctuate greatly over the course of a week or across seasons. Furthermore, jails differ more greatly than do prisons with regard to program, work, and recreation space and scheduling. Although two jails may be filled equally to or beyond their capacity, the experience of life in those facilities, for inmates as well as staff, may be markedly different.

Lack of appreciation of these differences leads to a simplistic approach in which crowding is treated as a single concept. Recognizing, appreciating, and measuring those differences will allow us to distinguish differences in the nature of crowding problems and to recognize that both different causes and different remedies may exist.

Can research capture this complexity? Models exist that suggest it can. The best examples may come from medicine, where scales of disease severity have been developed and tested (see, for example, Knaus et al. 1985). Those scales combine measures of multiple symptoms and provide

assessments that allow physicians to discriminate by degree and kind of illness. Applying the methods used to develop such measures to local jails would mean comparative studies in which the dimensions of the crowding problem are investigated across a number of jails. Observations and interviews could be used to create an index of crowding that might include dimensions of population size, density, turnover, types of housing, programming space and scheduling, staffing patterns, and other variables that may elaborate the complexity of the crowding problem.

On one level, solutions to correctional crowding are conceptually simple, but eliminating crowding by increasing the amount of space or decreasing the number of inmates has proven to be a difficult task (for a discussion, see Gottfredson and McConville 1987). To focus on managing crowding and crowded jails, we must gain a better appreciation for the complexity of crowded jail conditions. Of paramount importance is the development of measures that can portray fully the diversity of crowding conditions and that can aid in the development and use of a diversity of management strategies.

Proposition #2 -- We have not adequately examined differences in crowding and in jail use across jails.

Most research on crowding has focused on gaining immediate relief for crowded jails. The methodology has been to examine single jails under the argument that the diagnosis of crowding problems and the formulation of solutions must address the unique situations of individual institutions (see Hall et al. 1985). The argument has merit and useful studies, which are aimed at reductions in the population of individual jails, have been conducted.

The crisis approach also has significant limitations. In particular, the idiosyncratic view of jails has meant that information available when looking across jails has not been appreciated. We have ignored data showing that the crowding crisis does not afflict all jails equally and that some jails appear to cope with population pressures far better than others do.

In 1986 jails with more than 100 inmates were filled to an average of 111% of their capacity, but that figure ranged from 59% to over 300% (Klofas 1990). Still more important than the percentage of occupancy may be variations in measures of jail use. In 1986 the number of jail inmates per 10,000 county residents ranged from under 4 to over 81 (Standard Deviation = 10) across U.S. jails. The number of jail admissions ranged from under 30 to over 2,500 per 10,000 county residents (S.D. = 358). In the 96 jails of one state, the inmate population rate ranged from 1 to 17 per 10,000 county residents and the admissions rate ranged from 45 to 450 per 10,000 (Klofas 1987). Furthermore, these differences were not strongly related to crime rate or city size. Other research has also uncovered great variability in the way jail space is used. A study of three California jails found large differences in average length of stay and in the processing of offenders (Jackson 1988). McCarthy (1989) has studied sentencing and found that practices, and thus their impact on jails, differed widely within a state and that felony arrests result in jail sentences far more often than they result in sentences to prison.

All of these data highlight variations across jails and suggest differences in jurisdictions' abilities to cope with population pressures. We need to augment research that seeks to contribute to immediate relief in individual jails by using studies that seek to identify and explain differences in jail use and success in addressing crowding. Looking across jails can provide lessons for

managing jail crowding. Studying variation is what social science research is most competent to do, and it is the mechanism through which research can make its most significant contributions to jail policy.

Proposition #3 -- We have not adequately explored the causes of jail crowding.

The past decade has produced significant studies of the causes of jail crowding and the research has been extremely useful. Most often the studies have focused on the dynamics of the criminal justice process as it influences the size of the jail population (Bolduc 1985). Models have been developed that can help identify sources of crowding problems and that support developing programs designed to ameliorate the problems (see, for example, Hall et al. 1985).

Research that considers the impact of the police, courts, and other corrections agencies on jail populations must continue and be refined. There is also a need to expand the focus to include other issues. Few studies have examined jail use as it may relate to other variables, and almost no research exists that attempts to formulate explanations of jail crowding by looking beyond the processing of offenders toward crime and community factors (see Wooldredge 1989 and Klofas 1990). There is a need for studies that include examinations of differences in jail capacity and use as they may relate to factors within, as well as outside of, the criminal justice system.

Such contextually oriented research is germane to policy. Responses to jail crowding must ultimately be justified by beliefs about the causes of crowding. The expansion of capacity is justified in the face of growing crime problems or redefinition of behavior as requiring incarceration. Likewise, the use of alternatives to address crowding is appropriate where there is a belief that incarceration is not needed for some categories of previously confined offenders. Other explanations may suggest the need to influence legislative agendas. Differences in community attitudes toward drunken driving, drug use, domestic disputes, and other behavior will all influence the jail population and policy. Jails will also be affected by the availability of other community services and the prison system's ability to contain its own crowding problems. Useful advancements in understanding causes of crowding will come from examining jails in these broad contexts.

Proposition #4 -- We do not have adequate knowledge of the consequences of jail crowding and crowding-related policies.

This is true on every conceivable level. For example, we know little of the impact of crowding on inmates or on staff. Where corrections research on the effects of crowding exists, it has generally been done with prison inmates (for a discussion see Wright and Goodstein 1989). In light of differences in populations, differences in routines, and the importance of the transition from street to jail (see Gibbs 1982), there seems to be little justification for believing that what we know of prison adjustment also applies in jails.

An area of policy-relevant research on jail crowding that has been completely ignored has been the effects of crowding and crowding policy on the pursuit of traditional criminal justice goals and on public perceptions of justice. It has been suggested that all politics are local. It may also

be true that all justice is local in that opinions regarding individual safety, fairness of criminal justice, and the appropriateness of sanctions are formed in the local context. If maintenance of the integrity of the criminal justice system is to be a goal of crowding policy, assessments of local perceptions of justice are necessary. If we are to manage crowding in a way that is not driven by crisis thinking, evaluation research must look beyond simple reductions of populations to consider the effects of policy on jail goals such as facilitating judicial processing, protection of the public, deterrence, incapacitation, and rehabilitation.

The crisis in jails has changed nearly all of American criminal justice. Jail inmates now float along the Hudson River in decommissioned naval vessels reminiscent of the British hulks of the 18th century. Some jurisdictions have charged inmates a fee for placement in uncrowded facilities, and others have used municipal budgets to loan inmates money for bail (NCCD Publications 1983). Courts have also forced the early release of jail inmates because of crowding. In 1988 in Cook County, for example, nearly 24,000 inmates were released through programs designed to control crowding (Myrent 1989). Such adaptations may affect public perceptions of justice as well as public safety (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1988) or may have an impact on the pursuit of other goals. Research must be directed at the full range of consequences of jail crowding.

This avenue of research holds potential for immediate benefits to local jails. Community perceptions regarding crime and punishment may be influenced by jail policy but will also have an important impact on jail policy. The use of pre-conviction and post-conviction alternatives, processing interventions, and other innovations depends on some level of understanding and acceptance by the public and other criminal justice officials, as often expressed through the local political process. But there is evidence of differences in the acceptance of these programs. For example, research has shown that implementing new generation jail construction and management techniques has not been uniform (Nelson 1986; Zupan and Stohr-Gillmore 1988). We need to understand the circumstances in which these and other innovations are successful.

Research on crowding should examine policy efforts across jurisdictions to identify and attempt to explain differences in the success of program development and implementation. Key issues to consider may include the role of community and political support, the suitability of education efforts and other means to draw on local resources, and the role of outside expertise in the planning process. Knowledge of these issues is needed if we are to learn from the experiences of other jails and to appreciate that different policy approaches may be suitable for different communities.

Summary

Policy-relevant research must address policy goals. As we work toward the development of a crowding research agenda for the decade, the first step must be to articulate the broad goals of policy. If we recognize crowding as a chronic condition it is clear that goals must include management of that condition while maintaining the integrity of the criminal justice system. In light of those goals, four broad areas for research stand out:

1. We must move beyond capacity and density measures and develop more useful measures of crowding.
2. We must recognize and explain broad differences across jails in the ability to cope with population pressures.
3. We must investigate the causes of crowding by looking beyond the flow of cases through the criminal process.
4. We must assess the effects of crowding and crowding policy on a wide variety of outcomes, including our ability to pursue the traditional goals of criminal justice.

While these topic areas are general and may be consistent with a wide variety of specific studies, they are suggestive regarding directions for the methodology of future crowding studies. They highlight the need for studies that allow for comparisons across jail jurisdictions. The most useful designs would examine multiple jails within states but may also use multi-state samples. This usage would control for differences in laws and legal systems while also providing checks on the generalizability of findings.

There are also reasons to suggest systematic approaches to the sampling of jails. If the goal is to study differences across jails, institutions should be selected on the basis of known differences in levels of crowding and in measures of jail use. The contributions of comparative analyses will also be enhanced by incorporating community variables that go beyond case processing. Finally, the most useful comparisons may involve case studies that combine quantitative analyses of population, processing, and community variables with interviews and observations of such issues as public attitudes, the political process, and the local social service network. Research incorporating these approaches may help address the major gaps in our knowledge and offer the best hope of useful contributions to jail policy over the next decade.

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CONCLUSION

A Jail Research Agenda for the 1990s

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The preceding papers illustrate the wide range of issues currently being explored by jail researchers. What is most significant about the two days of dialogue between jail practitioners and researchers is the level of their agreement on what constitutes critical issues and their acknowledgment of the need for focused, applied jail research and research funding.

One major outcome from the interface of the two groups is the formulation of research questions around an agenda that includes inmate populations, jail architecture and operations, special inmate needs, and legal issues.

Jail Population Issues

The need for better measurement and definition of jail inmate populations framed much of the dialogue around jail populations. Several issues emerged. One is the composition and characteristics of who is entering jails today. The other is the need to be proactive regarding changing inmate demographics--who is going to be in jail in the future?

Contemporary jails need more timely information about who pretrial detainees are and how long they stay. Are jails holding more dangerous inmates? What is the right time to release? How can jails deal with the persistent 5% of "troublemakers" who command so much attention? What types of programs work for each subpopulation, particularly the chronically mentally ill? What screening and classification measures are most effective? How can better tracking of the demographics of current inmate populations be used to predict the composition of future jail populations?

These questions reinforce the need for both better information systems and comparative analyses of populations across jails--large and small, urban and rural.

While these research issues are seen by practitioners as central to the development of more proactive programming and improved jail management, there emerges a broader policy perspective of interest to both researchers and jail administrators--what is the changing role of the jail in the 1990s?

More systemic studies of jail populations and local criminal justice networks and the application of findings to proactively control inmate populations will move away from the traditional model of the jail as a passive institution in the criminal justice system. Given the trend of direct and continuous involvement of community treatment agencies in jail programming (DWI, mentally

ill, substance abusers, illiterate), what is the role of the jail in the community and the community in the jail? Who defines what the jail is? What programs work and do not work (for example, what alternatives to jail incarceration work)? Overall, how can jails be viewed as more "professional"?

Jail Architecture and Operations

Two specific types of jail architectural and operational models were the starting point for the discussion on the relationship between jail architecture and operations: regional jails and new generation, direct supervision jails. Both jail models raise generic research questions related to organizational culture, the translation of architectural philosophy into operations, personnel and jail management, and types of inmate populations.

New generation jails and regional jails illustrate that jails are changing. How does this change occur? What is the role of the community in such innovations? What are the characteristics of the jail and community interface in moving to new jail models?

Regional jails need to reevaluate the model. Issues include cost containment, appropriate size, safety concerns, service delivery, and applicability to special inmate populations. Can we find models of intergovernmental cooperation that can be drawn upon for regional jail models? How well has jail regionalization offered a solution to communities?

New generation jails have brought innovative personnel programs and participative management systems into the spotlight. Does direct supervision make for better-managed jails and enhanced staff professionalism? What are the key training issues for the translation of architectural philosophy into operational practice?

As jail facilities have become more crowded, there is a need for improved techniques for projecting jail population. What is the future of jail construction? What are the mutual problems of large and small jails? What has been the impact of privatization? What are the life-cycle costs of architectural decisions (over 30 years, building plus operational costs)?

As demographic trends in the general population shift, there is a need for the monitoring of the racial composition of inmates and staff. How can we relate architectural options to types of inmates, levels of population, and inmate to staff ratios?

Special Jail Populations

The topic of special inmate jail populations raised a number of research issues specific to operational practice and inmate management. Concern with more dangerous jail inmates and an increase in assaultive behaviors focused attention on staff training needs and management philosophy. To what degree can training at all levels--supervisory, mid-management, and staff--reduce assaults? What is the effect of management style, organizational culture, and employee orientation on the environment of jails? What other environmental factors (population density,

supervisory ratio, inmate classification, and community violence level) play a role in the level of jail violence?

The influx of persons with AIDS (PWAs) into jails has drawn attention to issues of jail health systems. Specific to PWAs, should these individuals be segregated? Who should provide health service delivery? Other general health issues include smoking in jails, increases in contagious diseases (such as tuberculosis), geriatric populations, and health care for female inmates. Who will bear the escalating costs of medical care in local jails?

Legal Issues and Jails

Lawsuits have had a major impact on jails nationally. Practitioners, in particular, have an interest in research that addresses variables that affect litigation.

One research strategy could be case studies of major lawsuits (what happens, who is at fault, what is the settlement, what is closure?). Similar to other issues, this strategy emphasizes the need for better information systems--generic, systematic knowledge that practitioners need to know. Legal research findings (and academic research findings in general) need to be published in practitioner-oriented publications and in language useful in the field.

A second area of concern is the study of litigation strategies. How can we eliminate frivolous suits? What is common in such a database regarding consent decrees, for example?

How can information be drawn to develop lawsuit prevention programs for jails? When is a suit a suit? How do inmates set up lawsuits? What are the liability issues facing jails as they increasingly deal with new community services and volunteer groups? Can we predict where lawsuits are likely to come from? What are some proactive approaches (countersuits)? Are proactive community education programs on the increase when budgets start to go down? What is the evidence of the effects of jail facility improvements, inmate grievance procedures, improved standards, and accreditation on the frequency and types of lawsuits?

These questions, and those raised by the various researchers and practitioners, provide a sufficient number of research issues to last through the decade of the 1990s. In fact, these questions may be facing us well into the 21st century if research efforts to solve some of these problems are not undertaken soon.

EPILOGUE

Preparing for the Next Millennium: Toward a New Orientation for Jail Research

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I returned to my university from our meeting of jail practitioners and researchers quite pleased about the way the meeting went and optimistic about the future of research in this area. I am still pleased and optimistic, but two things have recently reminded me of how much needs to be done in the area of research on local corrections and in areas our meeting may have neglected. The first thing was a visit to an advanced laser laboratory and the second was a visit to my grocery store. The laser lab is an experimental facility where scientists are working toward developing fusion energy. My grocery store is where I buy my groceries.

What links these visits and what made me think about jail research was the manner in which data collection and analysis was built into the operation of both the laser lab and the store. As one would expect, the frequent firings of a powerful laser are monitored by a host of electronic devices that automatically gather and analyze hundreds of pieces of data. Unknown to me, however, was the fact that similar devices monitor my shopping habits. Each time I present my check approval card to the cashier, an electromagnetic record is made of my identity and the identity of every item I have purchased. Sometime later, the tape of data joins other data about my mortgage, my neighborhood, my neighbors' shopping, and so on. Soon I am bombarded by catalogs that have been selected to appeal to my type of person.

It did not surprise me that laser science involved advanced methods of research, but I was struck by the sophistication of research in the direct mail industry. Grocery shopping and lasers now suggest two things to me. First, neither the technical fields of science nor the technicians of science are the sole proprietors of advanced research technologies. The ability to collect, analyze, and use data is now widely available both across fields and among those with only limited technical training. Second, corrections at the local level has not recognized that availability and is in danger of being passed over by the technological revolution that has democratized research.

At the heart of that revolution is a new role for both human and machine resources. One key to the democratization of research is the desktop computer. That instrument now makes it much easier to accomplish the kinds of focused studies in which most researchers engage and that were at the heart of most discussions at our research meeting. More importantly, however, the desktop computer has changed the very nature of the research that can be undertaken. Now we can add to the research repertoire ongoing research that can inform daily decisions and can contribute to self-corrective processes. The technology exists for agencies of all sizes to be able to monitor the flow of cases through the criminal justice system, to identify types of cases for alternative handling, to identify inmate characteristics and jail conditions that may be associated

with inmate-on-inmate or self-inflicted violence, and to answer a host of other ongoing site-specific questions. The technology exists for jails to implement the same kinds of continuous, self-corrective research models found in laser labs and grocery stores.

The second key to this revolution is a way of thinking about human resources that can complement the new technology. The democratization of research means a blurring of the distinction between the producer and the consumer of research. Doing research is no longer the exclusive province of academics. Practitioners are no longer simply recipients of information. Collaboration and cross-fertilization mark this new orientation in which both science and daily operations are served. While practicality may have made it necessary to distinguish between researchers and practitioners for our meeting, the exchanges across that boundary during the meeting show the potential for new roles. Future discussions of jail research should not ignore this area.

While effects of the research revolution can be seen in many areas, we are seriously lagging behind in the adopting of the new technology and the new research orientation in local corrections. As a result, decisions to implement or continue programs, to expand jail capacity, to adopt classification systems, and so forth cannot benefit fully from systematic data analysis that has an ongoing role in the local jurisdiction. Progress in the administration and management of local corrections can be supported by, if not dependent on, development of ongoing, self-corrective research processes.

The capability clearly exists to develop such processes for local jails. The technology is available and models exist in other fields. What is needed first is a commitment by leaders in the field to supporting a central role for research in the administration and management of local corrections and second is an action plan for carrying out that commitment. The following four proposals should be considered for inclusion in an action plan designed to support the development of ongoing, self-corrective research programs for local jails.

Support for a National Assessment of Information Systems and Research in Local Jails

This study would provide baseline data on existing information systems and research efforts. The project would go beyond recent examinations of technology use by focusing on current capabilities to collect, analyze, and use data at a local level. The goal would be to identify promising approaches, as well as the limitation and gaps in existing systems, and to disseminate this information across local jails.

Development of a Program of Targeted Technical Assistance in the Area of Information Use and Research

Without assistance, most local jails will not have the ability to make independent progress in this area. A program of technical assistance could involve the assessment of local research efforts;

explanations of existing approaches to data collection, analysis, and use; and assistance in implementing or upgrading efforts.

Development of Training Programs in the Area of Systems for Data Collection, Analysis, and Use

These training programs would bring together jail staff and staff from local colleges and universities in an effort to get them to work together productively on building and maintaining systems for local level research.

Support of Efforts to Increase Funding for Locally Relevant Research

Efforts should be made to provide funding for research on local jails, especially research efforts that aid the development of an ongoing, self-corrective approach to data use. These efforts should include federal funding, and should encourage other sources of research funding. In particular, efforts should be made to encourage and support research funding at the local level. If research is to be integrated into the daily operations of local criminal justice and corrections agencies, it must be integrated into local budgets. To accomplish this, leaders in the field of local corrections should launch efforts to ensure that program budgets include funds for evaluation. Furthermore, they should consider supporting a capital budget set-aside program in which local statutes could be passed requiring that 1% to 3% of any capital expenditure will support research. (Some counties now fund public art through such a mechanism.)

For generations, the year 2000 has symbolized the future. Now, less than a decade from the new millennium, the future is rapidly changing from fantasy to fact--a reality that can be planned for and influenced. Some glimpse of what the 21st-century jail can look like may be seen today in fields as diverse as laser labs and grocery stores, where the collection, analysis, and use of data have become a part of everyday life. This approach to research goes beyond individual studies to the integration of research into daily operations. It requires both technological changes in jails and changes in the way we think of research. Now is the time to take steps to bring about those changes.

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