



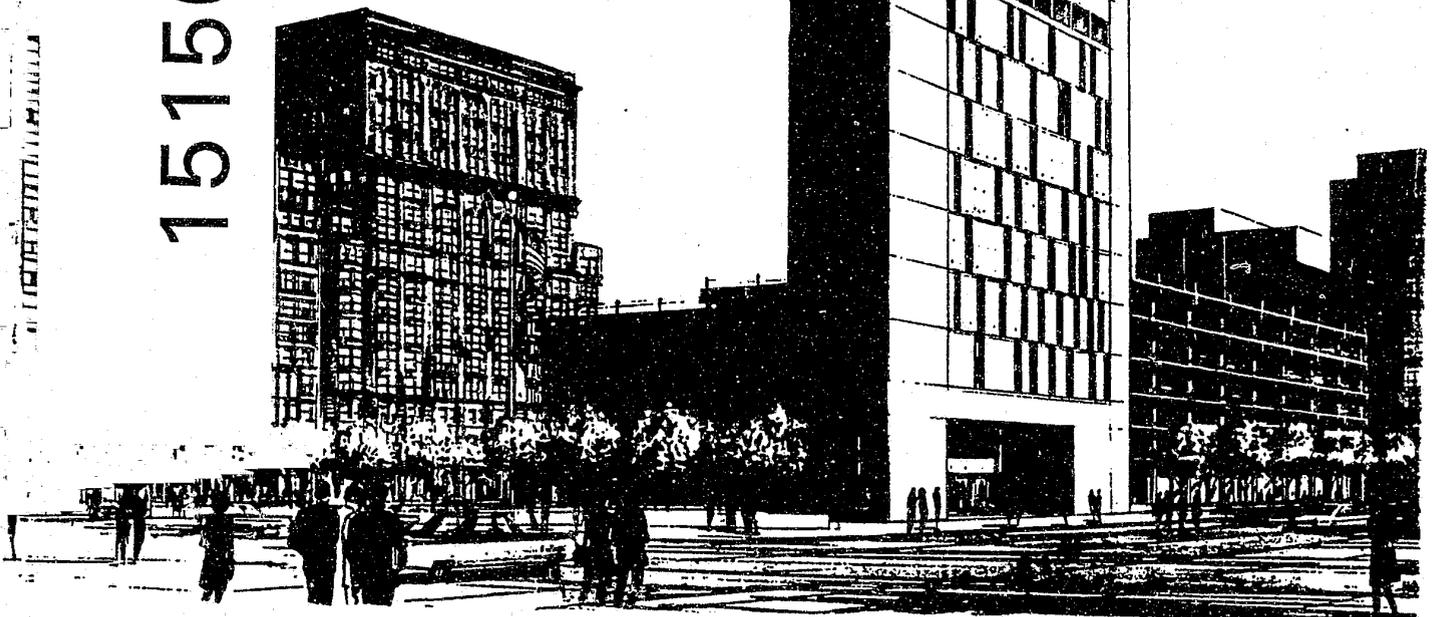
U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Corrections
Jails Division

PODULAR, DIRECT SUPERVISION JAILS

INFORMATION PACKET

January 1993

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**COVER: The Metropolitan Correctional Center,
Chicago, Illinois.**

**The illustration is courtesy of
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ACQUISITIONS

**PODULAR, DIRECT SUPERVISION JAILS
INFORMATION PACKET**

This packet contains a collection of articles designed to give the reader basic information on the principles of podular, direct supervision and local detention's experience with it. The information here is not comprehensive but should serve as an introduction to the concept. Further information is available through the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) Jail Center and Information Center.

The NIC Jails Division provides information, technical assistance, and training related to planning for and operating a podular, direct supervision jail. The Jails Division welcomes questions about its services and can be reached at:

NIC Jails Division
1960 Industrial Circle, Suite A
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The NIC Information Center maintains a large library of materials on all aspects of corrections, including direct supervision. Requests for information or materials should be directed to:

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**PODULAR, DIRECT SUPERVISION JAILS
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DIRECT SUPERVISION OF CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

*Richard Wener, F.W.
Frazier, Jay Farbstein*

1987

There is an overpowering smell in the air of urine, sweat, stale food, and Pinesol. Dirty, graffitied walls and littered floors of cold gray concrete, with steel bar doors, remind one of zoo cages, designed to be washed down with a hose. Blaring TV, banging doors, yelling men, make the noise deafening. Most of the inmates are young and have been there before. This is their turf. A few wander about, obviously mentally ill. The few uniformed officers remain secure behind a row of bars. One occasionally hurries in and out of this area on some mission, but little eye contact or personal contact is established.

The direct supervision style is a combination of management and operational philosophy, design features, and staff training.

That scene is not unlike those movie buffs would recognize as the "slammer" from the late show. But, how about this one?

A sunlit room with carpeted floors, attractive, soft furniture covered with fabrics of muted grays combined with bright blues and reds. Men

joke around ordinary card tables while playing checkers. In a corner, several watch TV while sitting on an upholstered couch. The uniformed officer strolls by and stops to chat. An inmate asks her to open the door to his room so he can use the toilet. The room has a bed, sink, desk with desk lamp, and window with a view of the city street below.

The first scene closely resembles many of the 3,000 jails and 600 prisons in the U.S. today. The old Tombs, the infamous Manhattan House of Detention--was like this, only worse: a dangerous bedlam of bodies jammed into too-small cages, until it became uncontrollable and was closed by a federal court order in 1974.

The second scene might be viewed in any of a dozen recently opened jails, including the now renovated Tombs, which make use of a new model of management and design known as "Direct Supervision" models.

Officers and inmates come from the same population as before. Crime statistics haven't improved, and violence has, if anything, become more common. What

has changed is the design and management of these particular new institutions.

The direct supervision style is a combination of management and operational philosophy, design features, and staff training. It has spread from experiences of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons in several prisons and three prototypical jails built in the 1970s to a dozen county jails within a dozen more in various stages of construction. Over the past 10 years, we have formally evaluated several of these facilities and found that they work well, to a degree few corrections veterans or psychologists would have imagined.

This system is not for every inmate. Careful classification and screening usually weed out five to ten percent of incoming inmates--such as those who are mentally ill, those who are especially violent--for more structured settings. But it seems able to work in almost any jurisdiction and type of incarceration--jails (pretrial, short-term detention) as well as prisons (sentenced, longer-term institutions).

When the Federal Bureau of Prisons, traditionally the most innovative force in American corrections, developed the direct supervision model, it was trying to follow a basic

directive: "If you can't rehabilitate, at least do no harm." Three federal Metropolitan Correctional Centers (MCCs) were built in Chicago, New York, and San Diego to provide humane, secure detention.

The key concept was direct

Officers in constant and direct contact with inmates get to know them and can recognize and respond to trouble before it escalates into violence.

supervision--placing officers in housing units and not in control booths, in constant and direct contact with inmates. This philosophy was difficult to implement in older facilities designed to keep officers and inmates separate. The architecture of the MCCs allowed direct supervision to work as intended.

The first reaction to this arrangement by traditional wardens, jail officials, and most visitors is usually astonishment. They think of the public and staff safety in terms of hard barriers between *US* and *THEM*. The new design seemingly places officers at the mercy of inmates. But our research with the MCCs showed just the opposite. Officers in constant and direct contact with inmates get to know them and can recognize and respond to trouble before it escalates into violence. They are no longer forced to wait to respond after

trouble starts. Negotiation and communication become more important staff skills than brute strength. (There is, for example, strong evidence that female officers do at least as well as male officers while working on male units. Females make up as much as 40% of the officer corps in these institutions.)

Compared to traditional jails of similar size, the MCCs and other direct supervision jails

report much less conflict among inmates, and between inmates and staff. Violent incidents are reduced 30% to 90% and homosexual rape virtually disappears.

There are similar dramatic drops in vandalism and graffiti. In the new jail at Pima County, Arizona, for example, the number of damaged mattresses dropped from 150 per year to none in two years; from an average of two TVs needing repair per week to two in two years; and from an average of 99 sets of inmate clothes destroyed per week to 15 sets in two years.

This is accomplished in jails that are, in the long run, cheaper to construct than traditional jails. Because vandalism is so rare, construction money can be saved by using standard materials (such as porcelain plumbing and ordinary lighting fixtures) instead

of more costly vandal-proof versions.

It is impossible to directly compare operating costs, because the level of programs for inmates provided varies greatly among direct and indirect supervision jails. But in looking at personnel costs (which can account for as much as 70% of the operating budget), one can note that sick leave is generally lower in direct supervision jails (by as much as 50% in the Tombs), while job satisfaction among officers is higher.

A most striking finding was the high level of agreement between officers and inmates on the advantages of direct supervision. While roles remain distinct, officers generally acknowledged that what was good for inmates helped staff as well, by reducing tension and improving conditions.

This agreement extended to their joint criticism of some features of the MCCs--confining all activities to the small housing unit was restrictive, monotonous, and excessively boring. (While the excessive boredom can and has been improved, it is vastly superior as a predominant experience than a sense of terror.) They also complained about the air quality in sealed, environmentally regulated buildings, a complaint echoed by workers in many modern office buildings.

Our studies showed that, over-

all, the new approach produced a string of successes in a field better known for its failures. Curiously, despite the successes, the federal model didn't initially "sell" well among local correctional officials, who were not convinced this model would work in their systems, with their inmates.

Finally, in the late 1970s, officials in one California county, Contra Costa, were impressed by the tension-free atmosphere at the MCC in Chicago. They used it as a model for their own jail, making design improvements based in part on the recommendations of our study, which they later used as a staff training document.

For example, Contra Costa provided outdoor recreation yards for each living unit. Key features were the same, however. The officer remained inside the living area. Inmates had easy access to television, phones, and other services. The design used carpeting, comfortable furniture, pleasant colors, and provided for inmate privacy.

When we evaluated the Contra Costa County Jail, we found the same compelling results we had in the MCCs. Assaults were rare, down 90% from the old facility. Homosexual rape had disappeared. Vandalism and graffiti were nonexistent.

Contra Costa's experience convinced some visiting cor-

rectional officials. One commented:

"I must say that I felt your type of operation was, to say the least, a very liberal approach to incarceration--that was prior to (my tour)... it became quite evident that the approach was not necessarily liberal but instead practical. The lack of tension could be felt....Some (of us) thought the prisoners were tranquilized. We soon realized that the prisoners were not drugged. They were instead reacting to the environment...."

Others, however, argued that these inmates were not as "tough" as those in their system. This argument became harder to make after the successful opening of the Tombs in New York City. It followed the direct supervision model, although rather conservatively, as a concession to internal concerns that New York might, indeed, be a special, tougher case. These concessions included providing smaller inmate-to-staff ratios (35:1 vs. 45-65:1) and harder finishes. The exposed officers' desks were designed so that they could later be enclosed in glass if needed. The partitions have never been used.

In its first two years of operation, the Tombs has performed better than any other New York City jail. Vandalism and graffiti cannot be found on

living units. (Some visitors suggest it may be the only building in New York without graffiti!) There were no homicides, suicides, or sexual assaults, or escapes, and only 52 incidents of inmate-inmate or inmate-staff assaults during the first two years, about as many as may occur weekly in some other city facilities. Inmates rarely made or smuggled in weapons, not because it was difficult to do so, but because, they told us, they didn't feel the fear which drives prisoners to obtain weapons for self protection.

The Tombs is not problem-free, nor are most other direct supervision jails. Serious difficulties often occur in intake and receiving areas, places most like traditional jails in design and operation. There, anxiety levels are highest as people who, hours before, were free now become inmates and are placed in hard, barren cells with a dozen or more others. There is also no privacy--toilets are often open

"The lack of tension could be felt...Some (of us) thought the prisoners were tranquilized."

stalls in the corner of the cell.

These areas typically have problems with vandalism and graffiti unseen on living units. Names are etched in walls and stall partitions are broken. Staff and inmates call these places the most dangerous in the facility.

By contrast, the Contra Costa jail designed the intake area to be like the rest of the facility. Most inmates wait in open carpeted lounges, much like a doctor's waiting room.

Televisions and magazines are available, as is access to phones, water, and toilets. The strategy appears to work. These areas did not suffer the mistreatment of their counterparts in the Tombs and other direct supervision jails.

These jails seem to succeed because of a management philosophy that commits the organization to the methods and training needed for direct

...use of nonsecure furniture and fixtures all speak of positive, prosocial behavior

supervision, and complementary physical design that supports its function. Tom Barry, former warden of the Tombs, notes: "Jail design is to the correctional staff what tools are to the plumber. You can get the job done with out-of-date tools, but not as well or as easily."

The National Institute of Corrections has identified a series of basic management principles for operating direct supervision institutions. Our interviews and observations suggest how this system manages to mitigate two major jail problems--violence and vandalism.

VIOLENCE AND VANDALISM

Many feel that jails are inevitably violent settings, because of the aggressive nature of inmates. The experience of direct supervision jails, however, reinforces the notion that "violent personality" is not a sufficient explanation. The physical and social environment play a critical role in a number of ways.

First, the physical and social environment plays a role in setting behavioral expectations. The cues provided by the behavior we observe of others and the messages implicit in the physical setting help define for us the behavioral norm of a place--what is expected, what will be reinforced, and what punished.

The setting of a traditional jail suggests that animal-like behavior is likely and expected. Inmates are placed in hard cages, while staff maintain a safe distance on the other side of steel bars.

Direct supervision sends a very different message. The open setting, use of colors and materials atypical of institutions, presence of an officer in the living area, and use of non-secure furniture and fixtures all speak of positive, prosocial behavior. Although no one would mistake it for anything

other than a jail, it is a jail with a different set of behavior norms.

Second, the presence of the officer constantly in and among the inmates plays a powerful role in improving safety. The officer continually interacts with the inmates and can learn of and respond to problems before they explode into disruptions.

This presence reduces inmates' fear and the "macho" posturing that often leads to serious fights. Inmates repeatedly told us that they knew "the man" would be there to intervene if they were attacked. In traditional jails, officers often do not know about an attack, or wait to respond until the fight is over.

The close officer-inmate contact, and close management supervision of officers assures that officers and inmates will be held accountable for their actions.

Third, these facilities typically provide considerably more privacy for inmates than do traditional jails. By being able to go to their own room whenever desired, inmates can "cool off" rather than directly respond to the threatening behavior of others. The cycle of macho posturing is broken.

The expectation of positive behavior extends to taking care of the setting. Psychologist Robert Sommer of the University of Califor-

nia, Davis, suggests that institutionally "hard" architecture proclaims its invulnerability to attack and may be viewed as a challenge to be overcome. Site hardening, the most common response to vandalism, both in and out of institutions, does not deter vandalism. Destruction is rampant in many places which might appear impervious to human impact.

Vandalism is further reduced by the ability of residents to adjust and regulate the direct supervision setting. Much vandalism in jails, as in other settings, is less wanton destruction than accidental or attempts to adjust the setting. In these settings, unlike many traditional jails, chairs can be moved, TV sets have accessible controls and inmates can turn lights on and off. A few design oversights prove the exceptions which emphasize this point. In the Chicago MCC, the only living area lamp regularly broken was the one without an accessible switch which shone on the television making it hard to see.

Similarly, inmates often stuff towels in room air vents to control air flow (called vandalism by maintenance staff). In the Contra Costa jail, VIPs from around the country slept in the jail before its official opening, and many stuffed towels in the vents to keep the drafts off their necks. A louvre control could prevent this "vandalism."

Making certain resources available in adequate quantities also works to lessen violence by reducing competition. Competition for televisions, telephones, or prime seats can lead to conflict. The Chicago MCC provided four TV areas for 44 inmates, while there were only two TV areas for 48 inmates in the New York MCC. Conflict over TV channels was common in New York, rare in Chicago. Our recommendations for the Tombs included adding more telephones to living units for inmate use. Competition for phones was one of the few regular sources of conflict.

The success of direct supervision jails raises a natural question: If they worked so well, why are jails still being built according to older models of operation and design? Why haven't correctional officials flocked on the bandwagon?

There are several reasons. One is size. Many jails are simply too small (fewer than 50 beds) to afford the staff needed for this kind of operation. Also, many decision makers either don't know about direct supervision or don't know how well it has worked. Some architectural firms these officials depend upon for expertise are themselves unaware or reluctant to

suggest a new direction for fear of losing a new contract.

Since jails are an extraordinary expense for most local jurisdictions, politics are involved. It may be politically safer to build traditionally. Who wants to be accused of "coddling" criminals, especially if there should later be a killing, riot, or escape? (This may change as litigation makes jurisdictions financially liable for injuries in unsafe jails.)

Direct supervision may be viewed as a threat by some. Its philosophy implies that if a jail doesn't operate well, the responsibility rests with the quality of administration rather than the failings of staff or inmates. Correctional officers are often initially skeptical about direct supervision, especially after years of contract bargaining based on (reasonable) assumptions of high job danger. For example, the officers' union initially

...many decision makers either don't know about direct supervision or don't know how well it has worked.

vigorously opposed direct supervision for the Tombs: officers who are there now strongly support the concept.

Philosophical differences can also play a role in rejecting direct supervision. While direct supervision supporters run the gamut of correctional philosophies-separation from

society vs. rehabilitation vs. punishment--some who support a punishment model firmly believe in harsher environments and greater staff-inmate separation. Others agree with University of Chicago criminologist Norval Morris who commented that, in this society, people are sent to prison as punishment, not for punishment.

... it can help provide a setting in which rehabilitative programs have a chance to work.

Direct supervision supporters have no distinguishing political leanings. They include hardline old correctional officers and new criminology Ph.D.'s, liberals as well as conservatives. Direct supervision is winning favor not simply because it is seen as a way of treating inmates more humanely, although that is critical for some. Supporters see it as a way of making correctional institutions work better and safer than ever before, for inmates as well as staff.

The hardest and cruelest of jails have not deterred crime, as best we can tell, any more than public hangings deterred London pickpockets in Charles Dickens' time. However "nice" the direct supervision jail environment may be, there is no doubt it is still viewed as a jail by the inmates. Loss of freedom is the essential punishment, and there is no

evidence anyone finds them preferable to being "outside."

Direct supervision will not directly affect our notoriously high recidivism rates. At the very least, however, it can reduce the harm traditional jails have done through degrading, terrifying, and assaultive conditions. At best, it can help provide a setting in which rehabilitative programs

have a chance to work. Aaron Brown of the National Institute of Corrections says that direct supervision

"...is simply a better way of treating people...and that's who institutions are built for--- people, inmates, and staff...it all comes down to this." Brown adds, "correctional institutions can be designed to be people management institutions or hardware institutions." Direct supervision represents an attempt at people management.

Billions of tax dollars are being wasted on jails and prisons short-sightedly being planned and built using traditional management and design concepts, which are destined to produce more dangerous, stressful, and traumatic settings for inmates and the staff who operate them. We will have to live with these mistakes well into the next century. They are mistakes we don't have to make and cannot afford, economically or socially. As Chief Justice War-

ren Burger said, "to put people behind walls and bars and do little or nothing to change them is to win a battle but lose a war. It is wrong. It is expensive. It is stupid."

DIRECT SUPERVISION

The direct supervision philosophy is best explained by contrasting it to earlier design/management styles. The oldest style is referred to as providing "Linear Remote Surveillance." Cells line up in rows and officers look into them by patrolling along separate corridors or along catwalks. Officers and inmates are physically separated, usually by bars. The officers have only intermittent views of inmate activity, with few opportunities for contact and communication with them.

The second-generation, "Indirect Surveillance" model, was developed in the 1960's. Cells became rooms, and bars are replaced by solid doors. These rooms usually surround an open dayroom space for TV viewing, and other activities. Officers sit in secure glass enclosed control booths from which they observe, but rarely enter the living area and have only sporadic personal communication with inmates.

In the third generation, "Direct Supervision" living areas may look much like second generation facilities, although they are often larger and are more likely to use "softer" materials

and fixtures. The critical difference is that there is no enclosed officer booth. Officers spend their time in the housing module interacting with the inmates. The focus is on active supervision in place of more passive surveillance. The officer's job is to know about and be in control of activity, not just observe it. Says Aaron Brown of the NIC Washington office, "the difference between observation (indirect surveillance) and supervision (direct supervision) is a wall...whether it's glass or concrete, it's a wall," and one can't effectively supervise from the other side of a wall.

In fact, the officer's entire role has been redefined as a professional rather than a turnkey. Officers need skills in interpersonal communication, crisis intervention, and counseling. They may begin to see their role as a service provider and manager, rather than just a strong-arm security agent. We found, within a year after the Contra Costa Detention Facility opened, a striking change for the better in the sense of professionalism exhibited by officers there, and in how challenging and desirable they considered their new job assignment.

The physical setting supports this management philosophy by providing an atmosphere in which interaction with inmates can occur more naturally. Inmates can move freely within the living area. Television areas are acces-

sible. Telephones hang on the wall for inmates to use. They can go to their rooms when they want, although they usually need an officer to unlock the door. In most cases, they can let themselves out of their rooms, except during special lock-in periods and overnight.

COMMANDMENTS OF DIRECT SUPERVISION MANAGEMENT

Political scientist Linda Zupan, of Washington State University, has suggested that the mere existence of a cohesive management philosophy helps set direct supervision jails apart from traditional ones. Their basic management principles, as identified by the National Institute of Corrections, are:

1. **Effective Control.** The managers must be in total control of the facility at all times. There cannot be areas under de facto control of inmates.
2. **Effective Supervision.** Staff must be in direct contact with inmates and rely heavily on personal interaction with inmates for supervision. Manageable staff-inmate ratios are critical for effective supervision.
3. **Competent Staff.** Recruitment, training, and leadership by management are necessary for direct super-

vision to operate as intended.

4. **Safety of Staff and Inmates.** The basic mission of a jail is to keep inmates safe and secure and not expose staff to undue risk.
5. **Manageable and Cost-Effective Operations.** Running a less dangerous institution allows for more architectural options, at reduced cost, providing an incentive for inmates to maintain acceptable standards of behavior.
6. **Effective Communication.** Frequent communication between staff and inmates and among staff is critical.
7. **Classification and Orientation.** Inmates should be closely observed in the first 48 hours of confinement (when suicide risk is greatest) and oriented to the operation of the setting. A key to being able to provide expectations of positive behavior is identifying and selecting out individuals who will not conform to behavior norms of the living unit.
8. **Justice and Fairness.** Conditions of incarceration must respect inmates' constitutional rights. Inmates must believe that they will be treated fairly and that there are administrative remedies for disputes.

RESOLUTION ISOLATION OF STAFF FROM INMATES

August 1984

WHEREAS, the American Correctional Association advocates that effectively trained professional correctional staff directly supervise manageably sized groups of properly classified, general population inmates in medium and maximum security institutions; and

WHEREAS, there appears to be a trend in correctional management and architecture to design and operate the inmate housing areas in all correctional facilities using physical barriers that isolate staff from general population inmates; and

WHEREAS, such physical separation of staff from inmates diminishes the professional role of the correctional worker in that the physical barriers impede the correctional workers' ability to proactively direct inmates' behavior in positive directions and to avoid the alienation of staff and inmates.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: that the American Correctional Association here assembled places itself on record as being opposed to a philosophy of inmate management that relies principally on remote surveillance for the direct supervision of inmates within general population housing areas.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the physical structure, inmate management strategy, and deployment of staff in correctional institutions be orientated toward the proactive prevention of undesirable inmate behavior through the identification and resolution of causative factors in a manner consistent with public staff, and inmate safety.

SPECIAL FOCUS ON: COMPARISON OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT SUPERVISION FACILITIES

Part I: Research Findings

DETENTION REPORTER

October 1989

This "Special Focus" article is the first of a two-part series that summarizes the newly-released findings of a National Institute of Corrections (NIC) research effort.

NIC grant GG-1 sponsored an extensive comparison of direct and indirect supervision facilities, producing the *Final Report: A Comparison of Direct and Indirect Supervision Facilities* in June, 1989. The project Co-Directors, Jay Farbstein, Ph.D. and Richard E. Wener, Ph.D., have approved the application of the following excerpts from their report.

I. INTRODUCTION

Purpose. This report describes a study that attempts to quantify the differences between direct and indirect supervision and to specify the design implications of each mode so that jurisdictions faced with changing or expanding their correctional programs will have a more sound basis for choosing between them.

Definitions. Modern indirect supervision facilities have been shaped by corrections

tradition, changing views of prisoners rights, and technology. The most highly regarded layout consists of a central, enclosed control booth with one or more officers overlooking a dayroom surrounded by single cells (often referred to as a modular or podular plan, with an individual unit referred to as a "pod"). A variation is to surround the dayroom with multiple occupancy cells or dorms. Pods usually contain 48 to 60 beds which are further subdivided into 12- to 15-bed units, though, in some cases, a single control booth may observe closer to 100 cells. Durable, vandal-resistant building systems, fixtures, and finishes are commonly used. It is typical to find elaborate electronic detection, locking, and communication systems, all operated from the control station.

The primary functions of the correctional officer in indirect supervision facilities is to operate the control systems, observe inmate behavior, provide limited intervention in response to minor infractions, and call for backup staff response in the event of a major incident. In

many such facilities, officers communicate with inmates using a public address or intercom system. Staff safety is provided by a physical barrier placed between them and the inmates. Inmate security is provided by the use of individual cells and the ability of staff to muster a response team in the event of an incident.

The operational and physical environments of direct supervision facilities take a different approach to management. They are designed to express the expectation of acceptable behavior by the inmates. The physical design might be similar in overall configuration to indirect supervision facilities

The operational and physical environments of direct supervision facilities take a different approach to management.

(with single cells arrayed around a dayroom), but often would also include added amenities such as carpeting, upholstered furnishings, several television spaces, game tables, and exercise equipment. Most important, correctional officers are stationed inside the living unit

with the inmates, not separated from them by a barrier.

Personal interaction with the inmates is one of the primary duties of the officers in the **direct** supervision model. Security is heavily dependent upon the ability of highly trained staff to detect and defuse potential problems. Officers walk through and control the entire living unit, eliminating de facto inmate controlled territories.

Direct supervision pods of 48 to 60 beds are not further subdivided, so that the officer can circulate among all the inmates without having to unlock doors. This also allows special use areas to be created within a much larger continuous dayroom space. The larger living area contributes to normalization of the environment and increases the tendency of inmates to gravitate into smaller, compatible groups.

Physical amenities have one of two purposes in these facilities. First, they allow the inmates to fulfill basic needs independently. These are

...the officer can circulate among all the inmates without having to unlock doors.

needs that the officers would have to fill if the amenity were not there, taking the officer away from the primary task of inmate supervision. For ex-

ample, inmates are given access to controls for lights in their cells. The other possible function of an amenity is its use in setting up expectations of rational and cooperative inmate behavior.

The combination of physical amenities and continual interaction between inmates and staff facilitates the use of behavior management techniques. If an inmate exhibits inappropriate behavior, the correctional officer's job is to recognize it and respond immediately. Consequences can range from restricting privileges to removing the inmate to a less desirable, more secure section of the facility. Inmates who are cooperative and well-behaved enjoy the privileges of a nicer environment. The ability to regain lost privileges gives inmates the motivation to improve their behavior. The power to manage the institution is taken away from dominant inmates and given to the correctional officers.

Some institutions are hybrids of the two idealized types of settings described above. For example, a facility which has control booths can, in addition, post officers directly in housing units. Finishes and furnishings in either type of

facility can range from those that are soft and commercial to those that are hard and institutional. The interactions

between staff and inmates can be anywhere from formal and limited to informal and ongoing. But the single feature distinguishing direct supervision is the constant presence of the officer in the living unit.

This points to the issue the present study is intended to address. To date most of the information on the effects of **direct** supervision is based upon anecdotes from those using and happy with the method or from case studies of individual institutions. These studies report reductions in violence, homosexual rape, and vandalism, together with improved staff morale, greater job satisfaction, and reduction of staff stress. There is little evidence substantiated by recognized methods of inquiry to support or refute the claims being made for **direct** supervision. There has been no systematic, large scale comparison of **direct** and **indirect** supervision institutions.

Evaluation Issues. It was the intention of this project to explore the following types of issues for the two types of facilities. (Note that for some issues sufficiently reliable data were not able to be collected).

Cost. The cost of construction, operating costs for staffing, maintenance, and repairs.

Staff Impacts. Objective and subjective measures of staff injuries and use of sick time.

Objective information on staffing ratios.

Safety and Security. Objective and subjective measures of physical assaults, suicide attempts, and escapes.

Environmental-Behavior Issues. The relationships between the built environment and behavior, such as the impact of soft furnishings, finishes, and inmate control of surroundings on such outcomes as incidents and vandalism. These features may or may not contribute to the overall management approach.

Design Issues. An overview of the range of design options associated with each supervision type including single versus multiple occupancy, types of finishes and furnishings, etc.

Impact of Overcrowding. The extent of overcrowding and subjective impressions of the physical and operational ability to cope with it.

Research Hypothesis. Our operating hypothesis, based on previous research, was that the direct supervision institutions would demonstrate a number of benefits compared to indirect supervision institutions. We expect them to report a greater level of safety for inmates and staff without reducing security. They would show increased levels of staff-inmate contact and more quality contact (longer duration; more personal). We

would also expect less use of staff sick leave, less inmate utilization of health care services, and less vandalism.

Direct supervision settings are expected to be able to cope better with overcrowding.

Within this model, it will be important to control for other variables such as staffing ratios, "hardness or softness" of the environment, the availability of resources, and the type of inmate (long versus short time, type of offense, etc.).

Overview of Methods. This project adopted a two-phased approach: Phase I involved the mailing of a detailed survey to a broad sample of direct and indirect supervision prisons and jails. Phase II consisted of in-depth onsite case studies at seven facilities.

Phase I: Survey. A 19-page questionnaire was distributed to a sample of direct and indirect supervision jails and prisons.

Phase II: Case Study Methods. In the second phase of the study, we sought to collect more detailed data at a smaller number of institutions concerning the physical environment as well as the behaviors and attitudes of users. Several modes were used for data gathering, including survey instruments, interview formats, and searches of administrative or archival data.

II. FINDINGS FROM CASE STUDIES

A. Behavioral Tracking.

Tracking data provide a picture of the interactions that take place in the jails and prisons - where, how and with whom officers and inmates communicate. While the picture is complicated by special local conditions and design variations, patterns emerge which highlight the comparison between direct and indirect supervision facilities.

There are several consistent differences between the four

Case Study Sites. The following sites were selected for case studies:

Roanoke City Jail, Virginia (RCJ)

Pima County Jail, Tucson, Arizona (PIMA)

Main Detention Facility, Contra Costa County, CA (added to the original sample) (CCC)

Ross Correctional Institution, OH (CHL)

Leiber Correctional Institution, SC (LCI)

Riverfront State Prison, NJ (RSP)

Northern State Prison, NJ (NSP)

direct supervision facilities as compared with the three indirect supervision facilities. The indirect facilities show a lower level of interaction overall and the interactions which do occur tend to be of a briefer duration (that is, most

...rated their facility as having less risk of sexual assault. ...

are quick exchanges, with fewer long conversations).

In parallel, the amount of time which correctional officers in indirect facilities spend in any living unit is lower than for direct supervision facilities. (Note: The data for RSP and NSP represent a composite of the pair of living units supervised by correctional officers).

Partly as a result, the amount of interaction between staff and inmates is considerably lower in indirect supervision facilities than in direct supervision ones. Officers in indirect facilities (except NSP) experience a far higher proportion of staff-to-staff (versus staff-to-inmate) interactions than do officers in direct facilities. In other words, direct supervision officers spend a higher percentage of their time interacting with inmates than do indirect supervision officers.

RCJ is the extreme example of this phenomenon, where officers spend most of their time in control stations away from

living units, interacting with other officers. The greatest staff-to-inmate interaction is seen at CHIL, where officers spend most of their time interacting with inmates in dayrooms.

Direct supervision and indirect supervision facilities were similar in the way officer behavior was affected by having a second officer present. We noted (both in the formal data as well as in informal observations) that with a second officer present, both officers tend to spend more time in or near the officer station, and more time interacting with each other than with inmates.

This information has implications for responses to overcrowding. In some settings, policy states that when inmate populations exceed certain levels (65 at CCC) a second correctional officer is added to the unit. While the second officer may be needed, our data suggest that he/she may also detract from the desired operation of direct supervision. Under the stress of the job, correctional officers appear to be drawn together and away from inmate contact.

B. Questionnaires

Perceptions of Inmates and Staff at Jails. Inmate respondents in the direct supervision jails rated their contacts with officers as more friendly and less hostile. They saw the of-

ficers as doing a better job protecting inmate safety and responding more quickly in case of an emergency. They indicated there was less vandalism, more privacy (especially for toilet use), and that the facilities were cleaner. They rated time in these facilities as less stressful.

On the negative side, these direct supervision facilities were clearly rated as more crowded than the indirect supervision jail. This validates objective data that those particular direct supervision facilities were indeed much more crowded. A number of issues which were closely related to crowding were seen as problems by inmates in the direct supervision facilities (i.e., harder access to TV's, phones, etc.).

There were also some inconsistencies among items. For example, inmates in the indirect supervision jail rated officers as involved more in counseling and casual chatting (in spite of clear tracking data showing much less interaction at this facility).

The view from the correctional officers was generally similar to those of inmates. Officers in the direct supervision jails rated interaction with inmates as more frequent and more positive than did officers in the indirect supervision jail. They rated their facility as having less risk of sexual assault, as safer for officers, and as affording a better

response time in case of emergencies than did **indirect** supervision officers.

The **direct** supervision facilities were seen by officers as better designed to facilitate surveillance, cleaner, and easier for inmate movement. Consistent with inmate ratings, the officers also saw crowding, with its related space and facilities problems, as a much more severe problem in the **direct** supervision facilities.

Perceptions of Inmates and Staff at Prisons. Inmates in the direct supervision prisons rated their settings as having more officer contact, and said that the contact was less formal, more friendly, and less hostile than did inmates in the indirect supervision facilities. They saw less chance of a correctional officer-inmate attack, fewer fights, and faster correctional officer response to emergencies. They felt less stressed than inmates in the indirect supervision prisons, as indicated by lower scores on the somatic complaint scale. They also felt the living units were cleaner, less vandalized, and better in appearance.

As in the jails, however, inmates in **direct** supervision prisons rated their settings as significantly more crowded than did **indirect** supervision inmates. Possibly as a consequence, they also saw risk of inmate-on-inmate attacks, and

sexual assaults as greater (largely because of shared rooms)

The staff data for prisons is not as clear. Officers in **direct** supervision prisons indicated that they had more interaction with inmates than did those in **direct** supervision facilities. They also felt the facilities offered better surveillance, better designed staff control areas, and were cleaner. **Indirect** supervision officers, however, rated their prisons somewhat better in terms of ease of contacting another officer and lower risk of sexual assault. They saw their setting as less crowded and having more adequate resources in terms of TV's, phones, and cell privacy.

C. Interviews

Overall Impressions from the Interviews. Some of the **direct** supervision institutions received highly positive comments, along the lines of "this is the best facility I've ever been in." The facilities were characterized as low stress settings. Overcrowding, where it existed, clearly made inmates more negative about settings.

At the **indirect** supervision institutions, comments were neutral to negative, with some inmates finding the settings rather stressful. Staff in the **indirect** facilities bemoaned the lack of visibility of inmate areas. Inmates seemed to find these

facilities more stressful than did direct supervision inmates, and particularly noted difficulties in staff contact.

Safety and Security. Inmates in direct supervision facilities generally express feeling quite safe.

In **indirect** supervision facilities, there is clearly less of a feeling of safety among both inmates and staff. Inmates do not feel protected by staff and have to fend for themselves.

Privacy. Staff and inmates were asked the following questions:

Inmates: Does the housing unit give you the privacy you need?

Staff: Does your work setting give you the privacy you need to do your job?

Privacy is not related so much to a supervision mode as to other factors (single versus double occupancy cells, crowding, noise, placement of telephones, provision of offices). Inmates in double cells complained of a lack of privacy as did those in a

... the living units were cleaner, less vandalized, and better in appearance.

facility with toilets visible from the dayroom. Ease of access to rooms is an important factor in inmates' perceived

privacy. Privacy for phone conversations and places for staff and/or inmates to gather for a private conversation were felt to be important. Staff needed a place for paperwork, though this did not need to be an enclosed control booth. In one of the indirect supervision facilities, staff complained that inmates had privacy from staff but not from each other.

Staff-Inmate Interaction. A key difference between supervision modes becomes clear with these questions. In direct supervision facilities, staff-inmate interaction is described as frequent, professional to pleasant in nature, and inmates feel that they have easy access to staff when they need or want it. Officers feel that they get to know the inmates well (which helps in evaluating them). Officers state the need to keep contacts from getting too personal or friendly.

In indirect supervision facilities, the quantity and quality of interactions is described as being much lower. At an indirect jail, inmates described feeling isolated from staff and unable to get an officer's attention when needed. They admitted going out of their way to hassle the officers, who in their turn, perceived much verbal abuse from inmates. Between the indirect and hybrid prisons, there was a considerable difference in interactions due to the character of the staff station. Where it was enclosed,

inmates reported unpleasant interactions and officers reported less frequent contacts. Inmates in both the indirect supervision prisons reported contacts to be only occasional, while officers saw them as more frequent. Both groups reported typical interactions to be perfunctory--brief discussions over unit business.

Care of Facilities. There was little difference in the level of care (or degree of vandalism) reported at the various sites. All reported a rather good to good level of care. At some of the direct supervision facilities, this was attributed to the clear expectations, reward system, and continual observation by staff.

Crowding. By and large, the indirect supervision facilities in our sample were not overcrowded, so our results are not enlightening regarding any differences in coping that might be due to supervision. By contrast, all the direct supervision facilities in our sample were experiencing some degree of overcrowding. This varied from crowding in one or two units, to distributed double bunking of about 40% of the rooms throughout the facility, to one facility that was greatly overcrowded throughout (a second facility under these conditions did not supply interview data). All comments agreed that overcrowding leads to negative outcomes for those who experience it.

Among the strategies for coping with overcrowding, adding equipment (phones and TVs) and staff, as well as using the single occupancy rooms as rewards and the overcrowding areas for new arrivals and short-termers, were mentioned.

Control Over the Environment. The direct supervision facilities generally seem to provide inmates more control over lights and sleeping room doors, with two of the prisons even supplying inmates with their own keys. This is in keeping with a philosophy of encouraging responsible behavior.

Synthesis: Features to Keep or Change. Inmates and staff were asked which aspects of the housing unit's design and operation worked well and what changes they would make.

There were no clear contrasts between the supervision modes. In general, respondents appreciated dayrooms or openness, visibility, and provision of equipment (when adequate) and complained when visibility was impaired or equipment inadequate. Single rooms were greatly praised for their provision of privacy. Staffing at less than the full complement and overcrowding were uniformly rejected. Inmates in the indirect supervision prisons clearly wanted more access to fresh air, reduced noise, and greater facilities. They also criticized the lack of a continual officer presence. Staff in these facilities also criticized the intermittent officer presence.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE REPORTER, we will summarize the overall research conclusions from this landmark research project.

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SPECIAL FOCUS ON: COMPARISON OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT SUPERVISION FACILITIES

PART II: Conclusions

DETENTION REPORTER

November 1989

This Special Focus article is the second of a two-part series that summarizes the newly-released findings of a National Institute of Corrections (NIC) research effort.

NIC grant GG- I sponsored an extensive comparison of direct and indirect supervision facilities, producing the Final Report: *A Comparison of Direct and Indirect Supervision Facilities* in June, 1989. The project Co-Directors, Jay Farbstein, Ph.D. and Richard E. Wener, Ph.D., have approved the publication of the following *excerpts* from their report.

I. INTRODUCTION

The last issue of the *Detention Reporter* summarized several key findings from the research effort. The study attempted to quantify the differences between direct and indirect supervision and to specify the design implications of each mode so that jurisdictions faced with changing or expanding their correctional programs will have a more sound basis for choosing between them.

The previous issue:

Defined - direct and indirect supervision;

Identified - evaluation issues;

Offered - research hypothesis;

Reviewed - methods; and

Summarized - findings.

This issue will summarize the conclusions of the authors of the report.

II. CONCLUSIONS

The study has revealed some of the multiple facets of direct supervision, as summarized in the following responses to the research questions.

What is Direct Supervision? (Or, "Indirect Supervision, By Any Other Name")

Many prisons describe themselves as direct supervision, even though they have enclosed control booths at the housing units with at least some of their staff stationed in them. This makes it difficult to classify prisons and to identify ones that are truly limited to

indirect supervision. The indirect supervision prisons in our study actually best represented the hybrid direct/indirect supervision model, with some aspects of each mode. Jails, by contrast, appear to more closely follow the direct/indirect dichotomy, though some direct supervision jails are provided with enclosed control booths, either because the system committed to direct supervision after plans were finalized, or as a fall back or failsafe measure.

How Is Each Supervision Mode Perceived By Management?

There is a trend toward direct supervision facilities being rated somewhat better than indirect ones. Managers of direct supervision facilities were significantly more likely than managers of indirect facilities to feel that direct supervision was an appropriate design and management form.

In What Ways Do Direct and Indirect Facilities Differ Physically?

The presence of an enclosed control booth in the housing unit characterizes indirect supervision facilities (though this is not a decisive differentiation). We also found that direct supervision facilities are more likely to be softer and

more normalized and their cells are likely to have more amenities. Sanitation levels, cleanliness, and overall condition were not found to differ.

How Critical is the Built Environment?

An improved quality of environment contributes to inmate management and other beneficial outcomes, setting up positive behavioral expectations and norms. Direct supervision administrators rate a quality environment as appropriate and inmates were more favorable toward conditions in the direct supervision facilities. But, it is not clear how soft an environment needs to be: at what point the desired expectations are communicated to inmates and staff.

A great deal of effort in correctional facility design has gone into achieving unobstructed visual observation. Good visibility was uniformly praised and poor visibility decried where they were per-

There is considerable evidence that direct facilities are seen as safer than indirect supervision ones.

ceived to exist. Of course, if staff are not limited to a fixed vantage point from a control booth, the geometry of the unit becomes less important. With staff moving about, the openness of a direct supervision dayroom (if there are not significant blind spots or

hidden areas) appears to suffice. Visibility from a fixed control station is all important in indirect supervision facilities.

The provision--or not--of an enclosed control booth (which is assumed to be provided at indirect supervision facilities) seems to be quite critical in direct supervision facilities. While many indirect supervision systems appear to believe that the booth is needed for security or as refuge, it is clear from observations and interviews that it is possible to do without it very successfully.

Is One Mode Safer Than The Other For Inmates or Staff?

There is considerable evidence that direct facilities are seen as safer than indirect supervision ones. From our mailout survey, we found that direct supervision administrators rated their facilities as better on variables of safety and reported fewer incidents of violence (at border-

line significance levels) than did indirect administrators. Our other data

appears to have been distorted by extreme overcrowding at two of the direct facilities. However, when crowding (in the form of double bunking) at the prisons is taken into account, inmates appear to feel considerably safer in direct su-

per supervision facilities. The direct supervision facilities were seen by inmates as providing an acceptably quick response (under a minute), while the indirect supervision facilities were felt to have unacceptably long response times (in the 3 to 5 minute range).

How Do Staff and Inmates Interact in the Two Modes?

Observations of staff-inmate interaction showed that officers in direct supervision facilities do indeed spend their time within the living units, largely in interaction with inmates. In contrast with indirect facilities, direct supervision officers regularly spoke of stopping problems before they start. Staff, rather than inmates, appear to be in control of direct supervision facilities. Indirect supervision staff spend more time with other staff and correspondingly less time interacting with inmates.

Does Supervision Mode Have an Impact on Coping With Overcrowding?

Crowding (occupancy above design or rate capacity) has a negative or distorting effect on the results at direct supervision facilities. The direct supervision housing units we studied were much larger than the indirect supervision and far more over capacity. However, the supervision sites seem to hold up fairly well under what in some cases is extreme overcrowding. For

some factors, the overcrowded direct supervision facilities are operating as well as, and in some cases better than, the indirect supervision facilities. But in some ways, the crowding seems to strike at the foundation of the principles of direct supervision. For example, one sees officers spending more time with other officers and at their desks than the direct supervision model would support. Officers also indicate that they are increasingly unfamiliar and out of touch with inmates. Adding extra officers on the living unit as population increases does not fully compensate for dealing with additional inmates. Planned and actual living unit size is a key factor in comparing supervision outcomes, staffing effectiveness, and efficiency.

Are There Differences in Cost Between The Two Modes?

There is evidence from other studies that direct supervision facilities may cost less to build and operate than do indirect ones. Our studies are not conclusive, but suggest that this may be the case. Three measures of cost were considered: construction cost, staffing cost, and maintenance. The results are shown in the following table.

Table III 3-21: Correctional Facility Costs

	Average DS Prison	Average IS Prison	DS Jail	IS Jail
Construction Cost				
Per Bed	\$41,600	\$73,000	\$32,400	\$50,400
Staffing Cost				
Per Inmate*	\$10,900	\$17,300	\$28,300	\$42,300
Maintenance Cost				
Per Inmate*	\$ 4,200	\$ 6,700	\$10,900	\$16,300

* Annual

The average direct supervision prison cost per bed was 40% lower than for the average indirect supervision prison. The direct supervision jail we visited cost 45% less to build per inmate than the indirect supervision jail.

Operational costs were

similarly lower for the direct supervision cases. Staffing costs were 37% lower for the average direct supervision prison and 33% lower for the direct supervision jail. Maintenance costs were 37% lower for the direct supervision prisons and 33% lower for the direct supervision jail.

Table III 3-16: Staffing and Supervision of Facilities

Facility	Degree Direct Supervision	Avg. No of Correctional Staff/Unit (1)	Avg. No of Total Staff Per Unit (1)	Staff Inmate (Per bed)
PIMA =	Very Direct	1	1	1:36
RCJ =	Very Indirect	2 (2)	2 (2)	1:40
CHIL =	Very Direct	0.65	2.9	1.30
CCC =	Very Direct	2	2	1.49
LCI =	Direct	4	7.5	1.17
NSP =	Indirect	2	3	1.40
RSP =	Hybrid/Indirect	2(3)	3(3)	1.23

(1) during daytime hours
 (2) two COs cover eight pods
 (3) two COs and one supervisor per two units

Staffing and Supervision. Staffing ratios are difficult to compare due to program differences between the facilities. Regardless of the difficulties for program differences, there is no clear correlation between staffing and supervision styles. It appears that program choices affect staffing ratios more than supervision type.

How Do Managers Choose a Supervision Model?

Given the currency of the debate within the corrections field concerning direct supervision (and endorsements from some professional associations), it may be difficult for a correctional system to avoid facing a conscious choice of supervision modes when planning a new facility. With considerable (even if inconclusive) evidence pointing to benefits of direct supervision (and little or no evidence that alternative models are superior), why do some systems select direct supervision while others con-

... direct supervision facilities may cost less to build and operate than do indirect ones.

sider and reject it?

Reasons may include the notion that direct supervision facilities are not consonant with some corrections professional's deepest feelings about what a correctional setting should be like. These

facilities may be seen as being too nice for inmates, who after all are supposed to be punished. Again, the supervision mode may not represent what some see as being expected of an officer (interaction, communications, and inmate management). If the impression of the supervision model runs counter to deeply held feelings or beliefs, it may be rejected no matter how much objective evidence is marshaled on its behalf. Direct supervision requires very considerable change for a system which is operating by indirect supervision and this change may be perceived as unnecessary risk-taking by decision makers.

Conclusion: Direct Supervision Requires a Commitment to Make It Work.

There must be a commitment from top management that direct supervision works and contributes to the organization's mission. Management must believe that it is viable and effective

and must make a commitment of resources, manpower, training, public relations, and so forth. An effective clas-

sification system to screen inmates and alternative settings for those inmates who cannot succeed in a direct supervision unit are also essential.

There has also been a concern expressed that, with many sys-

tems planning new direct supervision facilities, one or more will put the officer in the housing unit without the training and the classification of inmates required to make the direct supervision system work. This could lead to a major disaster, such as an officer being killed, which has an unfair negative reflection on direct supervision in general.

We observed some situations in which officers were in direct contact with inmates without the benefits of an explicit management commitment to direct supervision or the kind of training and support which accompanies that philosophy. Under those circumstances, officers were more likely to feel exposed and endangered, and were generally uncomfortable with that level of inmate contact. By contrast, in explicit direct supervision systems, inmate contact was seen as reasonable, natural, and safe.

III. SUMMARY

To summarize, direct supervision facilities appear to cost less or the same as indirect supervision ones to build and operate, require less or the same level of staffing, and achieve desirable outcomes in terms of meeting their missions, reducing stress, improving safety and security, and so forth. If there is a drawback to direct supervision facilities it is that they may take more effort and com-

mitment to plan, train for, and manage.

On the other hand, and even with the apparent advantages of direct supervision, it must be stated that some of the indirect supervision facilities in our surveys performed quite well in many ways. Well managed, well designed indirect supervision correctional facilities must not be looked down upon, particularly since so many of them are hybrids with partial direct supervision characteristics. Such facilities would appear to fall within an acceptable range in terms of critical outcomes. Thus, while our research shows clearly that direct supervision does work and can work very well (especially when crowding is limited), it does not demonstrate that indirect supervision does not work.

Two factors could account for the lack of stronger differences in our study. First, the

selected direct supervision facilities were uniformly overcrowded and experiencing double bunking at moderate to severe levels. The indirect supervision facilities, by contrast, were largely at capacity, using single bed rooms. The direct supervision facilities were operating at a clear disadvantage. It is very possible that the questionnaire ratings would have been more positive for direct supervision at lower population levels.

Second, an overview of each of the indirect supervision facility case studies suggests that they may be operating well in spite of rather than because of their design and management philosophy. The indirect supervision design and operation seems to clearly make the officer's job more difficult, and at times seems to require increased staffing.

IV. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It has become obvious that, in spite of our careful attention to selection of case study sites, the results are not (and cannot be) a simple comparison of direct versus indirect supervision. Differences in supervision style clearly existed and appeared to have an impact, but facilities also differed in significant ways such as unit size, degree population was over capacity and staff-inmate ratios.

There are other limitations on the generalizability of our findings. We only looked at relatively new, medium security, adult male institutions. Because of the problems of "hybridization," we were only able to have a limited sample of indirect supervision prisons. We have been careful, however, not to compare prisons with jails.

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NEW GENERATION JAILS

W. Raymond Nelson

December 1983

INTRODUCTION

The term new generation jail refers to new or remodeled jails that are designed around a podular architectural design in conjunction with a direct supervision inmate management orientation. While jails of this style were first introduced in the Federal system nearly 10 years ago, it has only been in the past few years that the operational principles and dynamics have been documented and the concept has begun to gain acceptance in local jurisdictions. A national trend appears to be emerging that favors this architectural design and management approach in both detention and sentenced facilities.

In an effort to document differences between traditional linear jails and podular/direct supervision (new generation) jails, Mike O'Toole of the NIC Jail Center collected comparative data from the two types of facilities. Anecdotal information and general observations had seemed to indicate the new generation jails were at least as secure as traditional linear jails and provided a higher level of safety for both staff and inmates. Collecting and presenting data to demonstrate this, however,

posed some difficult problems. A uniform reporting system used by the four federal jails (MCC's) allows for good comparison between those facilities and other federal institutions, but there are no uniform reporting procedures among local jails. In addition, general terms like "assault," "escape," and "vandalism" take on highly specific definitions that vary to some degree from locality to locality, making any one-to-one comparisons meaningless. On the other hand, if the gross data collected from new generation jails are compared to the gross, or aggregate, data from traditional jails, it becomes apparent that significant differences do exist between the two, particularly in relation to staff and inmate safety.

The traditional jails selected for comparison are from jurisdictions that are contemplating new generation concepts in planning for their new facilities. They also represent the range of capacity typical of jails that might consider the new concept. Data were collected from 10 jurisdictions; those excluded from the final report were facilities that did not provide the necessary data and those whose data

elements were inconsistent with others in the sample.

The concept of a podular design with direct supervision has now been endorsed by several national professional correctional authorities. The American Correctional Association endorsed this approach in their publication entitled "*Design Guides for Secure Adult Correctional Facilities*," published in November of 1983. The American Institute of Architecture's Committee on Architecture for Justice appointed a subcommittee in 1983 to draft a position in favor of new generation jail concepts for adoption by the AIA. The National Institute of Correction's Advisory Board took a formal position

The term new generation jail refers to new or remodeled jails that are designed around a podular architectural design in conjunction with a direct supervision inmate management orientation.

on the podular design and direct supervision management concept at their November 21, 1983 meeting. Their position is worded as follows:

The Advisory Board of the National Institute of Corrections advocates that jurisdictions that are contemplating the

construction or renovation of jails and prisons should explore the appropriateness of the podular direct supervision (new generation) concept of jail and prison design and management for their new facilities. The NIC Advisory Board believes that the economic, social, and professional values explicit in the concept of jail and prison design and management exemplify an appropriate direction for detention of persons who require incarceration. Evidence indicates such facilities are most cost effective in terms of both construction and operation. The Board instructs the Director of the National Institute of Corrections to give emphasis to the dissemination of information; the training of jail and prison practitioners; the provision of technical assistance; the formulation of standards and policy; and a continuous evaluation of the effectiveness of the "Podular/Direct Supervision" concept of jail and prison design and management, in addition to existing NIC programs.

The appendices to this article contain information from a collection of documents prepared by W.R. Nelson and Mike O'Toole of the National Institute of Corrections Jails Division in Longmont, Colorado. It also contains information about some of the facilities where the concept has been introduced. Since docu-

mentation of this concept is very recent and still evolving, information on the podular/direct supervision concept will be continuously updated as appropriate new material is received.

NEW GENERATION JAILS: THE PODULAR/DIRECT SUPERVISION CONCEPT

Despite lofty claims of advanced practices and standards compliance, there is serious doubt as to whether most of our nearly 500 new jails will resolve fundamental custody problems that have traditionally plagued American jails. In the United States, it is estimated that 478 local jails of all shapes, sizes, and varieties are currently proposed or under construction, at a cost exceeding \$3 billion.¹ While there is a great variation in the design of these facilities, most have one thing in common: their proponents claim the jails will be "state-of-the-art," on the "leading edge," or "new generation." Few are inclined to claim credit for building a "past generation" jail.

But this admittedly trite term—"new generation" --- can be legitimately applied to certain new jails that have made a significant departure from traditional management practices. Moreover, the physical structures of these new jails are designed to facilitate these practices. This non-traditional management and design con-

cept has been called "non-barrier architecture" or, more esoterically, "podular/direct supervision." But the more popular term is the "new generation jail."

To develop a more precise definition of the term for the purposes of this discussion, the approximately 1,000 jails that have been constructed during the past decade have been classified into three basic architectural/management categories:

- **Linear/Intermittent Surveillance;**
- **Podular/Remote Surveillance; and**
- **Podular/Direct Supervision.**

While all new jails have their own unique characteristics, and were not designed according to this simple classification system, this identification of three basic models is, nonetheless, a useful means of organizing observations and conveying a general concept.

Linear/Intermittent Surveillance

The most common category is what will be referred to as the Linear/Intermittent Surveillance model, a design patterned after the jails of our not-so-glorious past. The design is generally rectangular, with corridors leading to either single or multiple occupancy cells arranged at right angles to the corridor. With

several exceptions, most of our eighteenth and nineteenth century institutions were of this Linear/Intermittent Surveillance type.

The management of a linear jail is, of necessity, oriented toward intermittent surveillance and supervision. Since jail officers cannot see around corners, they must patrol to see into cells or housing areas. When in a position to observe one cell, they are seldom able to observe others; thus, while the inmates are not being directly observed, they are essentially unsupervised. Prisoners who require close supervision have been known to create horrendous management problems. Examples of the resulting barbarity and security breaches need not be enumerated to correctional practitioners.

The critical variables that determine the severity of problems associated with the Linear/Intermittent Surveillance category are the frequency and thoroughness of patrols and the aggressiveness of inmates in multiple-occupancy cells. Once a problem is detected, help usually must be summoned to resolve it. The interval between patrols is a management variable not easily controlled, given the exigencies of the jail setting and the influence of inmates on patrol frequency. In a linear/intermittent jail, inmates have the intervals between patrols to make escape preparations, fashion

weapons, assault others, etc. Because destruction of fixtures and furnishings also occurs with regularity during unsupervised intervals, it is necessary to install expensive vandal-proof housing materials.

The surveillance deficiencies of the linear design were recognized early in the history of prisons. One of the earliest prison reformers, Jeremy Bentham, introduced the "panoptican" model,² a circular, multi-floored structure with cells arranged around the circumference or outer wall of the building. From a position in the center of the circle, an officer could observe all cells in the cell house. Despite his strong advocacy for his panoptican concept, it was never fully adopted in his lifetime.

The most prominent example of the panoptican design, and the fulfillment of Bentham's dream, is the circular cell houses at the Illinois State Prison at Joliet, constructed in 1924.³ At Joliet, the large scale of the panoptican design defeated the concept's utility, for it was difficult to determine who was being observed more effectively --- the officer or the inmates. The panoptican design did not prove to

be an effective architectural solution.

The surveillance deficiencies of the linear design were recognized early in the history of prisons.

Podular/Remote Surveillance

The panoptican design, however, may be considered the forerunner of our second category, the Podular/Remote Surveillance model.⁴ Under this approach, inmate housing areas are divided into "manageable-sized" units or pods. In typical units, single occupancy cells are clustered around a common area and a secure control booth from which an officer observes inmate activity. The design of the *Boulder County Jail* in Colorado and the *Ventura County Jail* in California are representative of the Podular/Remote surveillance model.

The size considered "manageable" varies with the user's definition as well as the constraints imposed by the size of the total population and separation requirements. In practice, unit size rarely exceeds 50 beds and generally is further divided into subsections of 12 or 16 to facilitate the control of negative inmate behavior.

The Podular/Remote Surveillance design facilitates a reac-

tive management style; i.e., it is organized to react to inmate management problems rather than to prevent them. From secure observation booths, staff have minimal contact with inmates; they are only in a position to observe and to summon help to react to inmate misconduct within a pod.

Anticipated negative behavior is further controlled by security doors, electronically closed and locked from the secure control booth. Cells are also equipped with vandalproof cast aluminum toilets and bowls, steel or concrete beds, and security hardware and furnishings. The principle strategies for inmate control are a reliance on some degree of sight surveillance, technological restraints, and responding to negative behavior only after it has occurred.

In many cases, the podular/remote model is reported as a significant improvement over the Linear/Intermittent Surveillance model. It has become popular with employee unions because staff are removed from contact with inmates, and assaults on staff have been reduced. In view of these benefits, the Podular/Remote Surveillance model is rapidly gaining in popularity and will probably overtake the Linear/Intermittent Surveillance model in future facility construction.

Podular/Direct Supervision

The third architectural/management category is the Podular/Direct Supervision model, introduced in 1974 by the Federal Prison system's (FPS) Metropolitan Correctional Centers (MCCs). In 1969, the Federal Prison System developed three prototype detention facilities. While the FPS had extensive experience operating institutions for sentenced prisoners, its experience with detention facilities was limited. Therefore, the FPS launched an extensive planning effort that sought to incorporate the thinking of experts in local jail management. The resulting architectural programs were strongly influenced by the "functional unit management concept," which had recently been developed in FPS institutions.⁵

Three architects from among the nation's leading firms were selected to design the Metropolitan Correctional Centers in New York, Chicago, and San Diego. In addition to obtaining original thinking from the field of architecture, a special working condition was imposed on the architects that prohibited each from consulting with the architects selected to design the other MCCs. While each of the MCCs reflected the individuality of its architect's response to essentially the same architectural program, they were all similar in that they effectively facilitated the

same required management orientation. The housing areas were divided into "manageable" units with the cells arranged around a common multi-purpose area.

In Chicago, the general population units contained 44 rooms; in the the New York and San Diego facilities, the units contained 48 rooms. The units were not further divided into smaller sub-units, nor were they equipped with secure control stations, indestructible furnishings, fixtures and finishes that were characteristic of the linear/intermittent and podular/remote approaches.

The management orientation of the resulting Podular/Direct Supervision category is considered to be proactive; i.e., it is organized to prevent negative inmate behavior before it occurs. The podular/direct model relies on staff's ability to supervise rather than on structural barriers or technological devices. Structure and technology are employed directly to facilitate staff efforts to control the population.

In the podular/direct model, each unit is staffed by one officer in direct control of 40 to 50 inmates. It is the responsibility of the officer to control the behavior of the inmates in his/her unit, keeping negative behavior to a minimum and reducing tension. In this model, the role of the management team is to structure the environmental forces

so that correctional officers will be successful in proactive control.

In the eight years that the MCCs have been in operation, a great deal has been learned about shaping environmental forces and structuring the officer's influence on the inmates to effectively prevent most common negative behaviors. There have been few murders, sexual assaults, or aggravated assaults. Suicides, contraband weapons, disturbances, escapes, vandalism, and graffiti are rare. Managers are pleased with the manageability of their facilities, and staff perceive the environment as safe, clean, and challenging.

Since the housing units are equipped with commercial-grade fixtures and furnishings rather than costly indestructible security equipment, the Podular/Direct Supervision facilities are less expensive to build. The cost of maintaining these institutions is also minimized because destructive inmate behavior is effectively controlled. Staffing ratios are reasonable, with a direct supervision ratio of 1 to 48; this compared to Texas State Jail Standards, which require a direct supervision ratio of 1 to 45.

Specific principles and dynamics for managing the Podular/Direct Supervision model have been identified which, when applied, consistently elicit a desired inmate

response. The application of these principles has satisfactorily confirmed that correctional workers can effectively manage the behavior of inmates so that the traditional problems of the American jail are neutralized.⁶ A discussion of these principles follows.

THE PRINCIPLES AND DYNAMICS OF NEW GENERATION JAIL MANAGEMENT

Principle I: Effective Control

A detention facility, by definition, is a controlled environment for those charged with a crime, awaiting a disposition, or serving a short sentence. Therefore, effective control of inmates is one of the primary objectives of any jail or program.

1. Total Control

The managers of podular direct supervision jails must be in total control of their jails at all times. Control should never be shared with inmates. When inmates are even temporarily unsupervised, they are, in effect, left in control of each other. Whenever an officer is reluctant to enter any part of the jail, the inmates, in effect, can be said to be in control of that part of the jail, even if temporarily.

2. Sound Perimeter Security

The physical security of the podular direct supervision

facility is concentrated on the perimeter. A strong perimeter security permits greater flexibility of internal operating procedures and increases staff safety. Staff in contact with inmates should never have the ability to cause the release of an inmate.

3. Population Divided Into Controllable Groups

Dividing the jail population so that jail administration will not have to deal with more than 50 inmates at any one time will facilitate their ability to remain in control. The administrator may very well wish to manage larger groups of inmates when it is considered appropriate; however, this option should be discretionary and not dictated by design.

4. Easily Surveillable Areas

The supervising officer should always be in a position to easily observe the area he/she controls. This should be facilitated by the design of the unit. The concept of "protectable space" which was developed in the environmental design of public housing and other public spaces vulnerable to theft and vandalism can be very effectively employed in an inmate housing unit.

5. Maximize Inmates' Inner Controls

One of the most significant elements of the principle of

effective control is to structure the inmate's environment so that his inner controls will be maximized. Just as most inmates have the capacity for negative behavior in order to achieve their ends, they also have the capacity to conform their behavior to the desires of the administration if that will serve to meet their needs. Many "street wise" inmates learn at an early age to manipulate their environment to their best advantage. In the traditional jail or prison environment, violent and destructive behavior is one of the means usually employed by inmates to effectively achieve their needs.

A proactive management approach to this problem is to manipulate the inmate's environment so that his critical needs are best achieved through compliant behavior and his negative deeds will consistently result in frustration. In such a custodial setting, the inmate has a significant investment in remaining in the general population.

The display of responsible behavior from unlikely inmates in new generation jail settings does not necessarily represent a miraculous change in their basic belief systems. They may merely be manipulating the environment in which they find themselves to their best advantage. They may very possibly revert to their more familiarly negative "modus operandi" whenever it ap-

pears to be in their best interests. However, the mission in a detention setting is not to bring about basic personality change, but to control inmate behavior, ensure staff and inmate safety, and protect public property.

Principle II: Effective Supervision

Direct staff supervision of inmates is requisite for the achievement of effective control. Effective supervision involves more than visual surveillance; it includes the use of all the human senses, as well as extensive personal interaction between staff and inmates. The elements of supervision proven effective in other human enterprise also can be productively applied in a detention setting.

1. Staff To-Inmate Ratio

The military has struggled with the concept of supervision ratios for centuries. While there are still no precise figures or absolute rules, past practice indicates that a platoon of approximately 44 men is a manageable group for military purposes. The experience of the past eight years in podular/direct supervision facilities indicates that an officer can effectively supervise 50 inmates, but it is still too early to determine the validity or reliability of this data. However, at the present time there is sufficient experience to establish 1-to-50

ratio as a reliable benchmark for detention facility design.

As one would reasonably assume, smaller groups are easier to supervise. However, the cost effectiveness of a lesser ratio has to be taken into consideration since it could represent a considerable increase in annual operating cost for large institutions. On the other hand, smaller institutions, e.g., under 200 may not be able to achieve the 1-to-50 ratio because of mandatory classification groupings.

When inmates are divided into groups of 16 or 12 as in the standard podular/remote surveillance facility, the separations serve as a severe impediment to direct supervision. To attempt to staff each of the subdivisions with an officer would result in an operating cost few communities could afford.

2. Officer In Control Of Unit

Effective supervision depends on the officers being in control of the unit. If an inmate challenges an officer's authority by failing to comply with verbal commands, the offending inmate must be removed from the unit. The inmate should only be returned when there is a clear understanding that he agrees to comply with all orders given by the officer. The inmate may need removal only for a brief time if it appears that he is responding to counseling and is prepared to

accept the officer's direction. On the other hand, the inmate may need to be placed in administrative segregation to await a disciplinary hearing. In either case, the unit officer should not be expected to contend with an inmate on his unit who is not agreeable to promptly obeying all lawful orders. The housing unit should always be viewed as the "officer's space" with the inmates in the role of the visitor; not vice versa, as is so often the case.

The principle that an officer must have the authority commensurate with his responsibility must not be confused with the old axiom that "the officer is always right." An institution must be managed by a clearly defined and understood set of policies and procedures, along with a good measure of common sense. When these are violated, management must promptly respond in an intelligent and equitable way.

3. *The Officer's Leadership Role*

One of the major sources of inmate violence is the struggle to assert leadership when a leadership void exists. This is a natural group response to such a situation in any segment of society. However, the struggle for leadership or the dominant role in an inmate group is usually violent and brutal. Inmate rapes, for example, are often tactics employed by inmates to exert their dominance over others.

In order to avoid this situation the officer must fill the leadership void and protect his or her role jealously. There is only room for one leader on a unit during any one shift and that must be the officer. Management's responsibility is to structure the unit environment to ensure that the officer remains the undisputed leader. Any inmate who vies for the leadership role has to be dealt with effectively, even if that involves his removal from the group.

4. *Frequent Supervision By Management*

Management must actively assume the responsibility for assuring that staff are successful in fulfilling their inmate supervisory responsibilities. This is achieved principally through the high visibility of managers in the housing units. The supervisor must ensure that the officer is performing his duties correctly, is achieving the desired results, and can be fully supported by management.

5. *Techniques Of Effective Supervision and Leadership*

A considerable body of knowledge has been collected and verified concerning effective supervision and leadership in all forms of human endeavors. These principles are also applicable to super-

vision and leadership in a podular direct supervision facility. Mastery of these techniques will enable the officer to accomplish his objectives skillfully and with a sense of professional competence.

There is only room for one leader on a unit during any one shift and that must be the officer.

The officer who practices the correct techniques of supervision and leadership on a daily basis will soon become expert in skills that are highly transferable. These skills will prove invaluable to the entire organization when the unit officer is eventually promoted to a supervisory position in the organization. All too often officers are promoted from the ranks to supervisory positions without the proper training and skills for the job. One of the residual benefits of a podular/direct supervision facility which practices the accepted techniques of effective supervision and leadership will be the attrition of highly skilled individuals into the supervisory and eventually the command ranks. The benefit to the officer exposed to such training and experience will be the acquisition of skills critical to the future advancement not usually so available to his peers on other assignments.

Principle III: Need For Competent Staff

In order to run an institution where successful operation is dependent upon the effectiveness of staff rather than technological devices, the staff must be competent. A community which places little value on this factor would be best advised not to consider a podular/direct supervision facility.

1. Recruitment of Qualified Staff

A basic requirement for acquiring a qualified staff is a

Qualified candidates do not have to be college graduates

formal recruitment program which recognizes the qualifications for officers to staff a podular/direct supervision facility. A candidate for such a position should have the ability to relate effectively to people, to become a leader, and to possess the capacity to learn the skills required of this position. Qualified candidates do not have to be college graduates, but should be capable of participating beneficially in the required training. Such candidates cannot be expected to be recruited at salaries lower than their road patrol counterparts.

2. Effective Training

In addition to basic correctional officer training, the officer needs to be trained in the history, philosophy and the principles and dynamics of new podular/direct supervision facilities. He should also receive training to develop the critical skills of effective supervision, leadership, management, and interpersonal communication.

3. Effective Leadership By Management

Even trained staff can only function as effectively as their leaders. As indicated previously, management must assume the responsibility for making staff effective. They must develop their staff through constructive supervision and leadership, ensure that they receive proper training, and maintain high recruitment standards.

Principle IV: Safety of Staff and Inmates

Probably the greatest concern about being incarcerated or seeking employment in a detention facility is personal safety. Our detention facilities have gained a reputation of danger and fear.

1. Critical To Mission And Public Expectations

Despite the general fear of jails in our society, there is a public expectation that inmates should be safe, and the staff who operate these facilities should not be exposed to undue hazards. The basic mission of a detention facility is to provide safe and secure custody of its wards until they are released.

2. Life Safety Codes

Prisons and jails are often the scenes of tragic fires. During the past 15 years, there have been more than a dozen mass-fatality fires in American correctional facilities. The fatalities from these fires occurred primarily from smoke inhalation which resulted from deficient evacuation plans and key control procedures. Any jail, regardless of architectural or management style, must be responsive to these critical issues.

3. Personal Liability

Millions of dollars have been paid in court-awarded damages to victims or their families as a result of personal injuries sustained in jails because of preventable, unsafe conditions. It is a travesty that these public funds were not spent in the first place to correct the unsafe conditions responsible for the injuries. The community now has to not only pay the damages and the attorneys' fees, but must

also correct the unsafe conditions after the fact.

4. Inmate Response to Unsafe Surroundings

A critical day-to-day element of this principle is how inmates respond to unsafe surroundings. Their response is rather predictable--self preservation. It is one of the basic instincts of man. Inmates attempt to enhance personal safety by acquiring defensive weapons, affiliating with a kindred group for common defense, presenting themselves as tough persons not to be messed with, or by purchasing security with cash or kind. Inmates often commit violent or destructive acts in order to be placed in administrative or punitive segregation, where they perceive it to be safer than the general population. The very acts which practitioners identify as the primary inmate management problems are often normal reactions to unsafe surroundings.

Inmates in a podular direct supervision facility where personal safety is ensured do not find these defensive strategies necessary or in their best interests. On the contrary, such behavior is dysfunctional. It does not fulfill their needs and serves no constructive purpose. An important indicator of this condition is the almost total absence of contraband weapons in podular/direct supervision facilities.

5. Staff Response To Unsafe Working Conditions

Staffs' response to unsafe conditions is not too different from the inmates' since self-preservation is also one of their basic instincts. Staff often affiliate with unions to achieve safer working conditions. They avoid personal contact with inmates and avoid patrolling areas perceived by them to be unsafe. They often avoid coming to work altogether by using an excessive amount of sick leave for stress-related disabilities and, at other times, by simply abusing the sick leave system. They are also known to occasionally carry their own personal and prohibited weapons, and some have tried to buy personal safety from inmates through the granting of special favors.

6. Fear-Hate Response

The inevitable result of an unsafe environment is the "fear-hate" response. Fear and hate are closely related emotions. We usually hate those we fear, and fear those we hate. The inmates' fear and the resultant hate of other inmates and staff lead to some hideous consequences. The staffs' similar feelings towards inmates and even other segments of staff exacerbate the situation. The combined result of all of this intense hatred for one another is a "cancerous" working

situation which is extremely hazardous. Such conditions fueled the atrocities of the tragic New Mexico State Prison riot in 1980.

Principle V: Manageable And Cost Effective Operations

One very practical and important consideration for any jail

The podular direct supervision facility is able to fulfill the mission of the jail while, at the same time, reduce costs.

is that it be manageable and cost effective. The jail's mission and goals should be readily obtainable. Taxpayers are not anxious to spend more than they have to on jail operations, and rightly so. A community's discretionary fiscal priorities generally do not include the jail. However, jail expenses cannot be avoided by neglect. Many communities have tried this strategy, only to find it far more costly in the long run. The podular direct supervision facility is able to fulfill the mission of the jail while, at the same time, reduce costs.

1. Reduced Construction Costs

Construction costs vary according to region and unique circumstances confronting the architect and contractor. Therefore, the costs of constructing podular direct supervision facilities vary from

one location to another. The fact that this type of institution is free to take on many architectural styles, as long as they facilitate the principles and dynamics, also contributes to the variation in cost.

There are, however, basic component cost characteristics, which are unique to the podular direct supervision style. The absence of vandal-proof and security-style furnishings, fixtures and finishes throughout 90% of the facility is the major contributor to lower construction costs. When one considers that the cost of a china toilet bowl is about \$150 and a stainless steel, vandal-proof toilet and bowl is about \$1,500, some appreciation for construction costs savings is gained. The costs of gang cell door closers and locking systems are also avoided.

2. Wider Range Of Architectural Options

Since the architect does not have to select materials primarily as a reaction to the anticipated destructive behavior of inmates, he is free to select a wider range of materials. For example, if a facility wishes to utilize carpeting as a floor covering and benefit from its relative cost advantage, ease of maintenance, and sound dampening qualities, it may do so.

3. Reduced Vandalism

One unique characteristic of the podular/direct supervision facility is the absence of graffiti and vandalism which is so pervasive in other types of jails. This contributes to a reduced operating cost. As in other public facilities, vandalism and graffiti are significantly reduced by both pleasant appearance of the facilities and perpetual supervision and maintenance.

4. Anticipate Fundamental Needs

As indicated previously, much negative inmate behavior is driven by efforts to fulfill their many human needs. The proactive jail manager uses his knowledge of how human needs affect behavior to achieve the behavioral response he is seeking. He perceives them as environmental forces that can be effectively manipulated to assist him in accomplishing his agency's mission and goals. If the inmate understands that most of his fundamental human needs can be fulfilled on a general housing unit, then he has a very important investment in remaining on the unit.

One of the most powerful forces affecting the inmates behavior, next to the self-preservation instinct, is the need to communicate and have contact with family and significant others. The fulfillment of this need then becomes

an influential dynamic in managing the general housing unit. The timing and conditions of the visiting area are all very important. If contact visits are available to those who conduct themselves responsibly, the motivation for responsible behavior is greatly enhanced. The potential loss of privileges that affect an inmate's relations with his loved ones is one of the most potent forces that can be applied to achieve responsible inmate behavior.

Telephone access is likewise an important priority for the inmate. Through the telephone he is able to keep in communication with the important people in his life. We all know how frustrating it can be when our telephone access is limited when we have a need to communicate with someone important to us. Therefore, another important ingredient for the general housing unit is sufficient collect-call phones to meet the population's telephone needs. Not only does this meet the inmate's need, but it relieves the officer from the annoying and time-consuming task of processing inmate telephone calls.

Television viewing is an important part of contemporary life. Most of the inmates have been raised on it since infancy. They have been conditioned to sit quietly in front of the tube for hours on end. Considering how effectively

television occupies an inmate's time, it is one of the most economical devices we can obtain for this purpose. This is particularly true in those institutions where such equipment is purchased from the inmate welfare fund.

Television is by no means a panacea. As in the home, it can be the source of a great deal of strife. On a housing unit of 50 felons representing a variety of cultural backgrounds, the resulting discord over channel selection can be violent. The solution to this problem is to have sufficient television sets to be responsive to basic needs and interests of the population. Usually two to four sets are sufficient, depending on the design of the unit and the mix of the population. Using multiple sets can keep the sound volume lower and divide the population into smaller and more compatible groups.

Inmates should be able to purchase important items from the inmate store or commissary on a regular basis. When inmates are unable to make purchases from the inmate store or commissary, they will make their purchases from other inmates with all of the negative factors associated with these transactions.

The service of meals also takes on all exaggerated importance in jails. Good food, well prepared and presented, goes a long way toward increasing the inmate's invest-

ment in the general unit. On the other hand, the unprofessional preparation and presentation of the same basic food can cause considerable unrest.

Security of personal property is another important consideration. The lack of secure storage for the inmate's personal property contributes to a high incidence of theft, along with concomitant corrective actions attempted by the inmate with all of their negative implications.

A great many problems occur in multiple or gang showers. The installation of sufficient individual shower stalls virtually eliminates the difficulties associated with daily activity.

Physical exercise is an effective way to release pent-up emotional tensions which accompany the stress of incarceration. The opportunity for exercise is also a condition of confinement required by the courts. When the unit is designed to meet this need, it is no longer a management problem.

Inmate idleness still remains one of the leading management problems in a detention facility. The introduction of industrial opportunities can contribute significantly to the resolution of that problem. The income earned by the inmate's involvement in this activity is a significant motivator to remain eligible for those assignments. In-

mates involved in constructive activity are seldom management problems.

5. Sanitation and Orderliness

A very important dynamic in managing a unit in a podular direct supervision facility is the set of activities involved in maintaining a clean and orderly unit. These activities promote a healthy interaction between staff and inmate in which the inmate becomes conditioned to responding to the officer's directives. The orderly state of the unit is also a continual reminder that the officer is exerting active control of the unit. Competition between units for a prize awarded to the cleanest unit can produce amazing results in maintaining a high standard of sanitation and orderliness.

Principle VI: Effective Communication

Effective communication is a critical element in the operational strategy of all human enterprises. Jails are not exceptions, and management must be sensitive to the important impact of the various elements of this principle.

1. Frequent Inmate And Staff Communication

Frequent communication between staff and inmates should be encouraged. Inmates will often advise staff of illegal activities being planned by other inmates if they have the opportunity to do so without running the risk

of being identified. The inmate's cooperation is motivated both by an expectation of favorable treatment from the administration and by a desire not to have his living conditions jeopardized by the irresponsible actions of others, particularly if he does not stand to benefit.

2. Communication Among Staff Members

Because of the assignment of individual officers to separate units, there is particular need for management to facilitate effective communication among staff members. This needs to be accomplished between shifts and between assignments. It can be achieved through shift roll calls, timely and clear policy and procedure statements, post orders, and unit logs.

3. Training and Techniques of Effective Communication

Every officer should be trained in the techniques of interpersonal communication. These skills will greatly assist him in accomplishing his objectives. Considerable knowledge has been assembled over the years by communication specialists in correctional settings and should be fully utilized to ease the officer's task. The officer's acquisition of these important communication skills and his mastery of them through daily application will serve him well in other assign-

ments as well as prepare him for promotional opportunities.

Principle VII: Classification and Orientation

The classification and orientation of inmates must be included in the day-to-day operations of podular direct supervision facilities.

1. Knowing With Whom You Are Dealing

The officer must know with whom he is dealing and should have the benefit of as much information about the inmate as possible. While it is true that jails receive many prisoners on whom little information exists, they also receive many repeaters whose confinement records should detail, among other things, their behavior patterns in confinement.

2. Orientation

Inmates should be told what is expected of them. Any correctional facility is a strange and structured environment, and a podular/direct supervision facility is unique among detention facilities. A carefully structured orientation program will save a lot of time and misunderstanding and will provide a further opportunity to learn about the inmate's behavior.

3. Assumption of Rational Behavior

Human behavior is amazingly responsive to expectations

communicated. This has been demonstrated frequently in educational settings and also has been seen in detention facilities. When we convey to a person the kind of behavior we expect from him, either verbally or nonverbally, his tendency is to respond to these clues.

The traditional detention facility approach is to treat all newly admitted inmates as potentially dangerous until they prove otherwise. The jailers' expectation of the new inmate's behavior in these situations is clearly transmitted. In a podular direct supervision facility, the reverse approach is taken. All new inmates are treated with a clear expectation that they will behave as responsible adults until they prove otherwise. Staff are required to deal with those who prove otherwise, but the vast majority of inmates conduct themselves responsibly even during the admission process. Observers of this "phenomenon" from traditional jails frequently conclude that the podular/direct supervision facility has a "better class of inmate" than they do, when often the reverse is true.

4. Maximum Supervision During Initial Hours of Confinement

The first 24 to 48 hours of confinement is a critical period in the detention process. The highest rate of suicide occurs during this period, accounting for nearly

half the total jail suicides. Intensive supervision at this phase of the detention process will contribute to a lower suicide rate.

Principle VIII: Justice and Fairness

To advocate that detention facilities operate in a just and fair manner sounds more like a homily than a principle of jail management. However, the many implications of this issue in a detention facility warrant further examination, and because of its significance to correctional facility management, it is regarded as an operational principle.

1. Critical To Mission And Public Policy

A critical part of the mission of most detention facilities is the provision of just custody. This is in recognition of the fundamental obligation to comply with constitutional standards and other applicable codes and court decisions. Despite widespread public confusion regarding the role of the jail, there is public expectation that prisoners should be treated fairly and in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Unfortunately, a large segment of the public and even many jail practitioners appear to be oblivious of the Fifth Amendment prohibition against pretrial punishment. The Supreme Court's May

1980's decision in *Bell vs. Wolfish* is explicit in its interpretation of the Fifth Amendment to prohibit the imposition of any condition of confinement on pretrial prisoners for the purpose of punishment. Most pretrial punishment advocates back down when they are confronted with the illegality of their position and veil their position with such comments as "we can't make it too too nice for them can we?" or "we can't make a country club out of the jail" and "jails need to look jail-like." It becomes particularly obvious what is meant by these comments when used to criticize normal housing accommodations that are devoid of the harshness of the traditional jail. Even though the harsher furnishings are costlier, they are preferred because they are perceived to fulfill the punishment objective.

There is no place for the self-appointed public avenger in a professionally run jail. Such preoccupations are counterproductive to the proactive resolution of management problems. It is, therefore, not only legally correct to manage jails in harmony with our constitutional charter, but it is also a critical element in the principles and dynamics of managing podular direct supervision facilities.

2. Consistent Root Cause Of Collective Violence

The level of violence in our society has reached such

There is no place for the self-appointed public avenger in a professionally run jail.

alarming proportions that there have been two Presidential Commissions appointed to study this phenomenon within the past 15 years. After examining the history of collective violence in the United States, they were able to identify a set of root causes which were present in all of the many occurrences. One consistent root cause, which is particularly relevant to the correctional setting, is that in every such event there was strong feeling by the participants that they had been treated unfairly.

When a person is in a captive state, the impact of unfair treatment is greatly magnified. This is particularly true of Americans because we have been conditioned to expect fair and just treatment by our government. As a principle of inmate management, it is not sufficient for management to be, in fact, just and fair; it is also vitally important that management's actions are perceived by the inmate population as just and fair.

3. *Critical Leadership Quality*

As referred to previously, the officer's role as the leader of the unit is an important dynamic in exerting positive control over the inmate population. A critical quality of any leader is a keen sense of fairness that can be consistently depended upon by subordinates. Any compromise of the officer's reputation for fairness will seriously jeopardize his operational effectiveness.

4. *Formal Administrative Remedy And Disciplinary System*

There will always be those cases where the inmate does not accept the officer's position. Regardless of the basis for the inmate's disagreement, a formal administrative procedure should exist in which to channel such disputes. A creditable third party review is not only a good pressure release mechanism, but it also serves as a good monitoring system to ensure consistency of equitable treatment.

CONCLUSION

These principles and dynamics of jail management are neither a dogma nor a philosophy around which a management approach was designed. They represent the collective observations of both successful and unsuccessful examples of the podular direct supervision type detention facilities over a

period of several years and under the leadership of a succession of chief executive officers.

It is reasonable to conclude that if these principles and dynamics are implemented within an institution that is designed to facilitate them, they will achieve the same beneficial results as the successful examples. The results will be a safe, secure, humane, and just facility which will be considered an appropriate place for the detention of American citizens charged with crimes and requiring detention.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE PODULAR/DIRECT SUPERVISION CONCEPT

The Federal Prison System's experience with its experimental detention facilities, the Metropolitan Correctional Centers, has been very positive. The original three have now been in operation for nine years. They have been joined by two more: a new 200-bed, campus-style facility in Tucson, and a converted Federal Correctional Institute in Miami. A new Metropolitan Correctional Center is currently in the planning stages for the Los Angeles area.

Although many features of these prototype centers were incorporated in the design of local detention facilities, the overall concept was generally rejected by local jail ad-

ministrators. True, the podular design was adopted by many, but it was modified to fit the traditional jail practices with which most administrators were comfortable. The customary high-security, vandal-proof fixtures, furnishings, and finishes were added, and the 48-cell units were further divided into subunits of 12 or 16. Supervision was achieved either remotely from a secure observation post, or intermittently by officers patrolling the adjoining corridors.

There was virtually a universal disbelief among local jail administrators that direct supervision facilities could be safe, secure, cost effective, free of vandalism, and a desirable place to work. Even if the "Feds" found this to be the case, such an approach would not work with local jail prisoners, nor would it be accepted in the local communities.

It must be remembered that for the past 200 years, jail management has been based on successfully anticipating and responding to negative inmate behavior. Given this reactive management style, it is understandable that the podular concept was seen by jail practitioners as providing opportunities to more adequately respond to the problems that have plagued the traditional linear jail. Ironically, the relative success of the modified podular design, coupled with high-

security furnishings and high-security electronics, tended to mask the true potential of the podular concept. The successes in the Federal Metropolitan Correctional Center were either ignored or attributed to the idea that the federal prisoner was somehow different. Few realized or accepted the point that this new design allowed management practices that would obviate the need for most of the reactive strategies so characteristic of traditional jail management.

A second substantial barrier to general acceptance was that the jail did not look like a jail. Certainly it did not fulfill the public's expectation of a jail as a place of punishment, even though, in most jails, over 60% of the prisoners have not been convicted or sentenced. But many elected community leaders, as well as criminal justice administrators, have been reluctant to tell the public that the imposition of conditions of confinement for the purpose of punishment is in direct violation of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. Because of this ignorance about the role of jails as holding centers, those jail plans that are based on non-punitive conditions of confinement are unacceptable in many communities.

The result was that the real benefits of the new generation jails were never fully shared with the local communities until January, 1981, when

Contra Costa County opened its new detention center in Martinez, California. The Contra Costa County Sheriff's Department fully adopted the operational concepts of the Chicago Metropolitan Correctional Center. However, they enhanced the design by incorporating the recommendations from a user's evaluation, and they added the open booking concept developed in St. Louis.

During the three years that the Contra Costa facility has been in operation, they have experienced the same benefits as the Metropolitan Correctional Centers--and then some. They have accomplished the objectives of safe, secure, humane, and just custody. In addition, they enjoy a vandal- and graffiti-free facility. More importantly, the deputy sheriffs assigned to the jail have found that the new facility provides an opportunity for interesting and challenging employment. The Contra Costa facility not only demonstrates that a "new generation jail" can be effectively operated at the local level, but that it can also eliminate many of the personnel problems that plague local correctional operations.

Representatives of over 250 jurisdictions have visited the Contra Costa County Detention Center since it opened. Many believed that their suc-

cess could be attributed to a temporary "halo effect" and would not last very long. Others felt that the facility is a "time bomb" waiting to explode. However, many

...1983 marked a decided swing in local acceptance of the concept.

visitors learned how the "new generation jail" principles and dynamics have proven effective in a variety of detention settings over the past nine years. They understand that Contra Costa's experience is part of a well established pattern. And they also believe that this concept can be effectively employed in their jurisdictions.

Despite the early animosities toward (and misapprehensions about) the "new generation jail," 1983 marked a decided swing in local acceptance of the concept. The newly rebuilt Manhattan House of Detention, more commonly known as The Tombs, opened as a direct supervision facility in October, 1983. Soon after, the new Multnomah County Jail in Portland, Oregon, also opened under this concept. In the spring of 1983, the Miami-Dade County Council voted unanimously to build a 1000-bed facility that they refer to as a "third generation jail." Nearly 30 other "new generation" detention facilities under construction or in the planning stage are listed in Appendix B.

CONCLUSION: THE IMPLICATIONS OF NEW GENERATION JAILS FOR CORRECTIONAL PLANNING

While significant benefits have resulted from the podular/direct supervision category, other concepts may also achieve similar results. However, there are public policy and professional policy issues which transcend operational benefits and are critical to the strategic dimensions of current jail planning.

For example, as a matter of public policy, does a community want a jail that is proactive or reactive in addressing inmate problems and needs? And from a legal point of view, will the jail accommodate the "evolving standards which mark the progress of a maturing society" as prescribed by the Supreme Court? Will the new jail be an appropriate place for confinement of local citizens charged with a crime and requiring detention?

As professional correctional workers, we have an obligation to create correctional environments that will improve our society, or at least do it no harm. Given the "state-of-the-art" in corrections, "doing no harm" is a respectable accomplishment. While corrections has not been particularly effective in reducing criminal behavior of persons committed to our care, it does not necessarily follow that the "state-of-

the-art" will not improve. Certainly the environment in which inmates find themselves determines to a significant extent the probability for change from offending to non-offending behavior.

It is important for today's correctional professionals involved in the design of institutions to develop facilities that will accommodate advanced correctional practices anticipated in the twenty-first century. New institutions should be places where the efforts of our successors will have an opportunity to bear fruit. At the least, new institutions should be compatible with the knowledge we have gained about human behavior in the twentieth century.

The role of the correctional officer in our future institutions is a critical issue. The trend toward isolating the officer from the inmate is incompatible with the professionalization of the position. One department that recently opened a podular/remote surveillance jail recruited personnel at lower qualifications and pay than deputy sheriffs to staff the secure control booths and restricted this new class of employee from having contact with inmates. As long as "guards" sit behind secure cages and fail to relate to inmates, there will be the animal-like reactions of prisoners with resulting

property damage, predatory attacks, and injury of staff.

As we gain experience in training jail staffs for the transition from traditional jail operations to the "new generation jail," we have been particularly impressed with the enthusiastic response of the line officers. Once these officers understand the concept and the benefits, they overcome their initial resistance and become the concept's most ardent advocates. After all, line officers are the group that benefit most from a "new generation jail."

If we are to be successful in professionalization of our correctional officer positions, we must structure duties and responsibilities so that they are truly professional in content. In too many situations the correctional officer remains a great untapped resource for effectively controlling and influencing the behavior of jail and prison populations. The podular/direct supervision approach provides for maximum utilization of one of our most valuable resources, the correctional officer. Is it not better for us to direct our efforts toward developing this important resource than for us to forsake it in favor of technological barriers and devices? We cannot afford the technology that we are becoming dependent upon, particularly if the resultant environment does not al-

leviate fear nor allow for change.

The podular/direct supervision architectural management design provides a safe correctional environment that is compatible both with current knowledge of human behavior and with national correctional standards. It creates an environment in which the evolving standards of correctional practice can flourish. As we approach Orwell's proverbial "1984," we as a profession should strive to avoid Orwell's prophesies. We should advocate the control of jails through humane, people-oriented architectural/management strategies.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Cage Count," Jericho, Nos. 28-30 (Washington, D.C.: National Moratorium on Prison Construction, 1982).

2. Norman Johnston, The Human Cage (New York: Walker and Co., 1983), pp. 19-20.

3. Norman Johnston, Human Cage pp. 19, 20, and 57.

4. The term "podular" is coined to avoid the confusion associated with the term "modular." While the two terms can be used at times interchangeably, the term "modular" is also frequently used to refer to prefabricated structure.

5. The functional unit concept was developed by the Federal Prison System in the late 1960s as a management strategy for dividing institutions into smaller components to facilitate more individualized treatment of inmates. The ideal unit consisted of 50 inmates in a separate housing unit staffed with a unit manager, a case manager, two counselors, and correctional officers. See Robert B. Levinson and Roy E. Gerard, "Functional Units: A Different Correctional Approach," Federal Probation (December 1973).

6. Further information on the principles and dynamics of managing Podular Direct

Supervision Jails is available from the:

National Institute of Corrections Information Center

1860 Industrial Circle
Suite A
Longmont, CO 80501

Telephone:

(303) 682-0213

1-800-877-1461

National Institute of Corrections Jails Division

1960 Industrial Circle
Suite A
Longmont, CO 80501

Telephone:

(303) 682-0639

1-800-995-6429

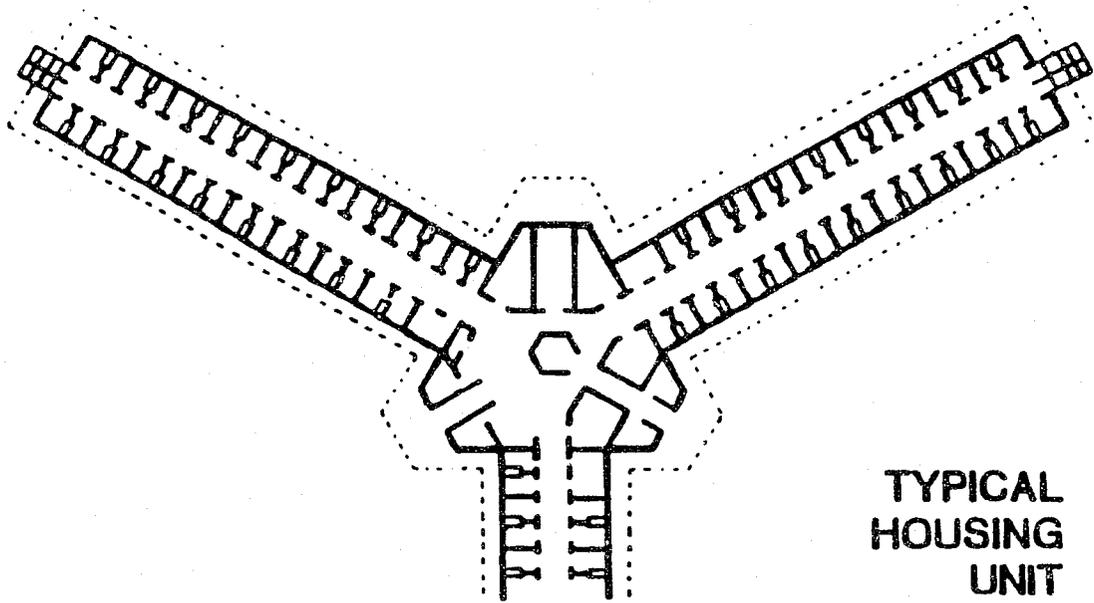
JAIL ARCHITECTURAL/ MANAGEMENT CATEGORIES

¶ Linear/Intermittent Surveillance

¶ Podular/Remote Surveillance

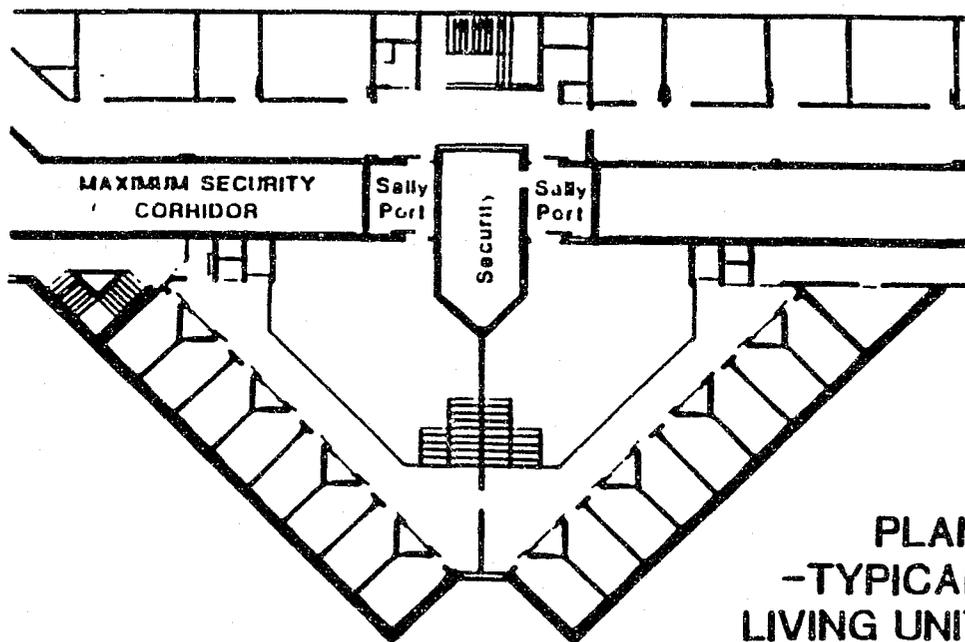
¶ Podular/Direct Supervision

LINEAR/INTERMITTENT SURVEILLANCE

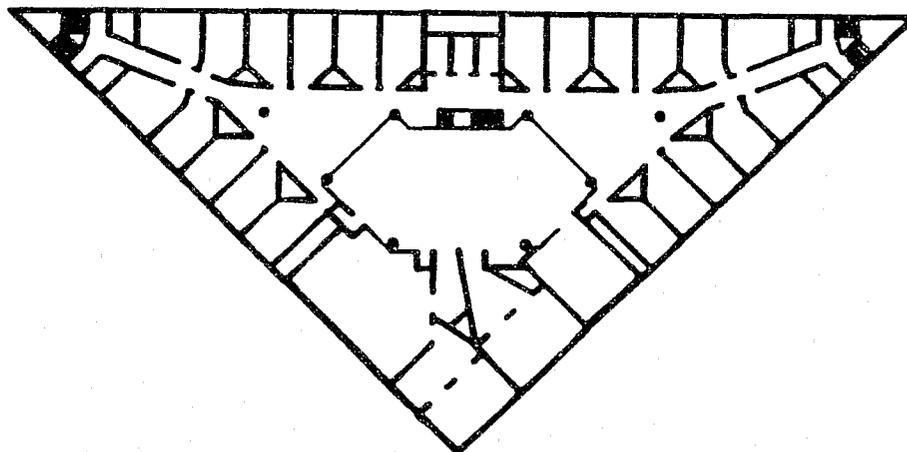


TYPICAL
HOUSING
UNIT

PODULAR/REMOTE SURVEILLANCE



PODULAR/DIRECT SUPERVISION



APPENDIX A

**New Generation Jail Survey
Comparative Data from 1981 and 1982
on Assaults and Escapes***

**Data collected by Michael O'Toole of the NIC Jails Division*

NEW GENERATION JAIL SURVEY
COMPARATIVE DATA FROM 1981 AND 1982 ON ASSAULTS AND ESCAPES

Institution	ESCAPES				AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS			
	1981		1982		1981		1982	
	Number of Events	Number of Escapees	Number of Events	Number of Escapees	Inmate/ Inmate	Inmate/ Staff	Inmate/ Inmate	Inmate/ Staff
Podular/Direct Supervision								
Chicago MCC	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0
San Diego MCC	4	7	2	3	2	6	4	8
New York MCC	2	2	0	0	2	1	1	1
Tucson MCC	N/A	N/A	0	0	N/A	N/A	0	0
Conta Costa CDC	1	4	0	0	64	5	67	5
Comparative Traditional Jails								
County A	0	0	0	0	57	11	43	15
County B	1	1	1	1	- 220* -		- 71* -	
County C	15	15	1	11	772	94	735	74
County D	1	1	4	1	354	90	290	86
County E	3	3	1	1	7	7	36	22
County F	4	4	8	10	180	60	182	144

* Not Broken Down

APPENDIX B

**Examples of Facilities Designed Around
the Direct Supervision Concept**

and

**Planned or Committed Podular/Direct
Supervision Facilities**

Examples of Facilities Designed Around the Direct Supervision Concept

- 1. Contra Costa Detention Facility**
Martinez, California
Architect: Kaplan/McLaughlin
San Francisco, California
Size: 170,790 square feet
Capacity: 382
Cost of Construction: \$20,338,925
- 2. Federal Correctional Institution**
Sandstone, Minnesota
Architect & Engineer: Eiberbe Associates, Inc.
Bloomington, Minnesota
Size: 21,744 square feet
Capacity: 100 men
Cost of Construction: \$1,032,533 (estimated and exclusive of inmate labor)
- 3. Larimer County Detention Facility**
Fort Collins, Colorado
Architects: Edwards and Daniels Associates
Salt Lake City, Utah
More Combs Burch
Denver, Colorado
Size: 64,028 square feet
Capacity: 152
Cost of Construction: \$6,717,200
- 4. Manhattan House of Detention for Men**
New York, New York
Architect: Gruzen and Partners
New York, New York
Size: 243,000 square feet
Capacity: 425 men
Cost of Construction: \$26,000,000
- 5. Multnomah County's Downtown Detention Center**
Portland, Oregon
Architect: Zimmer Gunsul Frasca Partnership
Size: 472,038 square feet
Capacity: 430
Cost of Construction: \$53,500,000

APPENDIX C

The Cost Benefits of Podular Designed and Directly Supervised Correctional Facilities

Stephen Horn, President

California State University at Long Beach

Member, NIC Advisory Board

February 16, 1984

THE COST BENEFITS OF PODULAR DESIGNED AND DIRECTLY SUPERVISED CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES

*Dr. Stephen Horn, President
California State University at Long Beach*

February 16, 1984

Improved safety and professional performance are generally associated with increased cost. A new generation correctional facility deploys trained staff to provide direct supervision of inmates in a correctional facility and setting that has been compatibly designed for that purpose. The result is reduced construction and operational cost.

When staff members are assigned to work within "podular" designed housing units that have approximately 40 to 50 cells arranged around a common living area, vandalism and other destructive behavior is significantly reduced. Because of the steadying and controlling influence of directly-involved, trained staff over inmate behavior, it is no longer necessary to provide vandalproof fixtures and furnishings in 90% of the facility. The table below presents some examples of the cost differential between traditional security fixtures and the commercial fixtures that can be used in "podular/direct supervision" facilities.

Since trained staff can effectively supervise approximately 50 inmates in a "podular" housing unit, there is also no need to construct additional barriers to further divide the housing units into smaller sub-units as is the practice in typical "remote surveillance" facilities. It is also unnecessary to divide inmates into isolated small groups to accommodate inmate classification practices that were originally designed to protect one type of inmate from another as is necessary in traditional jails.

One may logically ask: "Are the structural savings offset by increased staffing cost?" While staffing deployment practices vary considerably around the nation, there is substantial evidence indicating that the "podular/direct supervision" concept is staff efficient and, more importantly, staff effective.

An excellent example of comparative staffing patterns for the three basic architectural designs and management styles is provided by Dade County (Miami, Florida). Dade County presently operates a large linear-style jail with an intermittent surveillance management approach. In mid-1982, they had an

ITEM	SECURITY	COMMERCIAL
Lavatory and Bowl	\$ 1,675	\$ 700
Table	975	320
Chair	140	40
Door	2,300	900
Lock	400	110
Light	434	120
Hinge	78	14
Bed	589	165
TOTAL	\$6,591	\$2,369

bed "podular/remote surveillance" facility. After conducting extensive cost analysis of the three approaches, Dade County abandoned plans valued at \$250,000 for the "podular/direct supervision" approach. In addition to what Dade County officials believed to be improved operational performance, they expect to achieve sufficient cost savings from reduced staffing that will enable them not only to recoup the cost of the discarded plans and some construction cost, but also the entire \$37 million construction cost within the first 14 years.

As you can see on the attached chart, the staffing requirements of the "podular/direct supervision" facility, which the Dade County officials refer to as third generation jail, are approximately 50% less than they presently require for their existing linear jail and 42% less than the initially-proposed "podular/remote surveillance" facility. While

such staffing economies may not apply to this degree in all communities, this analysis is a valid indicator of the potential for staffing economies offered by the "podular/direct supervision" concept.

There are other presumptive cost savings to be derived from reduced officer injury, facility maintenance, and court judgements over conditions of confinement. As yet, sufficient data has not been collected to substantiate these presumptions as fully as we would like; however, there are numerous anecdotal observations that indicate their validity.

At the time when many of our communities spend more tax dollars on correctional facilities than schools or hospitals, reducing correctional costs while improving correctional effectiveness is an important issue for state and local governments to explore.

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF
DESIGN SCHEMES**

**DADE
COUNTY
STOCKADE
EXPANSION
Dade County, Florida
GSA Project No. 5202-003**

HARPER & BUZINEC Architects/Engineers, Inc.

DATA SUMMARY SHEET

Project Data	2nd Gen. 600 Man	3rd Gen. 600 Man	2nd Gen. 1000 Man	3rd Gen. 1000 Man	Existing Main Jail
Design Capacity (Inmate)	600	600	1,000	1,000	1,119
Construction Cost (\$)	16 Mil	28 Mil	24 Mil	37 Mil	NA
Total Area Sq. Ft.	165,876	202,000	263,875	282,000	194,913
Yearly Operation- al Cost (\$)	6.8 Mil	4.7 Mil	9.3 Mil	6.2 Mil	12.7 Mil
Sq. Ft. Per Inmate	298	337	254	282	182
Total Staff	216	129	295	172	358
Staff- Inmate Ratio	1/2.7	1/4.6	1/3.3	1/5.8	1/2.9

**20-YEAR COMBINED CONSTRUCTION
AND OPERATING EXPENDITURES
1,000-MAN CAPACITY**

	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
Initial Construction Cost	\$25,000,000	\$37,000,000
Annual Principal & Interest	\$ 2,935,937	\$ 4,352,941
Annual Operating Expense	\$ 9,313,056	\$ 6,238,901

Principal and interest is based on the debt of the total construction cost amortized over 20 years at an interest rate of 10%. The 10% annual interest rate is derived from the average interest to be paid on the recently passed Dade County Criminal Justice Bond Issue.

For the comparison, annual operating expenses are assumed to escalate at an annual rate of 7% due to inflation.

Total Expenditure to Year

Year	2nd Generation	3rd Generation	Total Savings
1	\$ 12,248,993	\$ 10,591,842	\$ 1,657,151
3	38,748,353	33,116,265	5,632,088
5	68,235,635	57,642,994	10,593,641
6	84,234,613	70,746,316	13,488,297
10	158,032,702	129,718,853	28,313,849
20	440,511,927	342,815,568	97,696,359

SUMMARY

The above chart indicates that the operational savings of the 3rd generation design would be equal to the additional monies required for construction within approximately 5.5 years. Over a 20-year period, the 3rd generation design constructed at a cost of \$37,000,000 would save Dade County approximately \$97,696,359 compared to the 2nd generation design.