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KNOWLEDGE ASSESSMENT
PHASE I ASSESSMENT OF
COEDUCATIONAL CORRECTIONS

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For
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
U. S. Department of Justice

Prepared by
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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background

This Knowledge Assessment represents the fourth product of the National Evaluation Program Phase I Assessment of coeducational correctional institutions. The Issues Paper, the first product of this assessment, gathers general knowledge and past findings in the topic area of co-corrections, and presents this information through a discussion of underlying assumptions about co-corrections, and of related historical, theoretical and operational issues. The Interventions Papers, the second product, serves to "anchor" this knowledge more firmly in reality, by determining how particular institutions were actually structured and implemented. The Frameworks Paper, the third product, develops means for the "plausible testing of assumptions" about co-corrections, by generating generalized causal flows in the form of logic models, the elements of which are then synthesized in a measurement model, or general framework. This synthesized measurement model serves as a framework around which evaluation can be centered -- as an "envelope" in which to identify measurement points and potential measures -- and can be a useful reference tool for validating concepts, and for planning both measurement and evaluation of institutions. The function of this fourth product within the NEP structure is to state from existing data which of the recommended measurements have actually been made and used for evaluation purposes, what appears to be known about outcome and impact expectations in terms of these measurements, and what level of confidence can be attributed to the existing data in terms of accuracy and reliability. By arraying existing information on the synthesized measurement model, this body of knowledge can be efficiently assessed to determine gaps in present information regarding co-correctional outcomes and impacts.

B. Range of Past NEP Phase I Assessments

Previous Phase I investigators have generally displayed agreement that their purpose was "not a definitive assessment or evaluation," but a delineation of what is known, and what is knowable. However, there has been divergence among previous investigators in the extent to which their efforts have been practitioner- or evaluation-oriented. In the absence of substantial evaluation literature, some investigators have sought to provide "a qualitative perspective based on the literature and the findings of field research," "an up-to-date description of the current level of practice for policy-makers and researchers concerned with the issues that arise." Other Phase I investigators have taken another approach, and viewed their role as "setting the stage for evaluation of a particular program area," "a first step toward a conclusive evaluation." This Phase I Assessment of coeducational correctional institutions recognizes both the need of practitioners and policy-makers for immediate information on which to base decisions, and the importance of rigorously assessing the state-of-knowledge about the elements of the synthesized measurement model.

Seen from another vantage point, however, past NEP studies have differed in approach as a function of the type and level of definition and clarification needed in a topic area. Although most topic areas include programs receiving substantial LEAA funding -- which, presumably, required at least a moderate level of problem definition antecedent to funding -- past NEP studies have differed widely in the amount and quality of associated research. The topic area of coeducational correctional institutions differs from certain previous topic areas in that co-corrections has not consistently arisen with a programmatic intent, and in that almost no LEAA funds have been directed toward the development and implementation of coed institutions. Much of the resources allotted for this NEP study have, consequently, been utilized in the basic definition of

goals and objectives as actually implemented in the field. In the absence of adequate definition of the co-correctional enterprise, the allocation of resources in this manner seemed to facilitate both a "qualitative perspective" and "a first step toward conclusive evaluation."

Not unexpectedly, the amount of information available to support or contradict the attainment of intended co-correctional outcomes and impacts was low. The manner in which many coed institutions have developed -- in response to system-level needs, to fulfill the "needs of the moment" -- has not encouraged definition of evaluation questions, much less the evaluation of outcomes or the monitoring of performance. Where a programmatic intent has been in evidence, recent interest in assessing certain key questions about co-corrections has been high. Wherever co-corrections has been phased-out, research interest has seemed to rise: said the Superintendent of one phased-out coed institution, "If I did it again, it wouldn't be without a well-developed research component." Both current implementers and those contemplating movement toward co-corrections have expressed interest in "how others do it." Consequently, in order to serve dual needs, this knowledge assessment provides a "description of the current level of practice," arrays the limited existing information on the measurement model, analyzes the correspondence between co-correctional policy and operations, ascertains the attainability of the measurements indicated in the model, and suggests alternate means for filling gaps in knowledge about co-corrections.

C. Organization

Chapter II of this report traces the emergence of co-corrections, and describes the characteristics of visited institutions at a single point in time, as well as changes reportedly occurring over time, and estimates of the future "growth rate" of the concept.

Chapter III compares co-correctional policy with actual operations. Chapter IV presents the major research problems related to performance of evaluation of co-corrections; reviews past and present co-correctional research designs; arrays existing knowledge about outcomes and impacts on the measurement model; and assesses ongoing research. Chapter V expands on the synthesized measurement model contained in the Frameworks Paper by considering the attainability of primary and secondary data for each of the measurement points in the model. Chapter VI suggests several potential designs for filling gaps in knowledge. Chapter VII consists of conclusions and recommendations.

II. DELINEATION OF THE CO-CORRECTIONAL UNIVERSE

The absence of a clear sense for the size and shape of the co-correctional universe has perpetuated a dearth of communication networks among coed institutions, except in the Federal system, and generally hindered conceptualization of research in the topic area. The purpose of Chapter II, therefore, is to use the information gathered in the field and from other sources to add definition to the topic area of co-corrections. This chapter consists of four parts: emergence; key characteristics; changes over time; and future. Section A consists of a short history of co-corrections from its background and early precedents through the proliferation of coed institutions in the mid-1970's. Section B lists several characteristics of visited coed institutions and describes variations in these characteristics across institutions at the point-in-time they were visited. Section C lists certain characteristics of visited institutions and describes changes occurring over time, as the basis for imputing trends in co-corrections. Section D briefly describes potential future developments in the topic area.

A. The Emergence of Co-corrections

1. Precedents for co-corrections.

Despite the common perception that prisons housing male and female inmates are a new phenomenon, the history of corrections demonstrates that, in actuality, single-sex institutions became the norm in western society in the second half of the nineteenth century, after centuries of housing the sexes together.

a. Sexual non-differentiation of offenders. Housing of men and women in the same prison and permitting their interaction -- which, by only recent convention, has been termed co-corrections -- is not a new practice. Before the beginnings of penal

reform in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries men and women were often detained in almshouses, jails and dungeons mixed with children, the insane and the deaf. These early prisons did not distinguish between prisoners in regard to age, sex, or type of crime, and some consisted of large rooms, privately-owned, where men, women and children lived, ate and slept amidst terrible, unsanitary conditions, without protection from physical or sexual abuse. One contemporary observer described such a prison as "a scene of promiscuous and unrestricted intercourse, and universal riot and debauchery."¹ With the spread of prison reform, came the separation of "women-convicts" into the corners of institutions emerging as a nationwide system of state prisons. Many of these were patterned after the penitentiary model -- a place for silent contemplation, self-examination, removal from corrupting peers and, under the Auburn System, congregate work by day. For the women especially, whose numbers were low, their separation, without or even with the supervision of a "matron," meant much idleness, since rarely were "moral instruction" or other activities considered feasible. For the system, the low numbers of women led to a perception that they effectively "couldn't carry their own weight," which elicited the recommendation by no less a reformer than Dorothea B. Dix that, because "the product of women's labor in the State prisons fails to meet the expenses of their department," "women-convicts" be sequestered to county houses of correction:²

I should judge it greatly more advantageous in all respects, to sentence women-convicts to the county houses of correction, rather than connect their prisons, with those of the men-convicts, especially also if their numbers are so few that it is judged inexpedient to appoint a matron.

b. Sexual segregation of offenders. After nearly a century of arguments by reformers in favor of classification of prisoners by age, sex, and offense history, efforts at reform reached a fever pitch in 1870 at the National Congress on Penitentiary

and Reformatory Discipline, where complaints were voiced about the unconscionable idleness of prisoners, reports of brutality, and the mixing of women, children, and hard-core male convicts. As a result, the last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed the beginning of a movement to build separate women's prisons on the penitentiary model, to provide protection for the women from the assaults of male guards; to encourage development of special programs for women; to foster independence in women, by giving them total responsibility for maintaining the institution and its proximate farmland; and, in general, to isolate women criminals from the chaos of the outside world. The first separate prison for women, the Indiana Women's Prison, opened in 1873. Other jurisdictions followed suit: Framingham, Massachusetts opened in 1877; a reformatory for women in New York in 1891; Westfield Farm in 1901; and the institution for women at Clinton, New Jersey, in 1913. Reform was spurred by many influential women in the suffrage movement, whose personal experiences with prisons and jails helped them understand the situation of women prisoners. The trend toward separate state institutions for women continued until 1971, when the first coed institution opened, at which time there were approximately thirty-four separate state institutions for women. Many of these prisons retained an "un-prisonlike," "bucolic," "commodious" atmosphere, and their physical plants -- often groups of houses or cottages situated in apparently idyllic surroundings -- sometimes strike visitors as more like small New England colleges than prisons.

After several generations of sexually segregating inmates, male and female prisoners have been recently regarded as subject to differential treatment because of two factors: the vast differences in facilities for each sex, due to scale differences between male and female institutions; and stereotypical assumptions about the different security and rehabilitative problems male and female offenders present. Consequently,

although women's facilities may strike a visitor as less "forbidding" than men's facilities, this represents only one aspect of the differential effect of the dual system. In a summary assessment of the differential effect of the dual system, Arditi states that women are disadvantaged by remoteness, heterogeneity, and low program facility level; men by harsh physical surroundings, lower staff/inmate ratios, and a strict regime; both males and females by being treated according to sex-role stereotypes.³ In addition to the more visible differences between male and female facilities, administrators and researchers have noted the tendency in male prisons for a "macho," confrontational atmosphere to develop, while in female prisons an institutional version of family dependency roles sometimes emerges. The provision of a heterosexual milieu might be viewed as a way of counteracting the development in single-sex institutions of caricatures of traditional sex-role stereotypes.

c. Other precedents. The concept of interaction between the sexes in correctional situations did not "rise out of the ashes" after a century of smouldering disuse. Several juvenile homes have operated as coeducational, and in fact retained strong public support. In the early 1960's, U.S. Public Health Service drug treatment hospitals experimented with coed rehabilitation programs. Furthermore, occasional coed dances and other social functions, as well as educational programs, commonly occurred between nearly male and female institutions, including those which operated as "brother-sister" institutions on the same grounds.

2. Early co-correctional models.

The emergence of the first coed institutions in both Federal and State systems was pervaded by an improvisatory atmosphere, and an inevitable level of tentativeness, even if a "confident tentativeness," because "there was no book of rules to go by."

a. Federal system. In July 1971, after a prolonged, two-year period of discussion and anticipation, the Kennedy Youth Center in Morgantown, West Virginia -- also then known as FYC-Morgantown -- opened one of its cottages to female offenders. The presence of an over-capacity population at the FCI in Alderson, West Virginia -- which at the time housed most women in the Federal system -- provided the opportunity to implement a program at Morgantown based on the programmatic value of a mixed population. Although Morgantown was meant to house juveniles, and although it reverted to single-sex male status in 1975, it represented the first Federal venture into the field of co-corrections, and encouraged consideration of future program development. Morgantown's coed program closed in 1975 amidst conditions of severe overcrowding, not through general dissatisfaction in the Bureau of Prisons with co-corrections, but for a variety of other reasons, including geographical expanse, lack of parallelism in inmate age distribution by sex, and perceived inadequacy of supervision. After termination of the program, the special problems and importance of operating coed facilities for youthful offender populations in the process of clarifying sex-identity continued to be discussed.

Several months before Morgantown received its first females, the Bureau of Prisons began planning for its take-over of a Public Health Service hospital in Fort Worth, Texas. A task force set up by the Director in early 1971, when HEW officials offered the former "narcotics farm" to the Bureau of Prisons, identified certain needs upon which the mission was to be based:⁴ programs for drug abusers and alcoholics, for older men with chronic health problems "rotting behind the walls," and for women, to give relief to the two jammed Federal facilities for women at Alderson and Terminal Island. Other than the "pragmatic needs of the service," no "definitive rationale" existed for this involvement in co-corrections, other than that it was "among the innovations that need to be tried." Program planning for the facility was necessarily improvisatory, and

occurred mostly after the institution opened. The opening was preceded by development of many sets of assumptions, but few systematic expectations about how to manage a co-correctional setting, or what co-corrections might bring. Charles Campbell, the first warden at FCI Fort Worth, has written:³

During the months preceding the activation of the facility in the fall of 1971, we engaged in long hours of cogitation about the problem of how to manage men and women in the same institution. There was no body-of-knowledge to rely on. Thus we knew we would need to proceed cautiously and learn from trial and error. . . we engaged in no systematic theorizing about what might be encountered in a co-correctional experience. Instead, all we had was a shared conviction that different kinds of things needed to be tried.

With the arrival of 45 females from Alderson via Seagoville in November, 1971, the resources for a coeducational program were present. However, these were not women chosen on the basis of the criteria developed during the planning session, that they be "carefully selected, stable, tractable women chosen on the basis of their predicted ability to tolerate the stress of living with rigid constraints in close proximity to men offenders." Rather, their presence was one of the unexpected consequences of the Attica riot. Their movement to Fort Worth came as an aftermath of the riot which occurred at Alderson in September, 1971 in the wake of Attica. Because of the circumstances involved in their transfer, the women were in an extremely hostile frame of mind -- and the careful planning for a highly selected women's population to be phased into integration at Fort Worth was clearly irrelevant. For a brief period the administration questioned the feasibility of integration since, as those present recall, the anger of the women as they left the buses transporting them from Seagoville to Fort Worth, startled both the staff and the male inmates. However, the integration was effected, and the coed program which emerged included interaction in the yard, which was closely supervised, in the dining hall, most classes, evening rec hall, and certain

other recreational activities. An unanticipated result of the Alderson riot and the subsequent forced transfer of the "ring leaders" and other women in disciplinary status, was the discovery that co-corrections did not apparently require the type of "selected" population previously assumed.

What developed during this "founding period" at Fort Worth was a sense of uniqueness and a participation in the development of a "new" corrections. It has been characterized as "the times of peace and love." One staff member suggested that "a lot of staff blood went into the ground out there. When you want to turn an institution on its head, you bring in women, and decentralize it." This initial experience in co-corrections, and the research it generated, brought with it a clearer notion of the problems of implementation as well as the potential benefits.

b. State systems. The Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Framingham -- commonly regarded as the first coed state institution -- exhibited the same tentativeness about co-corrections, as did Fort Worth. Although staff "foreboding" about co-corrections was quelled by the satisfactory operation of a previously troubled institution, the formation of day-to-day procedures and operations was an improvised process. As one staff member explained, "It's kind of new and it's a baby and you feel your way. If you goof, you go back, and then you go on." While MCI Framingham was not quite the first contemporary state institution to house both sexes, it shared with Fort Worth the reputation of being among the most "successful," and has been certainly among the most "renowned," or "visible," coed prisons. In March 1973, almost one hundred years after its founding, Framingham introduced male inmates to one of the facility's four units. The occasion for "going coed" was a significant under-utilization of space at Framingham -- the state's female offender population had dropped to well below half-capacity in an institution with a capacity of about 150 -- and concomitant high per capita costs, and

concurrent overcrowding in the state's facilities for males. Some consideration was given to wholly abandoning the use of Framingham for women offenders - - at about the same time that the nearby state of Connecticut contemplated developing arrangements to transfer its women to Framingham - - but this question was resolved in favor of co-corrections.

c. Exemplar institutions. The general success of these early ventures into co-corrections undoubtedly assuaged the fears and reluctance toward "going coed" in certain other jurisdictions. The influence of Fort Worth and Framingham is made apparent by the fact that representatives from the other eight coed institutions and/or from their Central Offices, site-visited one or both, either before or during implementation at their own institutions. In some cases the visitors reacted to certain aspects of the programs at Fort Worth and Framingham: commenting on the extent of physical contact as well as the potential threat posed by "intermingling" among inmates on families "outside." But in spite of these misgivings, these institutions demonstrated that co-corrections was manageable, and with modifications to allow for local sensitivities, and other adjustments, might be implemented in a wide variety of institutions. As the co-correctional concept was implemented in other institutions, prospective co-correctional administrators also looked to them for guidance, especially the previously all-male, minimum-security, education-oriented institution at Vienna, Illinois, and the FCI in Lexington, Kentucky, which opened as a co-correctional institution.

3. Planning for co-corrections.

Such site-visits by institutional or jurisdictional staff have commonly comprised a major component of planning. In one state, four coed facilities were visited by institutional or jurisdictional staff; in another, the superintendent had a long-standing interest in co-corrections and visited Fort Worth once and Framingham several times.

But besides such visitations, there was little prior planning for co-corrections. Some jurisdictions reported some preparation in the form of memos and conversations between administrators, but rarely were the potential implications of the coeducational program upon operations systematically considered. In one state institution, the superintendent explicitly stated the intention to "establish control as we went along;" the many policy changes in most institutions may partially reflect a similar intent to deal with problems or unforeseen difficulties as they arise. While to some degree a programmatic function for the male-female presence and interaction ordinarily was perceived before implementation at the institutional and/or jurisdictional level, the actual integration has often struck -- seemingly without warning -- when required by immediate necessity. The Federal system has exhibited more overall capability for, and interest in, planning and has held several Wardens Conferences on Co-corrections for current and past administrators and program managers of coed institutions. One Federal coed institution opened with a warden who had served as an Associate Warden at Fort Worth; a second Federal institution -- the only coed institution which had not been either a single-sex prison or served another prior purpose -- received staff three months before inmates, allowing the opportunity for both heightened levels of anticipation and some measure of planning.

4. Precipitating factors.

The most frequently-cited occasions for the establishment of co-corrections have been the under-utilization of a jurisdiction's facilities for one sex and/or overcrowding in facilities for the opposite sex, and the need to increase the cost-effectiveness of program delivery to one or both sexes. Although the specific manner of implementation has varied -- the introduction of males to a women's state institution, of females to a male institution, of both sexes to a new facility or a facility previously used

for other correctional or non-correctional purposes, or the integration of coordinate institutions -- these circumstances for the emergence of co-corrections have nearly universal application.

a. Federal system. In the Federal system, all four coed FCI's began operations with both sexes. However, one of these operated with coordinate facilities -- a men's division and a women's division. Although some joint programs occurred on occasion, while less legitimate contact flowed from inmate ingenuity, regular interaction between the sexes has only recently begun to be allowed. As previously mentioned, the need to expand facilities because of population increases, and in particular to add regional facilities for women, played a part in the Federal decision regarding the three institutions which opened as coed. In two instances the ready availability of HEW-owned facilities triggered the decision, and in the third case plans to open a male youth facility were modified before construction was completed. All four FCI's anticipated the opportunity to deliver certain special program services in a more cost-effective manner through co-correctional operations -- including programs for the aged and chronically ill, youth populations, substance abusers, and women -- although in the case of the previously coordinate institution, interest in co-corrections came about "to reduce duplicate functions, to save some positions, and thus to allow movement into functional units out of complement, as tasked by the Bureau. It was expected to be more economical." In addition, movement of at least three of the Federal institutions into co-corrections was influenced by an interest in extending to them the normalizing effects previously experienced elsewhere.

b. State systems. Of the fifteen state coed institutions identified and listed in Table 1, seven were previously the single institution for women in the state, four were men's institutions, and four had served other correctional or non-correctional

purposes. Only three of the institutions began as coed: two of these contain a markedly low representation of the minority sex; a third, which is still in the process of opening, contains a small "trial" population of equal numbers of both sexes, although the long-term women's population is expected to be relatively low, once renovations at the women's institution have been completed. To six of the seven institutions which were originally female, males were introduced to better utilize available space and for a variety of subsidiary reasons: provision of minimum-security facilities for infirm or aging males; provision of work- and study- release options for younger males; anticipated reduction of the need for civilian "heavy" labor; to increase the cost-effectiveness of, and thereby save marginal programs; and, in one institution, to provide a relaxed environment for conducting of an experimental project for youthful male offenders, while also training staff for a new coed institution in the state formerly scheduled to open in 1976. The seventh institution became coed when plans to transfer selected minimum security women to an existing all-male institution, which was scheduled for coed use, were complicated by the inability to find alternate placements for women who did not fit the criteria for minimum-security status. These women remained behind with the newly introduced male population after the institution was to have been converted to all-male use, and provided the nucleus for an unplanned coed program.

The sexual integration of the eight state institutions which were not formerly all-female involved space utilization in a less obvious manner. In at least three cases, the state's female offender population was so small that the maintenance of a separate facility was considered unwarranted, especially if service delivery was to be at a reasonable level. Two of these states were in the process of "bringing our women home" -- one from out-of-state institutions to which they had been contracted, and a second from a more distant city. A fourth institution, as already mentioned, became coed as

part of a plan to release the women's institution which was underutilized for all-male occupation, and also because the new coed institution for women offered a minimum security atmosphere and a wide range of vocational and educational programs unavailable at the state's institution for women. Women were introduced to a fifth institution to "bring them closer to home," to better utilize available space in a men's minimum security prison, and to extend the concept of unit management to females. A sixth institution, a men's honor farm, became coed on five hours notice, after prolonged planning and discussion, when the overcrowding at the state female institution reached emergency proportions, culminating in a riot, and a segment of the women was transferred to the men's institution; a continued need for more facilities and services for the state's female offender population, and the apparent success of the coed program over the period of a year, led to the decision to transfer in the remainder of the female population, and retain only enough males to work the farm. A seventh coed institution was viewed as an interim measure required by population pressures. An eighth institution opened as coed when a programmatic interest in the concept developed simultaneous with the need for alternate placements for female offenders, especially during renovation of the women's facility.

5. Expansion of coed institutions.

The proliferation of co-correctional institutions may have been aided in part by the recommendations of the previously mentioned National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. While no visited institution mentioned these standards as a reason for "going coed," the Standards and Goals Commission did provide an additional "airing" of the idea of co-corrections to the criminal justice community, which was becoming increasingly interested in the concept. The co-correctional universe expanded rapidly during the next two years after the Commission made its

recommendations -- 1974 and 1975 -- and the implementation of co-corrections was generally preceded in a given jurisdiction by carefully scrutinizing the concept as a programmatic strategy, although the actual move into co-corrections was often precipitated by a situation unrelated to co-corrections as a programmatic concept.

a. Rapid spread. Until 1974, the co-correctional institution remained a rarity. Only three institutions contained both sexes and permitted their interaction, and one of these had a relatively insignificant number of the minority sex. In 1974, however, began a great increase in the number of coed facilities, which continued through 1975, after which the pace of sexual integration of prisons slowed. Eleven of the twenty institutions identified as coed began operations for both sexes in 1974 or 1975. Table 1 contains a list of all current and former coed institutions, starting with FCI Fort Worth, and the date co-corrections was implemented. The coed institutions contained in Table 1 do not represent a uniform program structure. Some of the institutions only marginally fit the definition of co-corrections used in this study, either because they were "specialized institutions," or because the level of minority sex representation was so low as to be nearly "invisible." While each of these borderline institutions qualified as "coed" according to the operational definition of co-corrections contained in Chapter I, their actual "level of integration" -- in terms of sex ratio balance, parity of both the age range and distribution between the sexes, mixture of the sexes in programs, and equality of security levels for both sexes -- tended to be low. Of the two site-visited institutions which have been phased-out, Vienna was visited while the phase-out was being effected but before the last of the females were either paroled or sent back to Dwight; Niantic was visited after the program had been temporarily suspended, and a second male contingent and a new staff for the male unit introduced to the institution.

b. Current co-correctional population. Despite the relatively small

TABLE I
CONTEMPORARY COEDUCATIONAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Institution	Location	Implementation date
** FYC-Morgantown	Morgantown, West Virginia	July, 1971
* FCI-Fort Worth	Fort Worth, Texas	November, 1971
Muncy State Correctional Institution	Muncy, Pennsylvania	December, 1971
* Massachusetts Correctional Institution	Framingham, Massachusetts	March, 1973
* FCI-Lexington	Lexington, Kentucky	February, 1974
** Dwight Correctional Center	Dwight, Illinois	May, 1974
* ** Vienna Correctional Center	Vienna, Illinois	May, 1974
* FCI-Pleasanton	Pleasanton, California	July, 1974
* Correctional Institution for Women	Clinton, New Jersey	August, 1974
** Claymont Institution for Women	Claymont, Delaware	October, 1974
** Metropolitan Training Center	Circle Pines, Minnesota	March, 1975
* FCI-Terminal Island	Terminal Island, California	March, 1975
* Taycheedah Correctional Institution	Taycheedah, Wisconsin	July, 1975
* ** Connecticut Correctional Institution	Niantic, Connecticut	September, 1975
* Renz Correctional Center	Cedar City, Missouri	September, 1975
Chittenden Community Correctional Center	South Burlington, Vermont	January, 1976
Maine Correctional Center	South Windham, Maine	April, 1976
North Idaho Correctional Institution	Cottonwood, Idaho	May, 1976
Memphis Correctional Center	Memphis, Tennessee	April, 1977
Westville Correctional Center	Westville, Indiana	August, 1977
* Site-visited		
** Phased-out		

number of co-correctional institutions now in existence, a significant percentage of the female offender and a growing number of male offenders in the United States are incarcerated in such facilities. Recent compilations by the Bureau of Prisons show that 997 females and 2077 males, or that 58.1 percent of female and 7.5 percent of male Federal prisoners, occupy coed institutions. To arrive at figures for the states, certain assumptions must be made, in the absence of reliable population data, about the number of male and female inmates in state institutions. Using the common formula that five percent of the total of 254,000 state prisoners in the American Correctional Association's December 1976 census is female, baseline figures can be developed; using these baseline figures and the data on inmate populations obtained in this study either during site-visits or, in the cases of unvisited institutions, during telephone contacts, it can be calculated that 1232 females and 1277 males are in state coed institutions, which represents 9.7 percent of the female and .53 percent of the male state prison population. Thus almost twenty percent of all offenders in Federal and one percent in state prisons occupy coeducational correctional institutions.⁵

B. Characteristics of Existing Institutions

At the point-in-time when ten selected coed institutions were site-visited, a wide range of institutional characteristics was displayed. This section presents a "snap shot" of these institutions in terms of five categories: facility, inmates, staff, programs, and policy. Each of these categories is further differentiated into other factors. Except where noted, the discussion is confined to visited institutions.

1. Facility.

a. Rated capacity. Visited institutions ranged from approximately 150 in two state institutions, to over 1,000 in one Federal institution. Among unvisited institu-

tions were three rated at either under, or slightly above, 100.

b. Security level. All the institutions were either minimum- or medium-security. Institutions varied widely, however, in the degree to which the level of physical security -- locked gates, mass lighting, number of fences -- corresponded to what may be associated with the nominal security level.

c. Physical plant. The ten institutions included some of the oldest and newest prisons in the country: the oldest state institution opened in 1877 and the newest in 1965; the oldest Federal institution was completed in 1934 and the newest received its first inmates in 1974. They ranged from small facilities with only a few buildings to sprawling complexes with a dozen or more buildings on hundreds or even thousands of acres. Eight of the ten facilities formerly operated farms, and two of these still functioned as full-scale farms. Architectural modifications to accommodate a two-sex population were limited. Self-enclosed units or buildings were generally given over in toto to new arrivals, although in some cases partitioning was added. Buildings were modified or refurbished in at least five institutions, generally to make a building more "liveable" or to convert a space previously used for other purposes. In at least one case, a minimum-security cottage was made more secure to accept medium-security males.

d. Inmate quarters. Male and female inmates lived in physically separate housing -- either different buildings, or in cottages -- at each of the state and one of the Federal institutions. In one of the Federal institutions, most of the women lived on what was virtually a separate compound, and in the two other Federal institutions inmates lived in a combination of separate coed and single-sex buildings, and in a series of connected buildings facing on a common yard. Actual inmate living space included private rooms, semi-private rooms, open dorms, several types of cubicles, and make-shift space in the halls. With a few exceptions, the two sexes received similar quarters.

Women may have been more crowded than men due to recent shifts in sex-ratios, but efforts to provide a greater degree of privacy to women wherever possible -- private or semi-private rooms, or at least cubicles -- were generally evident.

e. Budgets and per capita costs. Budgets for 1976 ranged from \$681,000 to \$7,264,200. However, five of the ten operated on a budget between 3 and 5.5 million dollars in 1976. Eight institutions spent from approximately \$9,000 to \$14,500 per year on each inmate, and four of these spent between ten and twelve thousand dollars per capita. State institutions varied from \$3,683 to \$14,432 on per capita expenditure; Federal institutions from \$6,327 to \$14,327 per capita. Only one institution had at any time received LEAA funds directly for co-corrections.

2. Inmates.

a. Population size. The size of the ten coed institutions ranged from 131 at a former state women's institution to 1041 (and rising) at a Federal facility. Four state institutions held fewer than 200 inmates; one state and one Federal approximately 300, one state and one Federal slightly over 500, and two Federal held over a thousand. The Federal institutions were generally regarded as over-capacity, while state institutions were either at, or under-capacity, even though inmates of one sex or the other might have been over-capacity. State institutions were under-capacity because either certain buildings had fallen into disuse, or admissions of inmates of one sex were insufficient to utilize the space which continued to be allocated to that sex, or the security level of one sex prevented the level of space utilization possible were it occupied by the opposite sex.

b. Sex ratios. Sex ratios ranged from nine females to one male at a former state women's institution, to twenty males to one female at a state institution where the co-correctional program was being phased-out. However, the populations at seven of the ten contained fewer than four of the majority sex to one of the minority.

Three of the facilities -- all Federal -- had sex ratios which approached one male to one female. Four state institutions maintained ratios of from three to four females to each male. Populations at unvisited institutions were disproportionately of one sex.

c. Selection criteria. Among the selection criteria used in existing co-correctional institutions were the following: inmate choice; nature of referral; age; time-in-sentence status; clean record in previous institutions; history of non-violence and low escape potential; absence of sexual assault history; absence of gang leadership history; security level; first offender status; proximity to geographical release point; presence/absence of relatives at the institution; capability to perform special work details; interest in further training; eligibility for special unit programs; eligibility for community programs; cognitive test performance; personal interview indications of "readiness." It should be noted, however, that distinctions between formal and informal, or official and "casual" criteria, are often blurred; moreover, that exceptions are often made on either a case-by-case basis (as in the circumstance of some protection cases) or for an entire group (such as Youth Act females, who often fall below the age cut-off intended by some institutions). Distinctions need to be made between the applicability of criteria in state and Federal systems differentially for males and females.

Because five out of six state institutions housed the entire incarcerated female population in the given state, selection criteria in these institutions really applied only to males, except insofar as differences existed between institutional capabilities for handling unsentenced females. The one institution located in a jurisdiction which provided placement options for women applied essentially the same criteria to both sexes: that they be minimum-security, eligible for programs and have no history of gang leadership; volunteering was still a criterion for males, but had probably been eroded as a criterion for females, who unlike males were subject to an additional interview to

determine "readiness;" consideration also was given to whether males were from that region of the state. The most frequent criteria for males at the other five state institutions were inmate choice, nature of referral, a clean record at previous institutions, a history of non-violence, and minimum-security status. Four out of five stipulated that male inmates express an interest in, or volunteer for, co-corrections; have minimum-security status; and be referred from other institutions, although in the case of at least one coed institution, transfers included those who had only undergone reception and diagnosis elsewhere. Three out of five required a clean record at previous institutions, and a demonstrated history of non-violence and low escape potential (at least as an adult).

Other selection criteria have less widespread application, or were more difficult to identify. Two out of five institutions directly restricted the age of male admissions: one to males over 50, and the other to males under 22. At least two other institutions indirectly restricted the age of male admissions: one by requiring that males be first offenders, and the other by primarily admitting males who had served several years on life sentences to serve as a special work detail. At least one institution required the absence of sexual assault history, but one institution openly received sex offenders. One institution required that a prospective inmate have no relatives already at the institution (which really only applied to spouses), but a second institution attempted to transfer-in spouses who were located elsewhere in the state system. Two institutions required eligibility for community programs, and at least two (probably more) the capability to perform special work details. At least one institution required that only inmates with less than a specified length of time remaining on their sentences could be admitted; a second required first offender status; a third, an interest in "further training," although the institution had no identifiable training to offer; and a fourth, cognitive test

performance, as the basis for admission into a special unit program. At least two required an additional interview to determine "readiness for co-corrections." Other factors may have played into the process of inmate selection in a more subtle manner, such as proximity to geographical release point, recommendations from "friends of the superintendent" at other institutions, and the general appearance of an inmate's file. Some institutions provided for alternate criteria, e.g., an inmate not qualifying for community-release programs may be admitted based on capabilities in the performance of special work details.

Although the criteria above also applied to the unvisited institutions, certain criteria appear to have been more frequently used, such as inmate age and ability to perform specified work details: two institutions restricted male admissions to an older, more tractable population capable of heavy labor; and two other institutions only admitted younger males, with one of them further specifying that they be first offenders. With two exceptions, the unvisited institutions housed the entire incarcerated female population in the jurisdiction: one housed women who were considered unsuitable for the state's minimum-security coed institution discussed above, and the other gave preference to women from that region of the state.

In the Federal system, some selection criteria differ between institutions, and generally apply differently to males and females. Inmate choice appeared to be significant in at least three institutions, although choice was less applicable to women who were more frequently direct commitments from the courts. Age cut-offs were wider for females than for males: the cut-off was lower for females at three institutions, and higher at another institution which housed a youthful offender population. Time-in-sentence guidelines tended to be applied more liberally regarding females, who either exceeded the two-year restriction nominally present in at least three

of the four institutions, or were directly sentenced to the institution for periods of only a few months. Two of the four institutions required minimum-security status and eligibility for community release programs. Two required eligibility for special unit programs, and at one institution this was an alternate admissions criterion. Three encouraged the transfer-in of spouses incarcerated at other Federal institutions. Proximity to geographical release point was a general consideration for admission to all four institutions, but was applied less rigorously to females. At least two and as many as four institutions required the absence of a sexual assault history.

3. Staff.

a. Staff size and staff-inmate ratios. Staff size, staff-inmate ratios, and custody-inmate ratios, displayed wide ranges, and did not consistently reflect either jurisdictional norms, or scale differences. Staff size ranged from 55 employees at a state institution housing 197 inmates, to 330 at a state institution which held 290 inmates. In between these extremes, there were three state and one Federal institutions employing from 114 to 140 staff members; one state and two Federal institutions which employed from 230 to 289, and one Federal institution which approached the 330 figure. Staff-inmate ratios ranged from one-to-one, to one-to-four. Four states employed approximately one staff member per inmate; one state and one Federal institution, approximately one staff member for every two inmates; and the remaining one state and three Federal institutions maintained staff-inmate ratios higher than one-to-two, but less than one-to-four. Both the size of security staffs and custody-inmate ratios exhibited even wider variation. Security staffs ranged in size from 30 at the state institution having only 55 total staff, to 195 at a state institution having 285 on its full staff. Four state and two Federal institutions had security staffs under 100, and two state and two Federal institutions between 130 and 195. Custody-inmate ratios ranged from one-to-two

to one-to-eight. Five state institutions had custody-inmate ratios of one-to-two or one-to-three, and the other state institution had a ratio of nearly one-to-seven. Custody-inmate ratios at Federal institutions ranged from one-to-four, to one-to-eight.

b. Staff integration. Every institution visited maintained a more-or-less integrated staff, and where an existing institution had "gone coed," additional staff had been hired (especially custody) of the same sex as either the introduced population, or the population which was under-represented on the staff inherited from a non-correctional facility. The sex ratio of staff generally mirrored that of the inmates; however, the composition of staffs, by sex, still generally reflected the traditional composition of the institution as single sex, or predominantly of one sex. At two of the three Federal institutions, which had traditionally (i.e., since opening) been predominantly male, but which recently have housed inmate populations approaching parity, females were under-represented on both total staff and security staff. The integration of staffs, by rank, is more difficult to estimate. It appears that career ladders for women in corrections have not been reduced, and if anything have been enhanced, by co-corrections. However, men rather than women generally hold the top administrative position in the integrated institutions, and, in at least three jurisdictions, a women's population which had been under a female administrator was placed under a male administrator.

c. Staff background and attitudes. The attitudes of staff toward co-corrections, offenders of the opposite sex, staff members of the opposite sex, and corrections in general, were often perceived by administration, staff and inmates as contributing to program success or failure. At least four institutions hired a substantial segment of staff without background in corrections. Two of these were Federal institutions which "inherited" Public Health Service staffs, and at least two others strove

for staff "heterogeneity" on the assumption that background in single-sex environments might impede staff functions in a coed environment. At least five institutions hired staff transferred from the jurisdiction's maximum security institutions: at four of these, staff attitudes, presumably retained from "behind the walls," were perceived to have an adverse effect on the program. The varied attitude among staff mirrored those in the larger society: from condoning male aggressiveness toward female inmates to supporting a woman's right to a range of options equally as wide as that offered to the men.

d. Staff in-service training. At least one institution operated staff in-service training focussed on the co-correctional program. Two or three other institutions briefly dealt with co-corrections in institutional orientation programs. In some cases, co-corrections was not viewed as the appropriate focus of training because, in the words of one training officer, "if they need special training to deal with it, they don't belong here." The administrators of several state institutions noted that, because training would necessarily occur after-hours, union stipulations for overtime payments to training program participants provided a disincentive to formulate such programs.

4. Programs.

a. Structured interaction. All visited institutions claimed that all structured programs — with some qualification — were sexually integrated. Structured programs consist, in this discussion, primarily of educational programs and work details; unstructured programs are considered below, and include recreation, dining, inmate organizations, chapel, and leisure time. Several factors seemed to limit full integration of structured programs: enrollment ceilings; movement restrictions by time or place; grant stipulations; the association of some programs with single-sex units; conflicting program schedules; inmate pressures; the preponderance of one sex; lack of supervision in an area; and the administrative decision that certain programs should be restricted.

The administrative decision that programs should be restricted has been occasionally articulated in terms of "the need to shelter" certain programs to inmates of one sex (who were in a minority, or might be pressured out of programs), or special program focus (women's consciousness raising), or "more effective results," or "insufficient resources." Program participation is often curtailed by movement restrictions by time or place, or lack of supervision in an area. In one institution, for example, males were not permitted to work in the kitchen because kitchen workers had to start work before dawn, when movement over the grounds was prohibited, and only those residing in the building which contained the kitchen -- the women -- could reach this work detail without going out-of-doors. Lack of supervision in an area, especially difficult-to-control areas such as warehouses, restricted integration of work details to a degree in all institutions, and women were generally the ones excluded, except where they were in a clear majority. At least one state institution had an enrollment ceiling for the minority sex. In two state institutions, LEAA-funded educational grants restricted the participation of males: one stipulated that funds could be used only for females, and the other required eighty-five percent female participation. An HEW-funded child visitation program at a third institution excluded prospective male participants. In nearly all institutions, some unit-based programs were restricted, by the unit, to a single sex. In at least one institution, where ostensibly "inmates are treated as inmates, and not as male and female," males were precluded from nearly all educational programs and work details -- except for one specialized work detail -- by conflicts between their work schedules and the times when other programs were available. In several institutions, inmate pressures restricted sexual integration, either because one sex "expelled" the other from a program (as was the case in one AA group that had long been all-female, and at two other institutions where the minority population of women seemed generally pressured out of programs), or because

older inmates -- most of them male -- were internally pressured against participation in "useless" programs, or because program offerings tend to be unappealing to one sex or the other. Generally, the participation of males and females together in structured programs -- perhaps as peers -- seemed to be at a high level.

b. Unstructured interaction. Restrictions on unstructured interaction between male and female inmates were more pervasive. As noted above, unstructured interaction includes recreation, dining, inmate organizations, chapel, and leisure time. The factors seemingly most related to the level of integration in these areas were: defined adequacy of supervision; association of activities with units; restrictions on movement; and administrative decisions. Restrictions on integration of recreational activities were evident at all institutions, and stemmed from each of these factors. At several institutions, for example, women were restricted from jogging because either supervision was unavailable, or the activity was regarded as too difficult to supervise. At several institutions, movement restrictions by time or place limited integration; for example, men and women swam in different parts of a lake. Five of the ten institutions provided for sexually integrated dining; the other five institutions cited a lack of supervision, administrative decisions against expansion of dining facilities, and unit-based dining, as factors inhibiting the integration of dining, although two of these institutions were planning to integrate the minority sex -- in one case male, and the other female -- into the main mess hall. Three out of four Federal and no more than two of six state institutions provided fully integrated dining. In the fourth Federal institution and in an additional state institution, one women's unit was permitted to dine with the men. At three other state facilities, meals were served on units, at least to the minority population. Primarily due to difficulties in supervision, at least one Federal and three state institutions restricted integration of at least some inmate organizations,

particularly inmate offices -- in at least one state only after earlier experimenting with an open-door policy. Chapel was off-bounds, at nearly all institutions, except during services and other structured events, because of its rumored use as a major assignation post.

The level of integration in leisure time activities -- true unstructured time -- is difficult to specify, because it involves an estimate of not only the quantity, but also the quality of interaction; by implication, the level of integration in unstructured activities involves the places, times, and circumstances under which interaction is permitted. At one extreme were at least two Federal and one state institutions which encouraged interaction under minimally intrusive supervision, and offered a wide range of settings in which interaction was permitted, including late evening activities such as coffee houses on a daily basis, and even coed swimming in warm weather. At the other extreme were several state and at least one Federal institution, which generally restricted free-time interaction to a physically controlled space, such as the yard, or evening "coed hours" held in a visitor's-type room; or to special occasions, such as dances. In at least two state institutions at the latter extreme, inmates not attending programs occupied a sex-specific domain; this circumstance also existed partially at one Federal institution, where only one of the three women's units was located within the men's domain. This domain was demarcated at one institution by an invisible line passing over the grounds. Males often congregated by a low railing along the end of a path terminating at the dividing line. Several institutions specifically required that at coed activities, such as movies and athletic events, males and females sit in separate parts of the room or field. While it is difficult to quickly quantify the levels of unstructured interaction at a given institution, general impressions about the degree to which opposite sex couples are told to "move on" are gained, and, in general, it seems fair to conclude that only where the

male-female interaction was perceived as possessing a programmatic value in itself, was a high level of true unstructured interaction permitted and apparent.

c. Community linkages. Community linkages took two basic forms: programs in which the community provides support to inmates; and public relations efforts emanating from the institution to the outside community. Community programs included education- and work-release, furloughs and day-trips, the presence of inmates as volunteers in the community, and the presence of the outside community and institutional staff as volunteers and co-participants within the institution. Public relations efforts included selectively publicized programs, performances, newsletters, public appearances, and other activities geared to gain or maintain community acceptance for continued political and programmatic viability.

The purposes for community programs included: the maintenance or redevelopment of family ties, primarily through furloughs; learning how to work and recreate again in the community; a means of increasing the sexual integration of the institution, either within the institution through contact with volunteers of the opposite sex, or outside in the community; and, an alternative to sexual activity within the institution. Public relations efforts existed not only to maintain political viability, but also to provide access for the institution to programs available in the community, and to maintain contact with families. Only two Federal and one or two state institutions could be said to operate "thriving" community programs. Other institutions were struggling to either gain or regain access to the community, or to determine what direction the institution would take in the absence of community programs. Most institutions still involved the community in institutional life by receiving volunteers to the institution, especially in educational and religious programs. At least half the institutions visited poured energies into public relations activities to increase access for inmates into the community, build

resources, or "stay afloat." In the majority of institutions it was evident that a significant aspect of public relations was providing the "outside world" with assurances about "what's going on in there." Changes in community linkages are detailed below.

d. Medical services. The level of medical services available at the visited institutions seemed comparable to that at non-coed facilities, but is difficult to comment on. It was argued in a few institutions that medical budgets were strained because they were based on long-term projections for a different type of population. Subjects of particular import in coed institutions were: birth control, pregnancy, abortion, and prenatal care.

Access to birth control for women was found in all the institutions. At only one institution did inmates strongly complain that birth control was difficult to obtain, saying "they turn you inside out and upside down." In most institutions, only birth control pills were generally available, but IUD's were also provided occasionally in some Federal and state institutions. The official rationale for the availability of birth control involved some notion of "protection of the woman's health," and provision of the right to contraception to those on furlough. However, the function of birth control in "regulating the menses" was often not so much the protection of a woman's health as it was the provision of contraception, or as some expressed it, "keeping the menses regular and recurring." Many staff members at the visited institutions regarded that the official purposes for birth control were a "subterfuge," and that the "real reason" was that "we can't be everywhere," and that "every woman has a right to protection." The frequency with which women were prodded to "go on the pill" seemed to vary, but nothing conclusive can be stated about it.

Pregnancy rates, which were distinguished on the basis of institutional and non-institutional sources were readily available at Federal institutions -- perhaps only

because they were to be developed for the recent co-corrections conference held by the Bureau -- but were infrequently available in state institutions. State institutions seemed less willing to discuss issues of pregnancy, and careful guidelines and protections on abortions seemed to be lacking in some institutions. Abortions appeared to be available to women at most if not all ten institutions, although the openness with which they were performed, the amount and nature of prior counselling provided, the sources of financial payment, and the services provided to a woman afterwards, varied widely. Pre-natal care was available at all institutions -- indeed, most of the institutions had learned to deal with pregnancies prior to co-corrections -- but the quality of pre-natal care seemed to vary not only respecting the importance with which staff regarded these services, but also in terms of the emotional support provided. As a policy, no institutions regularly allowed babies to remain at the institution with their mothers for a period after birth, although until recently several had permitted it, and certain state institutions had in an earlier generation operated major "mother development" programs. One state institution operated a Title XX Child Visitation Program, but, as mentioned above, funding stipulations allowed children to visit only mothers, and not fathers. However, institutions with furlough policies have arranged for home furloughs to allow for the mother's placement of the child after its birth.

5. Policy.

a. Physical contact. The definition of physical contact policy was widely regarded as a crucial element in the operation of a co-correctional institution. As in most other categories, the ten institutions exhibited a wide range of options in determination of this policy: from not penalizing of any contact short of sexual intercourse, to a prohibition of all physical contact. Two state institutions allowed any behavior "appropriate to public places" to occur, and at these institutions physical contact

between inmate couples was evident. The four Federal institutions were affected by the recent efforts to standardize the articulation and implementation of contact policy throughout the Bureau, and only hand-holding and walking arm-in-arm were permitted by policy. The four other state institutions permitted absolutely no physical contact, one such policy specifying that, "any physical contact such as having one's hands on the shoulders of another, legs intertwined or touching, one person resting or leaning on the body of another, etc., will be considered physical contact and subject to a disciplinary charge." However, three of these four no-contact facilities provided certain times during which the rules against contact were suspended: one allowed walking arm-in-arm after church on Sundays, and permitted dances at which inmates perceived that physical contact was encouraged; a second institution permitted occasional dances at which kissing and body contact were condoned; a third institution permitted hand-holding and "accidental" body contact during roller-skating sessions; the fourth institution had only recently "tightened up" its contact policy, and indicated no immediate intention to relax its new policies. Inmates and staff alike at these four institutions commented on their difficulties in adjusting to no-contact rules. All ten institutions stated, with some qualification, that contact policy would be enforced equally with regard to same-sex and opposite-sex contact.

The articulation of contact policy, and the implementation of that policy, are often two different matters. Each institution had its rumors and legends about often-used rendezvous points, times when a room was left empty, couples who had "set up house," and guards who would "look the other way." The implementation of policy was obviously affected by the presence of attitudes among inmates, custody, and other parts of the staff, that "sexual relationships will occur in prison, it is merely a matter of what kind," and that "sexual relationships between men and women are normal and inevitable."

These stances were reflected in statements to the effect that, "when you put men and women together they're going to get down, no matter what you do to stop them." Implementation of policy seemed to depend on attitudes, as well as the physical environment: expansiveness, hidden closets, dark corners, etc. Among the Federal institutions, where both articulation and implementation of policy have historically varied, the current level of implementation was still in the process of becoming "coordinated," and inmate evidence of the levels of implementation ranged from the commonly-expressed conviction that, "if you get caught, you're gonna pay," to inmate claims that guards cooperated in planning times and places. At the two relatively "liberal" state institutions, it appeared that sexual contact between a man and a woman, if "discreet," was even condoned. Staff at one of these two state institutions suggested that their policies toward heterosexual contact were an extension of the institution's tolerance of homosexual contact. Although several administrators were adamant in stating that homosexual and heterosexual contact received equal sanctions, a few administrators candidly admitted that "public priorities" demanded focussing on control of heterosexual activity, and it was nearly universal -- with only one strong exception -- that homosexual contact was, in fact, regarded more lightly, even if not as the inmate's "unnatural lot."

b. Sanctions for physical contact. Sanctions for contact policy violations included placement in administrative or disciplinary segregation, exclusion from coeducational activities and interaction with the opposite sex, withdrawal of privileges such as furloughs and release programs, and transfer to single-sex institutions. Distinctions were ordinarily made between major and minor violations, and correspondingly differentiated sanctions commonly applied.

All ten institutions used transfer as the most extreme sanction for contact

violations, but there were variations in the uniformity with which this was used. Males at almost all state institutions were ostensibly to be "sent back" for sexual activity or even lesser contact, and the Federal system recently coordinated co-correctional policy to require "sure and swift transfer" for contact violations. Females in coed institutions have been less subject historically to transfer as a disciplinary action for several reasons: five of the six state institutions were the sole facility for incarcerated females in the jurisdiction, and the most extreme sanction available was placement of women in segregation or a higher security status; in the Federal system, women may have represented a "scarce resource" necessary to sustain a co-correctional program; co-corrections could less palpably be presented as a "privilege" to women, who had fewer or no alternatives to co-corrections; and finally, many women were regarded as having problems "in the sexual area."

Indeed, although each Federal and state institution had transferred at least (and in some cases no more than) one male for sexual contact, it was evident that in neither Federal nor state systems have contact policies been rigidly applied to even males, to whom co-corrections could more realistically be presented as a "privilege." Only recently has "sure and swift transfer" echoed throughout the Bureau of Prisons, and its implementation has significantly affected at least one institution where the policy had not been to transfer; because of its location and security level, it had been used as a transfer point, and the options for transfer from the institution were limited.

The Federal system has also emphasized the importance of applying sanctions equally to male and female inmates -- transferring both for sexual contact -- and allowing second chances to both, after a successful term of at least six months has been served at particular single-sex institutions. State institutions also endorsed the concept that a policy of transferring only males can lead to exploitive situations in which a male

can be "blackmailed," as well as be subject to potential physical violence to which he would not respond. At least two states offered to transferred males the opportunity to request a "second chance." However, the resources were generally absent in state systems for implementing a policy which would provide "fairer," more equal sanctions -- just as, in the Federal system, the range of options for women is more restricted.

Whether sanctions should be uniformly applied for same-sex and opposite-sex contact was an issue at most institutions. In several institutions, decisions had been openly reached in particular cases to not transfer inmates involved in same-sex contact -- even where alternative placements existed -- on two premises: that such behavior, although potentially threatening the heterosexual atmosphere, did not constitute a violation of "the rule" of co-corrections; and, secondly, that "shipping them out" to a single-sex institution would probably only engender "more of the same." As a result, there appeared to be a tendency to respond to homosexual contact -- regardless of the sex of the participants -- with the same sanctions applied to women in state systems.

c. Movement and space restrictions. As indicated above in the discussions of structured and unstructured interaction, all institutions subjected inmates to certain types of movement restrictions applicable to one or both sexes, either by time or place. The most common were imaginary or actual perimeter lines around cottages and dorms, to be crossed only by either cottage or dorm residents, or by persons of the same sex as residents; restrictions on movement outside of dorms at certain times of the day; restrictions against movement into, or near, certain places, or movement only while under close surveillance; non-overlapping traffic patterns; and the separation of inmates, by sex, into two domains, to be departed only by program participants. Nearly all institutions prohibited movement around opposite sex dorms, and three or four had sex-

linked domains. Recent changes in movement restrictions are discussed below.

d. Dating behavior. Federal institutions were more articulate in discouraging "serious" relationships between inmates, at least "long-term serious relationships," and "relationships beyond the confines of the institution." However, only one institution was found to restrict program participation together by "serious" couples, and to require program managers to accordingly screen applicants to their programs. Most institutions stipulated that marriages could occur only between inmates whose acquaintance extended back in time prior to their incarceration. However, at least one state institution had witnessed several inmate marriages which had been highly supported by the institution's administration, and had occasioned nearly institution-wide furloughs for wedding attendance.

C. Changing Co-correctional Characteristics

in existence, changes have occurred affecting the face -- if not the spirit -- of co-corrections. While the previous section offered a "snap-shot" of coed institutions at the time they were visited, this section attempts to reflect a "moving picture." The changes which have occurred exist against a background dominated by severe overcrowding in many prisons around the country; a sharp surge in the size, if not changes in the characteristics, of the female offender population; and perceived shifts in correctional philosophy, likened to a "swing of the pendulum" by many, away from programmatic strategies and toward "flat-time thinking."

All co-correctional institutions have undergone changes along what may be termed "critical dimensions." However, administrators have been quick to note that such changes have not occurred because the co-correctional setting was necessarily "out-of-control," but primarily as the result of system-level decisions that certain adjustments

were required. These changes have, therefore, been often placed under the rubric of "increasing accountability," "just catching up with good correctional practice," or "simply doing what the Director sent me in here to do." In more than one situation, the coed institution was merely seen as disproportionately affected by policy-decisions impacting on all institutions in a given jurisdiction. One phenomenon that has accompanied these changes has been a denial that a programmatic value for co-corrections was ever a consideration in either the development or shaping of the co-correctional program. Instead, co-corrections has been described by administrators at many institutions as a measure which served "the needs of the moment" -- even though system-level planning, as noted above, had involved programmatic considerations at the majority of institutions.

The net results of the changes detailed below appeared to be threefold: first, not only has there been a general increase in the level of control, but also a shift in the perceived locus of control away from peer control, the potential effects of close staff-inmate relationships, the potential "softening" effects of the male-female interaction, and the effects on discipline of program participation, and toward control through the fear of disciplinary action and its effects on parole dates, as well as possible transfer. Moreover, the perception of a state of flux, and the anticipation of yet further changes, have contributed in many circumstances to convictions that "it's haphazard, has no direction," "I don't know what's happening," "it's sick the way they change the rules all the time," and "it's coed in name only." Finally, for those to whom co-corrections represented a program strategy, the changes in correctional climate suggested that, even if, as one unit manager stated, "all the ideas haven't been tried yet," at the same time, "Caution creeps in, and this is what the time calls for. . . In five or six years, we'll be back to more creative strategies."

1. Facility.

a. Security level. While nominal security level changes were limited to two Federal facilities -- one raised to medium- and the other lowered to minimum-security -- the prevailing level of security also increased dramatically at three or four additional state institutions, and less dramatically at other institutions. Hence, without undergoing nominal security level changes, actual security level increases accompanied implementation of a combination of the following: the locking of previously open gates; installation of additional security fences, or an initial one, either as a psychological barrier or to control traffic; use of gatehouses to search visitors and strip-search inmates returning from the community; performance of strip-searches not only upon re-entry and for "probable cause," but "at random;" development of central security systems; installation of mass lighting; use of inmate ID cards; and so on.

b. Inmate quarters. Due to increased levels of overcrowding of one or both sexes, the majority of institutions were being forced to either house some inmates in public areas, or to double- and triple-up inmates in smaller rooms. At least one institution was in the process of making all rooms self-enclosed.

2. Inmates.

a. Population size. Nine out of ten institutions had experienced overall population increases during the previous year; nine had witnessed increases in the female population; five had increases in the male population. The one state institution which showed a slight overall population drop was over-capacity for females, but held only half its male capacity due to a recent cessation of male admissions occurring after access to most community programs was suspended. The sole state institution which evidenced a drop in the female population had intended to decrease this population through attrition, as part of a phase-out and return of the institution to single-sex male status. An additional three state and one Federal institutions showed a decline in the male

population, triggered by the surge in female admissions.

b. Sex ratios. As a result of changes in differential rates of admission, at least seven institutions (excluding the one which was phasing-out) have experienced major shifts in sex ratios. Three Federal institutions which had earlier housed three or four males to each female, were moving through increased female admissions toward a balanced sex ratio, and held three males to every two females. Simultaneously the opposite trend was occurring in many state institutions. Four state institutions saw their sex ratios change significantly under the pressure of increased female admissions. The sex ratio flip-flopped from three-to-one, to one-to-three, when one institution became the sole facility for women in the state. In three other state institutions, formerly all-female, the increasing female and decreasing male admissions had shifted sex ratios from an approximation of parity, to a three- or four-to-one ratio disproportionately female.

c. Selection criteria. It is difficult to determine the level to which actual selection criteria have changed over time, and estimates will inevitably understate the frequency with which changes have occurred. Nearly all institutions have undergone relaxation and/or contraction of selection criteria. The one state institution which selected its females reported a general relaxation of criteria in order to maintain the female population level. The three criteria which have been most obviously modified for admission of males to state institutions included: age; eligibility for community programs; and time-in-sentence status. Three institutions had altered age cut-offs: one had gradually eroded its 65-year minimum cut-off, became displeased with its inability to provide programs for younger (thirty year old) males, and reinstated a higher cut-off at 50; a second institution had been unsatisfied with its early experiences with male youth, and retained alternate selection criteria which limited indirectly the numbers of younger

males; a third institution had slightly lowered its age cut-off from 26 to 22. Three institutions had also decreased the importance of eligibility for community programs for admission to the institution: at one institution, this became an alternate criterion; and in two other states, those eligible for community programs were removed to other institutions. One state imposed a new time-in-sentence cut-off of eighteen months for those entering as a special work detail, and at a lower point for those soon to be eligible for pre-release status. Another state had experimented with, but ceased, taking protection cases.

In the Federal system, one institution which had previously served as an alleged "catch bag" for the system was in the process of implementing selection criteria, as noted above, including means to screen out those with a history of sexual assault. Major changes in either selection criteria, or the implementation of selection criteria, at other Federal institutions included: inmate choice; nature of referral; age; and time-in-sentence status. Female admissions seemed to show a decrease in voluntary transfers and an increase in direct commitments. The female age cut-off was lowered at one or two institutions (primarily for Youth Act cases), and raised at a third. In general, inmates in Federal coed institutions seemed to have longer time-in-sentence status than formerly; at the same time, there has been a reported increase in at least one institution of short-term commitments of a few months duration. One institution changed its security level and eliminated eligibility for community programs as an alternate selection criterion, while at the same time making increased exceptions for male protection cases.

3. Staff.

a. Staff-inmate ratios. Staff-inmate ratios appeared to have generally increased, because staff size has not increased in proportion to rises in the inmate popu-

lation. In Federal institutions, the increase in the staff-inmate ratios is documented, and such shifts reportedly not only decreased staff-inmate relationships, but also meant that "staff is stretched and fights brush fires."

b. Administrative turnover. There had been top administrative turnover -- the departure of the superintendent or warden -- at three Federal and two state institutions since "going coed." These five institutions earlier represented -- and four still represent -- the clearest efforts to operate a coed institution for the outcomes anticipated to flow directly from the male-female interaction. The administrators of all five coed institutions which placed the programmatic aspects of co-corrections in a subordinate position have remained in their positions.

4. Programs.

a. Structured interaction. As noted above, the general level of participation of male and female inmates in educational programs and work details seemed to be at a high level, despite the presence of factors preventing full integration. Moreover, at each formerly single-sex state institution, the range of available programs had increased, either through development of programs geared to the "minority interest," or through development of new programs by inmates. An example of a program developed through inmate ingenuity existed at one institution, where inmates performed computer programming under contract, and also operated a computer programmer's school for inmates. Two Federal institutions had also for a period of time operated coed therapy units where men and women were involved in fully-integrated therapy programs.

The trend in structured programs seemed to be strongly toward increased integration. Few programs were any longer "sheltered" for one sex. An increase in movement restrictions had a major negative effect on the number of hours programs were accessible in only one institution, and even there programs were increasingly

accessible to women in close-security. Moreover, at the previously mentioned institution which indirectly excluded males from most programs by scheduling programs at times when males were obliged to be "on the farm," the range of programs available to males was still higher than before the introduction of females and the expansion of programs which followed their arrival. Where grant stipulations restricted the participation of males, efforts were being made to re-negotiate follow-on grants to allow male participation. Aside from the inhibitions on program participation resulting from restrictions on movement, and the continued exclusion of one sex from certain unsupervised work details, two factors seemed to most strongly limit participation in structured programs: first, the presence/absence, and level of, financial incentives; second, pressures arising from the inmate body and staff, or emanating from within an inmate, which required such an exclusion.

b. Unstructured interaction. Whether changes in unstructured interaction are considered to have occurred over time depends strongly on time-frames. Early coed institutions may have "tended toward conservatism" initially, and only later increased the opportunities for interaction outside of programs. If recent trends only are considered, two positive trends emerge: a general increase in all Federal and in at least two state institutions in the integration of recreation; and, a general increase in the integration of dining. Not enough information was available to suggest trends for inmate organizations. Chapel is commonly one of the first areas to become off-bounds except when being used "officially." In at least four state and two Federal institutions, the opportunities for leisure time interaction had been decreased by movement restrictions (perimeter lines around units and cottages; restrictions on movement after evening count; dismissal by unit from "drill hall;" physical or psychological barriers); the manner in which custody has implemented contact policy regulations; and the abolition of certain programs, such as

cottage visitation. In conclusion, it appeared that the ten visited coed institutions have generally moved away from leisure time integration, and toward relatively structured types of "unstructured" activity. More recently emerging coed institutions have, at least initially, conformed to the trend away from integration of leisure time activity.

c. Community linkages. The extent of community programming for inmates in coed institutions has recently decreased sharply in at least six institutions, and has at best "held its own" elsewhere. Three institutions decreased the level of participation in community programs by transferring inmates eligible for such programs to other facilities: one state and one Federal institution transferred male and female inmates to community-based facilities; another state transferred males to a smaller facility. Three other institutions experienced decreases in the level of participation in community programs due to a partial decrease in accessibility to the community: two state institutions ran up against "breakdowns in communication" with nearby community colleges, in both cases focusing on the readiness, or lack thereof, of the selected inmates for such programs. At one of these institutions, long-established community-release criteria had reportedly been modified to meet stipulations of an LEAA-funded grant for the level of female participation, and females who "didn't even know yet what it was to be locked up" were surprised to find themselves released to the community. A third state institution was affected by a jurisdictional re-definition of work- and study-release criteria, which not only deprived three quarters of the inmate body of eligibility, but also involved suspension of furloughs for all inmates in the state system for a period of three months. Reflecting on the potential importance of a "liberal" environment for an open co-correctional program, a former staff member from this institution stated: "once the conservative view of furloughs and release developed, the co-correctional model had to change. I don't know if you can have co-corrections in a conservative model -- without

aggressive community programs." The issue of the indispensability of community programs for co-corrections remains unresolved; the trend away from community programs for coed prisons is strong, but may be complemented by an increase in the number of coed community-based programs. Many coed prisons have recently stepped-up public relations activities to provide a basis for re-negotiating relationships with skeptical communities, or, in at least one case, to defend itself against charges by community officials (who were coming up for re-election) that it was "becoming more and more a prison."

5. Policy.

a. Physical contact. Major changes were evident in either the articulation or implementation of physical contact policy, among both state and Federal institutions. Within the Federal jurisdiction, contact policy in coed institutions has, as discussed above, recently been coordinated Bureau-wide, and permits only hand-holding and walking arm-in-arm. However, most administrators would be quick to note that, even if policy has been articulated in a different manner, policy itself has not changed. What has changed is "the level of implementation," "the priority of implementation," or "the expectation of implementation of policy." Only two states had undergone clear policy changes on physical contact, and both were operating under no-contact rules. One state had moved from a period of allowing "prolonged embraces" in public and of reportedly low implementation of strictures against sexual activity and toward strict enforcement of a no-contact policy, occurring within a broader context of "re-alignment" and "re-affirming boundaries." In a second state, staff took the position that "the one new rule" needed to accommodate a major contingent of the opposite sex was a no-contact rule; however, administration asserted that only a re-affirmation of already existing, unwritten rules against physical contact between inmates was necessary. In the other

four states, changes in either policy or its implementation were not evident.

The increased implementation of contact policy between persons of the opposite sex has been offered, by both inmates and staff, as a factor leading to increased homosexuality. However, other factors have also been cited: decreases in the representation of the minority sex; increased numbers of protection cases who are known homosexuals; decreased leisure time contact; increased movement restrictions; and, increased public tolerance of homosexuality.

b. Sanctions for physical contact. The Federal institutions have recently begun to operate in accord with newly coordinated policy on physical contact violations which, as noted above, requires both transfer for sexual activity, and the application of sanctions regardless of sex. At least two states have re-affirmed an intent to transfer males for sexual activity and two states have explored the availability of alternate placements, including local jails, which would permit the sanction of transfer to be applied more equally.

c. Movement and space restrictions. As noted above, nearly all institutions have recently increased restrictions over movement and use of space. At the simplest level, this has meant drawing a perimeter line around dorms to restrict entry, or inside courtyards to "keep people out of hidden corners." A clear trend exists toward the use of increased movement restrictions, and, to a lesser degree, the allocation of certain spaces to one sex.

D. The Future of Co-corrections

Although the previous section details changes in co-correctional institutions over time, it may not convey the feelings of tentativeness, and even insecurity, which were present at the inception, and during the continuation, of many co-correctional

institutions. This section considers the extent of current planning for further implementation of co-corrections, and problems associated with phasing-out.

I. Anticipated implementations.

Communications with state correctional agencies identified eight states or other jurisdictions which were planning coed institutions. Three of these appeared to be in the operational planning stage, and five considered co-corrections part of a long-range plan. Of the three institutions which were at the operational planning stage, one has recently "gone coed" by introducing its first contingent of women; a second will soon open (after several months of delay in acquiring a non-correctional facility); and a third state has cancelled plans to add males to the sole women's institution in the state, due to increases in the female offender population, which have eliminated the problem of sub-maximal space utilization. The plans in at least two of the other five jurisdictions have been affected by difficulties in obtaining sufficient funds: one state, which had originally planned to build a modern co-correctional facility to open in 1976, has "indefinitely" pushed back its target date to 1981; a second jurisdiction has, in the absence of funds for architectural modifications and program expansion, tabled its plan. Two other jurisdictions have retained co-corrections as part of a long-range plan, and one state was found to be exploring the potential impacts of pending equal rights legislation on the obligation to integrate all public institutions, including prisons.

An emerging trend in states which have recently opened, or plan to open, coed facilities is the maintenance of single-sex placement options for females, as well as for males. One state which recently opened a coed facility is planning the construction of a second facility for women; another recently-opened state facility brought some of the women in the state "closer to home," but still allows women the choice of single-sex incarceration elsewhere in the state; a third state, soon to open its coed facility, will

continue to permit women the alternative of single-sex incarceration which has generally been retained, in other jurisdictions operating coed facilities, only for men.

2. Phasing-out.

Despite the relatively short history of co-corrections, six co-correctional facilities -- counting the Kennedy Youth Center in Morgantown, West Virginia -- have gone out of existence. Table 2 lists the institutions which have ceased to be co-correctional (temporarily in one case), projected program terminations, and actual or projected dates of termination. The reason for termination of co-corrections mentioned in five out of six institutions was the prospect for greater space utilization through a different distribution of the inmate population. In one jurisdiction, a temporary suspension had occurred solely for program-related purposes unrelated to co-corrections; in a second jurisdiction, programmatic considerations about co-corrections were more influential in termination than space problems; in two institutions, programmatic considerations were subordinate to the need to utilize available space more effectively. In two other jurisdictions, co-corrections was viewed primarily as an interim measure to permit maximal use of space. The effects of population pressure have also been cited as the primary motivation for projected program terminations.

The discontinuation of co-corrections has involved several modes of "disassembly," and has brought in its wake entirely new sets of circumstances. The general disassembly pattern has been, as one would expect, the return of the more recently introduced population to its original, or another, single-sex institution. In one case, this involved a partial "exchange" of minority-sex populations, as well as re-distribution of males throughout the state system, and the release of others of both sexes. Early parole has been utilized to avoid transfer back to a single-sex environment of persons who had successfully adjusted to a coed environment. One state removed its female population

TABLE 2
TERMINATED COEDUCATIONAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Institution	Location	Date
Claymont Institution for Women	Claymont, Delaware	May, 1975
Kennedy Youth Center	Morgantown, West Virginia	July, 1975
Connecticut Correctional Institution	Niantic, Connecticut.	May, 1976*
Metropolitan Training Center	Circle Pines, Minnesota	May, 1976
Dwight Correctional Center	Dwight, Illinois	May, 1977
Vienna Correctional Center	Vienna, Illinois	June, 1977
FCI Pleasanton	Pleasanton, California	January, 1978**
FCI Terminal Island	Terminal Island, California	January, 1978**

* re-started September, 1976

** projected termination

from its formerly all-female institution, after a brief and "morale-raising" experiment with co-corrections as an interim measure to better utilize space, and nearby opened a smaller women's facility.

Accompanying or following the termination of co-corrections several problems have occurred or been anticipated which, though not unknown under co-corrections, were exacerbated by its discontinuation, including: problems of control resulting from the separation of steady couples; general animosity among the remaining sex caused by the loss of the presence of the opposite sex; resentment by the transferred sex of being "pulled out;" the "unfairness" of sending an inmate to a stricter institution than his or her behavior has warranted; and, the loss of access to potentially beneficial programs. At the same time, the reversion to single-sex status has elicited the comment by some inmates and staff that, "now things are back to normal." Another state institution anticipated a host of management problems which were not forthcoming, because inmates apparently welcomed the scaling-down of security which accompanied withdrawal from co-corrections. However, the one state which converted its former women's institution to a male institution, after a brief interval of co-corrections, has subsequently experienced an increase in female commitments of a magnitude which not only would have allowed the use of the former women's institution to capacity, but also has pushed the current women's institution beyond double-capacity.

The near future may see the further proliferation of co-correctional institutions but will certainly witness serious consideration, in several jurisdictions, of phasing-out existing programs. At least three visited state institutions -- excluding the one which has since phased-out -- indicated the prospect that increases in female commitments might occasion reversion to single-sex status. An occasionally-expressed Federal plan which would similarly end coed programs at two FCI's and permit their use by single-sex

populations, will be implemented, in the face of continuing population pressures and a lack of firm commitment to the co-correctional concept, by the beginning of 1978. These alternative-utilization plans exist against a background of expectations regarding the future of equal rights legislation, and needs for additional space for female offenders.

III. NATIONAL POLICY AND OPERATIONS

The correspondence between national policy pronouncements about the functions and operational objectives related to a given program, and the actual state-of-affairs, is important to both evaluation and policy-development in a program area. In the case of co-corrections, no real national policy exists or is likely to be articulated in the near future. Therefore, a key question is the divergence between the expectations and operational targets enunciated by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, and what actually occurs in the field. However, the "chain of default" continues through policy statements made (or deferred) by jurisdictional directors, institutional administrators, and along the line to the direct implementation.

A. Articulation of a National Policy

When the Standards and Goals Commission's recommendations on co-corrections were formulated and presented, they were offered in the context of a discussion of the status of women in major institutions, and were implicitly conceptualized as a variant on "women's corrections." The potential impact of coeducational correctional institutions for the system, in terms of provision of meaningful programming for female offenders and expansion of career opportunities for women in the field, was clearly as important, if not more so, than the potential programmatic effects of a mixed population. Indeed, when the Commission's recommendations were drawn up, experience with co-correctional settings had been confined almost entirely to juvenile institutions, among them the first Federal experiment with co-corrections at the Kennedy Youth Center. The only existing adult coed institution at the time -- unless the former state institution for women at Muncy, Pennsylvania, which had introduced several older men to perform farm labor, is counted -- was the FCI at Fort Worth. It is evident, therefore, that the Commission's

recommendations regarding the functions and operations of co-correctional facilities grew from the experience with juvenile co-corrections, the first hopeful observations of co-corrections during the "days of peace and love" at Fort Worth, and the intuition that something else had to be tried. From these early experiences were derived the basic premises that co-correctional institutions could provide the healthy opposite sex relationships and adequate program structure lacking in single-sex institutions.

The Commission's statement on co-corrections included a partially-articulated theory of the programmatic and system-level effects of co-corrections, a mandate to convert single-sex institutions to coed facilities during the ensuing five year period wherever design proved adaptable and populations comparable, as well as specific operational guidelines. In the following discussion, first the relationships between the expectations outlined by the Commission and predominant models of co-corrections, and second, the implementation level of the Commission's operational guidelines, will be considered. Following that will be a brief discussion of the implementation of both jurisdictional policy and operational guidelines.

B. Implementation of Standards and Goals' Models of Co-corrections

The theories of co-corrections outlined by the Commission reflected a mixed intent, partially programmatic, and partially non-programmatic. The main programmatic theory of co-corrections reflected a therapy model. The therapy model is exhibited in assertions such as: "The coeducational program can be an invaluable tool for exploring and dealing with the social and emotional problems related to identity conflicts that many offenders experience." The emphasis on therapy is tinged with an interest in normalizing the institutional environment, and reducing the destructive effects of incarceration: "Institutional programs that provide a single-sex social experience contribute to maladaptive behavior in the institution and in the community. In sexually segregated

facilities it is very difficult for offenders, particularly juveniles and youth, to develop positive, healthy relationships with the opposite sex."⁶ The non-programmatic theory of co-corrections has been already stated above: that mixing populations will serve as a means to the ends of increasing both the delivery of meaningful programs to females, and the participation of women in corrections.

Neither the programmatic nor non-programmatic models of co-corrections expressed by the Commission correspond to the predominant models articulated by existing co-correctional communities during site-visits. The therapy model of co-corrections seems to have been embraced less than either normalization/reintegration, or institutional control. Similarly, the non-programmatic expectations of the Commission have not been generally reflected throughout the proliferation of coed institutions, except perhaps in the Federal system, where co-corrections was expected to serve the non-programmatic system-level need for expanded program options for women. Indeed, even if the level of program availability for women in state coed institutions has secondarily been increased by co-corrections, the intent behind sexual integration of state prisons seems to have been geared to the expansion of program opportunities for women in only about four cases; and where the expansion of program opportunities has occurred elsewhere, it has apparently been largely an incidental effect of the expansion of programs for introduced males. The primary non-programmatic focus of co-corrections has not been program expansion for either sex, but the utilization of available space and reduction of per capita costs. In a broader sense, however, because each logic model of co-corrections appears to exist simultaneously with the other models in any given co-correctional institution, it cannot be said that any model is without application in a particular case.

C. Implementation of Standards and Goals' Operational Guidelines

The Commission also articulated operational guidelines which generally correspond to its expectations for co-corrections: a therapeutic setting, and a means to integrate both correctional programs and staffs. The Commission proposed that the following operation procedures be adopted: ⁷

- o "Classification and diagnostic procedures . . . should give consideration to offenders' problems with the opposite sex."
- o "Coeducational programs should be provided to meet those needs (with regard to the opposite sex)."
- o "Programs . . . should be open to both sexes."
- o "Staff of both sexes should be hired who have interest, ability, and training in coping with the problems of both male and female offenders."
- o "Assignments of staff and offenders to programs and activities should not be based on the sex of either."

The operational guidelines above have been no better than partially implemented. Because co-corrections has infrequently been operated within a therapy model, classification and diagnostic procedures in both State and Federal systems have given little systematic consideration to "offenders' problems with the opposite sex," aside from general efforts to "turn people around." Similarly, regarding only a few institutions could it be said that programs were significantly structured to deal with these problems. Moreover, because co-correctional institutions have almost always inherited a staff -- from either the former single-sex institution, or, in the case of two Federal institutions, from former Public Health Service Hospitals -- and because of a reportedly high level of jurisdictional control by old-line Civil Service Commissions over staff hiring, most emerging coed institutions have had a restricted hand in hiring staff who have "interest, ability, and training in coping with the problems of both male and female offenders."

However, programs generally do appear to be open in coed institutions to both sexes -- and increasingly so over time, although inmate organizations and unsupervised work details often continue to be segregated. An important consideration with respect to the openness of programs is the possibility of the denial of program access to one or both sexes by the implementation of often unanticipated movement restrictions, applicable by both time and place, and a general analagous restriction of unstructured contact in many institutions. While some measure of staff integration seems to have accompanied "going coed" in all coed institutions, the assignment of staff is still limited, in custodial positions particularly and in state institutions generally, by the expectation that staff and inmate alike require protection from potential assault from persons of the opposite sex, as well as by defining privacy in dormitory and toilet facilities as excluding staff of the opposite sex.

In addition to these institutional operational objectives, the Commission also outlined certain system-level operational goals: the extension of the co-correctional concept to all state institutions of adaptable design and comparable populations, and implementation of interstate arrangements where the number of women was insufficient to allow implementation of separate programs in individual jurisdictions. . Neither of these objectives seems to have been deliberately pursued. Many states have converted single-sex institutions to co-corrections, but with limited consideration of "comparable populations," and minimal examination of what this phrase might even mean. No interstate arrangements for operation of a coed institution have been developed or, as far as is known, actively sought.

D. Implementation of Jurisdictional Policy

Not only do the recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal

Justice Standards and Goals on co-corrections not represent a true "national policy," but rarely has either a jurisdiction or an institution issued a "policy" outlining the anticipated benefits of co-corrections. Policies reflecting both theoretical and operational concerns have shifted rapidly -- partly in response to changing system-level needs, and partly through the process of "determining the limits and center" of a program as potentially innovative as co-corrections. However, the relationship between operational shifts and readjustments in expectations have generally not been indicated. Even within the Federal system, where the programmatic intent for co-corrections has been high -- as a means of aiding reintegration, and, to a lesser degree, dealing with problems of sexual identification -- a shift in policy has been evident: away from reintegration and therapy models of co-corrections, and toward institutional control and alternate choice models. Corresponding to shifts in expectations have been shifts in operations: the use of transfer, the selectivity of admission requirements, implementation of contact policy, and so on. In the absence of clearly articulated expectations in both Federal and State institutions, debates about the actual and ideal operations of a given institution will almost inevitably continue.

IV. AVAILABLE EVALUATION DATA

In the Frameworks Paper, it was emphasized that, if the actual presumed causal chains from system impact points and institutional inputs through institutional processes to outcomes and impacts were to be accurately represented, both programmatic and non-programmatic models of co-corrections required articulation. Five causal or logic models of co-corrections were derived from the information obtained in site-visits -- two of them representing a non-programmatic and three of them a programmatic intent for the presence and interaction of male and female inmates in the same institution. These logic models, each of which appears to be present in a given coed institution to a degree varying among institutions and within institutions over time, were then synthesized in a measurement model. This synthesized measurement model comprises the diversity of causal lines present in the individual logic models, and serves as an "envelope" for containing the requisite measurement points in the topic area. Although developed as a center around which to assess past evaluations in the topic area, the measurement model is logically independent from considerations of the degree to which existing information confirms the validity of the causal lines represented in the models, or the attainability of primary and secondary data with which to carry out further evaluation. However, in the context of this model, Chapter IV deals with the question of which measurements indicated in the measurement model have been taken, and Chapter V with the attainability of data for use in further evaluation.

The performance of a judgmental assessment -- based on impressions gleaned from site-visits -- of the validity and accuracy of the five co-correctional models might be perceived as useful for conceptualization of evaluation questions, and appropriate for meeting practitioner needs. For example, much might be said about perceived outcomes.

Improved language and appearance -- "sprucing up" -- were commonly cited. Both sexes often remarked that it was "nice to learn how to talk to a man (woman) again." Levels of predatory homosexuality and incidents of violence were generally considered low in coed institutions. Staff morale seemed to have deteriorated or improved as a function of the degree to which additional staff responsibilities were imposed, and accepted. A more normal, less institutionalized atmosphere was often noted. Co-corrections' function in "spawning the mix of male and female personnel" was, with surprising frequency, viewed as a "bonus" attendant to the coeducational transition. However, while any research team will be able to provide this type of judgmental assessment, it would be fruitless in this case precisely because the logic models found in the Frameworks Paper were constructed from experience, and provide a fuller articulation of the causal chains which are perceived, if only partially, to represent the actual "chain of events." Neither the logic models nor the synthesized measurement model are without an empirical foundation. However, this discussion of available evaluation data does not consider that the data contained in the Interventions Papers, or site-visit reports, provides adequate material for assessing the validity of causal lines derived from the site-visits. The discussion of available data which follows is divided into five sections: evaluation problems, existing research designs, outcome evaluation, impact evaluation, and current research.

A. Evaluation Problems

Ten problems related to implementation of co-correctional evaluation designs emerged from reviews of past evaluation efforts and site-visit interviews: the constricted size of the co-correctional universe; the task of separating dimensions; changing priorities and operations; confounding of variables; insufficient passage of time for taking certain crucial measures; insufficient data collection capability; absence of

research-orientation; non-comparability of data elements across jurisdictions; sensitivity of officials toward substantive matters; and, lack of instrumentation on the topic of co-corrections.

1. Constricted size of the co-correctional universe.

The dispersion of the limited number of coed institutions over a wide geographical area and an almost equal number of jurisdictions hinders access by researchers to the institutions, but, more importantly, has contributed to the difficulty in providing comparative data from other coed institutions. While the wide range of institutions categorized as "co-correctional" might imply that the external validity of research performed within a single institution could be jeopardized, at the same time, the limited number of existing institutions allows the implementation of a research design among a few institutions which permits a high level of generalization.

2. Separating dimensions.

The co-correctional program represents one dimension of an institutional environment, and the degree to which co-correctional factors can be isolated and evaluated apart from the total institutional setting is problematic. The problem of separating dimensions was addressed by a staff member at one coed institution who stated that, "separating out the coeducational aspects of an institution is like performing research in parapsychology and defining as a ghost that which does not appear whenever one is looking for it." Until recently, for example, co-corrections at three Federal institutions -- Fort Worth, Lexington, and Pleasanton -- have been embedded in a package of correctional programs -- all types of community programs, decreased emphasis on security and control, and an emphasis on positive staff-inmate relationships -- which affect institutional atmosphere. As a result, a major issue is the extent to which additional descriptive data about institutional programs must be gathered to

provide a meaningful evaluation framework. The five logical models of co-corrections suggest that certain components of an institutional program structure are essential to evaluation of co-corrections, if those elements are viewed as alternate means, given the absence of certain resources, to develop analogous processes.

3. Changing priorities and operations.

Within a relatively short time-period, there have been constant modifications within the institutions of what may be designated critical variables: sex ratios, age distribution, program content and interaction levels, contact restrictions, use of transfer, and institutional security level. Shifts in goal priorities and institutional operations impede both isolating the phenomenon for study, and even determining measurements of "success" which are appropriate to the circumstances.

4. Confounding of variables.

Even where one co-correctional model predominates, there are a plethora of confounded elements to consider. In the discussion above about separating dimensions, the isolation of co-corrections' effects on institutional environment -- within a structure which includes other elements presumed to engender a more normal institutional environment - was presented as problematic. Similarly, if dress codes are implemented in an institution which also permits male-female interaction, it is difficult to determine how these factors contribute to changes in appearance. Where several partially articulated and partially implemented models are simultaneously in effect, the problem of confounding is even greater. Are inmates attracted and held by the ambience and low security status of coed institutions, or by the presence of the opposite sex? If the presence of subcultures in coed institutions is rare, is it because such homosexual subcultures are circumvented by the continuity of heterosexual options, or because subcultures are more appropriate to longer-term institutions? Due to other research

problems commonly impinging on research in co-corrections, those circumstances in which confounded variables are present need to be conceptually isolated, even if they cannot be empirically separated. Two significant related problems involve "teasing out" the "costs" of co-corrections, and separating the components of certain complex behaviors, e.g., the staff member's writing up an inmate versus the inmate's being written up.

5. Time-frames.

Many important measures for the programmatic models of co-corrections cannot be taken for most institutions, because co-corrections is such a new phenomenon, and measurement requires the passage of time. Because most coed institutions came into being in 1974 and 1975, a sufficient time period has not elapsed subsequent to the release of inmates from these institutions to allow use of the three year recidivism measure recommended by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. Even the more common two-year follow up -- recommended in the explication of the measurement model -- is applicable to only a small percentage of inmates from these institutions. In evaluation of the earliest coed institutions, in which time-tied measurements, such as recidivism data, have been used, it has been necessary to initially use shorter and more variable time periods -- six months, a year, six to eighteen months, etc. -- and to extend the follow-up as data became available. A second effect of the newness of co-corrections is that study cohorts -- especially initial ones -- include many persons who have been minimally exposed to the co-correctional setting, such that certain presumed effects of co-corrections might be less likely to have occurred.

6. Insufficient data collection capability.

In none of the state institutions visited was there either a research office, or

a staff member whose functions primarily involved development of data collection procedures. In most cases, the jurisdiction in which these institutions were located either did not have a research office at the departmental level, or its functions were identified more with "survival" matters, such as computation of population projections, staffing requirements, and payroll. This general lack of data collection capability might be partially compensated for, if co-corrections is viewed as a program, and if what data is collected exists in a form which is comparable to at least some other single-sex institutions within, and coed institutions outside, the jurisdiction.

7. Absence of research orientation.

Because implementation of co-corrections has often involved minimal programmatic intent, interest in documenting the results of the male-female presence and interaction has been absent. Indeed, where fulfillment of system-level needs is perceived as the goal of "going coed," there is an interest in seeing that the male-female presence has the least effect possible on normal institutional operations. Achievement of most system-level goals is grossly estimated, e.g., per capita costs were decreased, capacity utilization increased, etc. Institutional outcomes are conceptualized in terms of minimizing rates of pregnancy, sexual assault, and emotional involvement. However, since an interest exists in seeing that co-corrections has the "least effect," data related to these outcomes may go unrecorded or unreported. The research director in one state corrections department complained that he could not obtain valid data on pregnancies, because such incidents were covered up: "They spirit them out, give them an abortion, and then put them on furlough status as a reward for keeping their mouths shut." This orientation away from research may exist both toward substantive matters, and research in general.

8. Non-comparability of data.

Sets of data may be non-comparable either among institutions or within a given institution. Data may be collected or measurement states defined in a manner which defies making comparisons across jurisdictional lines. The wide range of formulas for calculating recidivism represents one of the most crucial cross-jurisdictional disparities affecting research on co-corrections, to which may be added cross-jurisdictional differences in categorization of incident reports, and a bewildering array of cost-accounting systems. Moreover, data collection procedures and definitions of key measurement states may have changed within a given jurisdiction over time, or data may be partially collected by two different offices in the same institution in a non-comparable manner. In addition, significant differences between jurisdictions, or within a given institution at different points in time, may invalidate cross-comparisons, regardless of comparability in terms of certain critical variables. Consequently, even if statistical procedures are used to adjust for differences among inmate populations, there may be institutional factors which can not so easily be resolved, and other factors which do not facilitate determining the adequacy of comparison groups.

9. Sensitivity toward substantive matters.

Sensitivity of correctional officials toward substantive matters may be generally associated with the levels of population pressure currently experienced by most correctional jurisdictions, but is especially endemic to co-corrections because of a perceived lower tolerance by the "public" for heterosexual contact "between criminals" living "behind the walls" who are supported by "the public dole." While homosexual activity may be perceived as part of the prisoner's "unnatural lot," it was also apparent during site-visits that heterosexual contact "in the joint" may be considered more offensive to "society's values" than predatory, homosexual activity. In either case, sensitivity toward substantive matters, such as contact policy and implementation, and

changes over time in both policies and "institutional flavor," can impede receptiveness to the data collection effort.

10. Lack of instrumentation.

The dearth of instrumentation either specifically designed for research in coed institutions, or adaptable for taking certain measurements in the coed setting, further inhibits evaluation. Some efforts have been made to develop instrumentation useful in research on co-corrections. Cavior and Cohen have developed and tested a scale to assess resident and staff attitudes toward co-corrections in two coed and two male institutions.⁸ Cavior and Cohen stress, however, that the scale is for descriptive and program purposes, rather than for evaluative use. In addition, the scale does not tap differential perceptions of staff and inmates toward desirable sex-role behavior within the institution. Instrumentation for measuring levels and types of sexual activity would also be invaluable in certain types of co-correctional research designs.

B. Existing Research Designs

Most research on co-corrections has focused on the first Federal and State coed institutions -- Fort Worth and Framingham -- though Lexington and Pleasanton have also recently been increasingly the object of study. The preponderance of research on co-corrections has been exclusively or substantially descriptive, and has generally viewed co-corrections as one variable in the institutional environment, including efforts by CONSAD,⁹ Heffernan and Krippel,¹⁰ Lambiotte,¹¹ Patrick,¹² Patrick and McCurdy,¹³ Smykla,¹⁴ and the initial phase of a continuing Framingham study, by Almy et al.¹⁵

Review of the readily available research materials on co-correctional institutions establishes that evaluation studies in the topic area are limited. Several research designs exist, including those of Cavior,¹⁶ Flynn,¹⁷ Heffernan,¹⁸ Jackson,¹⁹ Carney,²⁰ and a

coordinated Federal effort by Burkhead, Cavior and Mabli.²¹ These designs either remain at the proposal stage, were partially implemented, or are currently being implemented. An early design by Cavior was not implemented, in the absence of adequate momentum in the Bureau of Prisons to justify a major effort, but contributed substantially to two later studies now in progress, one by Cavior, and the second by Burkhead, Cavior and Mabli, both of which are considered below. Designs by both Heffernan and Jackson, focusing on the Fort Worth FCI, were only partially implemented, due to difficulty in obtaining either an adequate data base within the institution and/or compatible comparative data from other single-sex and coed institutions. An extensive study of Framingham was earlier projected by Flynn, but administrative changes within the institution hindered its implementation. A series of Framingham recidivism studies performed under Carney's direction have issued from the Massachusetts Department of Corrections and the Boston University School of Social Work, and will presumably be continued. The commonest measurements used in implemented co-correctional research designs include program participation rates, disciplinary levels, recidivism rates, and measures of institutional atmosphere. However, the investigation in progress by Burkhead, Cavior and Mabli uses a wider range of measurements, provides for compatible comparative data, and constitutes the first large-scale, systematic research on co-corrections. The result of both partially implemented and completed designs will be summarized and assessed below against the measures recommended in the synthesized measurement model, and followed by a brief discussion of the major Federal study.

However, before considering the results of previous investigations within the general framework, a brief discussion of the most extensive study of co-corrections to date, the two year Heffernan-Krippel research project at FCI Fort Worth, is warranted. Heffernan and Krippel examined co-corrections in the context of a medium-security,

open institution, housing a population heterogeneous in regard to age, race and offense type, as well as sex, and with an explicit correctional philosophy of "mutuality," and "community engagement." In addition to its descriptive purposes, this study was designed to "explore the question of the degree to which the approaches to corrections embodied in the programs at Fort Worth can be reproduced in other institutional settings." Co-corrections was conceptualized in the Heffernan-Krippel study as one component of a total program involving "normalization." The possible interrelations among these components, including co-corrections, within the Fort Worth FCI were developed in a section of the Final Report on the possible replication of these components in other institutional settings. Data was collected on differential program participation, disciplinary levels and rates between the two sexes, and some comparative data on recidivism was used. This effort, although the most extensive to date, must be regarded as "exploratory," and from the work of Heffernan and Krippel certain major hypotheses about the normalizing effects of co-corrections have been derived, and subsequently proliferated -- or at least entertained -- wherever co-corrections has "sprung up." Like Jackson's study, the main limitation of the Heffernan-Krippel report -- which represents the closest cousin to a "classic" available in the topic area of co-corrections -- is that it focuses on the Fort Worth program as a whole, and only secondarily on co-corrections.

C. Outcome Evaluation

The Frameworks Paper indicated that the key outcomes associated with co-corrections involve the following variables:

- o Facility use in relation to capacity
- o Emotional involvement
- o Provision of heterosexual options
- o Appearance and roles

- o Assault levels
- o Inmate transfer levels
- o Staff turnover
- o Institutional milieu
- o Pregnancy level
- o Program utilization
- o Per capita costs

The expected/desired/tolerable ranges of values for each variable, and the relative importance of a given variable in the evaluation of a given institution or institutional type, will vary as a function of the level of programmatic intent.

Site-visit interviews and a review of available research data showed that few of the measurements associated with these outcomes have been collected either to monitor institutional performance, or to evaluate program effectiveness. Institutions functioning primarily within non-programmatic models of co-corrections have a limited interest in monitoring the effects of co-corrections on institutional operations and, because they have not built in evaluation components, have yielded almost no quantitative or qualitative research on co-correctional outcomes. Certain types of data may have been tabulated but not published, such as pregnancy levels; data on assault levels and staff turnover may have been collected, but not be readily available or suitable for cross-comparisons. This circumstance may be reflective of the general state-of-the-art in correctional research, and not to data collection and research on co-corrections in particular.

Even where co-corrections has been associated with a programmatic intent, research efforts have been either descriptive and/or generally qualitative, or involved quantitative measurements without an adequate basis for comparison. As part of their

design, Heffernan and Krippel hypothesized that disciplinaries for assaults and sexual activity, and administrative transfers for the same offenses, would be inversely related to "the opportunity for contact with both sexes in a variety of roles, by age, background, and occupational expectation through a diversity of population within the inmate body, staff, and outside contacts." In the absence of adequate comparative data, the effects of male-female interaction on disciplinary levels could not really be determined. The only outcome that has been quantitatively studied has been institutional milieu. Jackson's study of the effects of co-corrections on institutional milieu, or atmosphere, provides comparative data on institutional environments for male and female inmates at Fort Worth, and, on a limited basis, with women at Alderson and the Kennedy Youth Center, and men in comparable units at Seagoville. However, this study focuses on the Fort Worth program as a whole, and only secondarily on co-corrections, and could not provide comparative data on other co-correctional institutions. Almy et al. also provided some "soft" quantitative data on the social climate at Framingham, focusing on communication and information flow, punishment and reward, inmate subcultures, sexual relationships, and relationships with the outside community. In addition, some data exists on changes in self-concepts among inmates at certain Federal institutions, but not in any form which would permit conclusions about the effects of co-corrections on self-concept. Program participation rates were a variable in the Heffernan and Krippel study, but were conceptualized not in relation to co-corrections, but as an independent variable hypothetically having an effect on disciplinary levels; although co-corrections was not part of this hypothesis, the finding that both disciplinary levels and the level of supervision for women was disproportionately high led to the hypothesis that closer surveillance, might be increasing the likelihood of detection, or even triggering inappropriate behavior. This observation engendered a decrease in surveillance, and,

hence, the object of study was altered by the process of investigation. In summary, little quantitative and limited qualitative data exists which would permit an assessment of the effects of co-corrections on institutional outcomes.

D. Impact Evaluation

Both programmatic and non-programmatic models of co-corrections anticipate system impacts: programmatic models, the reduction of post-release adjustment problems and recidivism rates; non-programmatic models, the fulfillment of those system-level needs which triggered the original shift into co-corrections. The effectiveness of co-corrections as a solution to correctional system needs may lead, but only indirectly and secondarily, to more positive post-release adjustment and reduced recidivism, perhaps through reduction of population pressure in certain institutions, or the channeling of resources into programming. In any case, non-programmatic models of co-corrections do not anticipate that post-release inmate behavior will be positively impacted by the presence and interaction of male and female inmates within the given institution. The following discussion will consider both outcomes related to post-release adjustment and those related to fulfillment of system level needs.

1. Post-release adjustment.

Direct measures of post-release adjustment, such as family stability and sexual adjustment, are conceptually related directly to several of the outcomes anticipated in the reintegration and therapy models of co-corrections. The outcomes which may be related to post-release adjustment include:

- o Emotional involvement
- o Appearance and roles
- o Sexual options

- o Assault levels
- o Transfers
- o Institutional milieu
- o Pregnancies

Although both the reintegration and therapy models of co-corrections anticipate a reduction of post-release adjustment problems and a consequent positive impact on the reduction of criminal activity, no direct measures of post-release adjustment have been taken. Recidivism rates alone indicate little about the quality of life of those released, or the presence of situational factors which may have played a role in a new offense or revocation of parole; however, they constitute the only comparative data which is readily available. Consequently, one may have no alternative to using recidivism as an ersatz measure of post-release adjustment. At the same time, in the absence of adequate measurement of those outcomes presumed to have an impact on post-release behavior, conclusions may not be drawn about which outcomes of co-corrections, if any, lead to a reduction of adjustment problems after release. In summary, the manner in which the impact of co-correctional programs on post-release behavior has been operationalized allows one to reach no conclusions about which aspects of post-release adjustment have been improved, which outcomes contribute to changes in post-release adjustment, and how post-release adjustment affects recidivism.

The use of recidivism rates as a measure of co-correctional program effectiveness has been hampered by several of the research problems noted above: the absence or incompleteness of recidivism data in a given jurisdiction, the non-comparability of definitions of recidivism, and the passage of an insufficient time-period for the recommended follow-up period to have elapsed. Although recidivism data for all Federal coed institutions will soon be forthcoming, readily available data exists only for those

institutions which are generally regarded as the "first stars" on the co-correctional horizon: Fort Worth, and Framingham. In the pioneering study of the Fort Worth FCI, figures were based on the the 281 residents who had been released to the community, including residents who had been released for only six months, as well as those released for over two years, since Fort Worth had not been in existence long enough to have a sizeable two-year cohort. Some of those released for two years may not have been exposed to Fort Worth long enough for the presumed "patterns of change" to have occurred. This recidivism data could not, therefore, be directly compared with the results of the BOP's recidivism study of 1970 releasees, and estimated correction factors were used to allow for some basis of comparison. In the Framingham recidivism studies by Almy et al., Benedict et al.,²² and Brandon et al.,²³ recidivism was defined as reincarceration for thirty days or more in any Federal or State prison, County House of Correction, or jail, and a distinction was made between new convictions and parole revocations. Initially a six month follow-up period was used, and later this was extended to a period of one year. Obviously, the definitions of recidivism employed in these studies fail to conform in some respect to the measure recommended by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, which suggested that: recidivism be measured by reconvictions only, rather than rearrests and/or reconvictions; crimes from all jurisdictions be included in recidivism calculations; measurements include the time period under supervision and three years after; and, incidents other than reconvictions which lead to revocation be separately tabulated.²⁴ As noted above, however, many jurisdictions generate no recidivism data, and certain drawbacks of the data which is available are a function of the newness of co-corrections, which can only be compensated for by the use of correction factors or appropriate comparative data.

Available recidivism data suggests that co-corrections does have an impact on post-release behavior. The differential analysis of recidivism rates begun by Heffernan and Krippel at Fort Worth initially suggested that females may not profit as much as males from a co-correctional environment; the continuing analysis at Framingham, which involves use of base expectancy scores, consistently suggests the opposite: that females benefit more. The differential analysis of recidivism rates has been continued at Fort Worth, utilizing salient factor scores to predict post-release behavior, and suggests that the levels of post-release criminality by males and females do not differ. The Framingham studies also consider the effects of participation in several programs on recidivism, and although included among these programs are community-linked activities often identified with the co-correctional concept -- furloughs, work-release, study-release, and counseling -- little is revealed by this analysis about the effects of the "coeducational experience." Analyses of the relationship between background variables and post-release behavior for both Fort Worth and Framingham suggest that recidivism may be reduced more for persons with certain characteristics, such as those with drug abuse history. Such findings may only reflect the presence of superior drug treatment programs at these institutions, but could also be supportive of the underlying assumption in the therapy model that drug abusers disproportionately have sex identification problems, and that by the resolution of sex identification problems in a coeducational environment, secondary deviance will also be reduced.

If available data suggests that incarceration in a co-correctional institution has the potential of reducing adjustment problems, it does not convincingly demonstrate the effect of the coeducational experience on post-release behavior. At best, existing data allows one to conclude that some characteristic(s) of those few co-correctional institutions which have been studied reduce(s) recidivism. Whether this characteristic is

a high level of "working relationships," as Heffernan and Krippel originally hypothesized, or the presence of other program characteristics associated with other dimensions of institutional life, cannot be determined. Moreover, as noted above, no conclusions can at this time be drawn about which aspects of post-release adjustment are improved by co-corrections, which outcomes contribute to changes in post-release adjustment, and how post-release adjustment affects recidivism.

2. Solution of system level needs.

The measurement of the effectiveness of co-corrections for the system, as noted in the Frameworks Paper, is directly related to the particular system needs expected to be served by the introduction of co-corrections. However, these need to be considered in relation to other perhaps unanticipated outcomes which may also affect system functioning. For example, the difference between the anticipated and actual cost-reduction can provide a measurement of the "effectiveness" of co-corrections; in reality, other possible "costs" -- such as staff turnover, changes in institutional milieu, limited program participation, and the "foisting" of problem cases on other institutions *** would probably also need to be calculated in determining the costs involved in co-corrections.

As noted in the discussion above concerning research problems, effectiveness of co-corrections as a solution for system-level needs is ordinarily determined in a global manner, by measures of per capita cost reduction, capacity utilization, and program availability. The "costs" attendant to the introduction of males into an underutilized female institution upon overcrowding of women, after a rise in female commitments, may go unnoticed, because of its dissociation from the original purpose of "going coed." Similarly, the impacts of surveillance and sanctions on actual program participation may even go unnoticed where a need for increased program availability provided an incentive

-- perhaps backed by the courts -- for the original move.

The outcomes related to solution of system-level needs include the following:

- o Facility use in relation to capacity
- o Per capita costs
- o Program utilization
- o Inmate transfers
- o Staff turnover
- o Assault level change
- o Emotional involvement
- o Pregnancies

No systematic efforts have been made to determine the efficiency of co-corrections in solving system-level needs, or the contributions of the outcomes above to fulfillment of system-level needs. One study by Schweber-Koren²⁵ shows that the range of programs in institutions occupied by women in the Federal prison system increases in relation to the degree to which an institution becomes sexually integrated. If a goal of implementing co-correctional programs in the Bureau of Prisons was to increase the range of programs available to women -- and the history of Federal involvement in co-corrections supports this view -- then some evidence exists that the range of program offerings has increased to the degree that institutions have become sexually integrated in the Federal system. Program availability in state institutions also seems to increase when males are introduced to a state's single-sex female institution. However, the lack of a programmatic intent for co-corrections has restricted interest in documenting the impact of co-corrections on institutional operations, and, in turn, the effect of changes in institutional operations on fulfillment of system-level needs. The assessment of the "costs" of co-corrections is further complicated by the bewildering array of cost-

accounting procedures used among different jurisdictions, or within the same jurisdiction over time, and the presence of disagreement between institutional business managers and central office or regional budget analysts about the extent to which allocated funds have actually been expended. In summary, the price of co-corrections -- either as a program strategy or a means to fulfill system-level needs -- is a complicated question which has thus far not been addressed.

F Current Research

Interest in substantiating impressions about the effects of co-corrections has, over the past three years, continued to rise within the Bureau of Prisons parallel to the increasing numbers of Federal inmates housed in coed institutions. Two studies in progress within the Bureau -- Cavior's longitudinal study of Morgantown, and the Bureau-wide study by Burkhead, Cavior and Mabli -- promise to provide the basis for a continuing, systematic investigation of co-corrections.

1. The effects of policy changes.

Cavior's longitudinal Morgantown study is the first substantial effort to examine the effects of population and policy changes on a coed institution.²⁶ The stated purpose of the study is to identify critical changes in policy, at both the Bureau and local levels, and determine the effects of these changes on the "personality of the Center." Because a major concern of Cavior's study is the impact of co-corrections on the formerly, and currently, all-male institution, five six-month periods were selected to reflect not only male versus co-correctional periods, but also two different ratios of male to female inmates. Although co-corrections is only one of several variables included in the study, it may nevertheless be regarded as a potentially significant study, in light of the critical importance attributed to changes in policy, on the local and juris-

dictional levels, by inmates, staff, and administrators at those coed institutions site-visited during the National Evaluation Program Phase I Assessment of co-corrections. Cavior's longitudinal study of Morgantown is scheduled for completion at the end of 1977.

2. Towards policy formulation.

The coordinated Bureau-wide co-correctional evaluation being undertaken by Burkhead, Cavior and Mabli, emerged in response to a growing need to substantiate general impressions about the advantages and disadvantages of co-corrections. At a co-corrections conference held at the Federal Correctional Institution located on Terminal Island, and attended by administrators and program managers who currently, or in the recent past, were associated with co-correctional institutions, a specific request was made for a research project that would compare co-correctional and single-sex institutions on several variables, including sexual activity; violence and threats of violence; disciplinary transfers "in" and "out;" staff attitudes toward inmates, co-corrections, and their job; furloughs; time served relative to Parole Commission guidelines; drug abuse activity -- both introduction of contraband drugs and urine analysis results; institution atmosphere; inmate demographic characteristics; and post-release outcomes. In addition, an interest was expressed in answering questions relevant to operational models of co-corrections, such as the effects of institutional single-sex history; distinct physical separation of housing area by sex; varying degrees of interaction among male and female inmates; and different ratios of male to female inmates.

a. Methodological problems. The methodological problems involved in translating the questions of interest to practitioners into a sound research design could be partially anticipated from the earlier discussion of research problems. The main three problems encountered in the study were either logistic or conceptual: the practical

problems involved in establishing the process by which large amounts of data are collected in a uniform manner in multiple institutions; controlling for inmate differences between co-correctional and single-sex institutions; and, separating the effects due to co-corrections from those due to the myriad of other programs that exist in institutions. The practical problem of developing uniform data collection procedures is being resolved through "changes in priorities and reallocation of resources." The potential effect of inmate differences is controlled by "statistical procedures that adjust the result on the variable in question in such a way that differences among inmate populations are effectively eliminated." The third problem -- isolating the effects of co-corrections -- is one that cannot be resolved with complete satisfaction by matching institutions.

The problem of isolating the effect of co-corrections was seen to involve two tasks: capitalizing on the diversity among coeducational institutions, and selecting appropriate comparison institutions. Even while no two institutions -- one coed, the other single sex -- are identical programmatically, the diversity among co-correctional institutions in regard to most of the variables of interest presented an advantage. Because the four Federal coed institutions vary in size of inmate population, the ratio of male to female inmates, average age and age range; have different histories; permit different levels of interaction between male and female inmates; and operate different community programs, the differences which are found between coed and non-coed institutions can be more confidently attributed to co-corrections, rather than to the package of programs with which co-corrections has been commonly associated in the Bureau of Prisons. At the same time, the similarity of three of the four Federal coed institutions in regard to key operational variables -- institutional single-sex history, distinct physical separation of housing, etc. -- disallowed determination of the relative importance of certain operational factors on differences that might be observed among coed institutions.

Consequently, such operational questions were excluded generally from the study. Finally, pairs of comparison single-sex institutions were selected based on inmate age, and their location on a continuum from strict custody to emphasis on community programs.

b. Anticipated results. While several specific methodological problems in the Bureau's study remain unresolved -- the absence of a validated and reliable instrument with which to collect data on homosexuality; the questionableness of using census data as a baseline population for pregnancy rates; the inability to account for subtle inter-institutional differences; and differences in personnel structures and cost-accounting systems between institutions under unit management, and those not -- these problems are relatively minor. The design promises to provide a rich store of basic information about differences between coed and single-sex institutions in terms of inputs (inmate demographic characteristics, the effects on staff and inmate attitudes toward co-corrections of past experience with the concept), insitutional processes (furloughs), outcomes (atmosphere, disciplinary levels, drug abuse levels, rates of homosexuality, pregnancy rates, costs, personality variables), and impacts (recidivism, program availability, and housing of the system's disciplinary problem cases). As the first systematic evaluation of co-corrections, it does not presume it will be "definitive."

One surprising aspect of the design is that the hypotheses are not directional and, in this sense, do not seem to reflect the "state-of-the-art" about certain presumed aspects of co-corrections. For example, hypotheses about differences in inmate populations presumably emerged partially from recent statements that co-corrections is effective only with a selective population; hypotheses about differences in institutional atmosphere and staff-inmate rapport from the theoretical expectation that co-corrections has a positive impact on these areas; hypotheses on drug abuse activity from

the common perception that co-corrections, and not the openness of an institution, leads to an increase in drug abuse activity; hypotheses about the number and diversity of programs presumably from the system-level intent that co-corrections serve as a vehicle to increase delivery of non-traditional programs, especially to women. Indeed, there is an implicit direction behind many of the hypotheses. At the same time, many of the hypotheses could not have appropriately been formulated to indicate the anticipated direction of difference. For example, the hypotheses about the handling by coed institutions of their "fair share" of disciplinary problem cases arises both from the assertion on the system-level that coed institutions "foist" their problem cases on other institutions, and the rejoinder by coed institutions that they, in turn, take more than their "fair share" of protection cases. Therefore, not only may the absence of directional hypotheses in the proposal not represent a negative aspect, but, given the need for researchers to appear to have an "open mind" about what they are investigating -- especially in politically sensitive circumstances -- the use of directional hypotheses might have appeared to "beg the question." The "Research Questions" portion of the proposal lists the questions to be addressed in the study, and is contained in Appendix 1. The reader is referred to the full proposal for data collection instructions and coding conventions.

The discussion of the synthesized measurement model which can be found in the Frameworks Paper emphasized that the imputation of causation is a delicate process and that, in using the measurement model, it is important to determine whether a particular point represents a dependent or independent variable, or may be considered as an intervening or antecedent variable in relation to any given outcome. If these considerations are upper-most when the Bureau's design is reviewed, it is evident that the state-of-the-art in co-correctional evaluation is "off to a good start" but, at the same

time, "just out of the blocks." If the Bureau's study indicates differences between coed and single-sex institutions in terms of certain variables, imputation of causation may occur in terms of any of several probable "chains of assumptions." That the Bureau's current study is not articulated in terms of testing one or another model of co-corrections, does not mean that results could not potentially be interpreted in terms of the models. Indeed, the chains of assumptions behind the Bureau's involvement in co-corrections -- partially articulated, shifting and "in a state of tension" as they appear to be -- may be further clarified by the very act of attempting to interpret the "differences" that are observed. The final report for the Bureau's study, excluding recidivism data for the 1977 post-release sample, will be completed by April, 1978. The follow-up report for the 1977 post-release sample will be completed by July, 1978.

c. Unanswered questions. Were the Bureau of Prisons' research design fully implemented, it would provide the basis for a continuing evaluation of co-corrections. Nevertheless, its results will not be "definitive," and will need substantiation through other research strategies. In addition, the evaluation will provide almost no information on the practices which contribute to differential outcomes, and the effects of different operational models of co-corrections were not included as part of the original design. Certain research topics for future investigation are suggested by the limitations in the Bureau of Prisons design: a demonstration project, operating within a given co-correctional model; a post-release adjustment follow-up, which explores aspects of behavior aside from recidivism; a study of the process of behavior change on living units; and, a more detailed and refined cost-analysis of co-corrections. Before evaluation can be implemented on the state level, efforts must be directed toward development of an adequate data base. Topics for future evaluation of co-corrections are considered further in Chapter VI.

Unfortunately, the full implementation of the Bureau of Prisons' design will apparently be jeopardized by the projected conversion of two of the four participating coed FCI's into single-sex facilities. Removal from the design of institutions to be phased-out would leave only the two similar coed institutions within the design, and pose a major threat to external validity, i.e., the degree to which generalization about the effects of co-corrections can be made across a range of institutions. The maintenance of those institutions in-transition within the design, however, would threaten the internal validity of especially attitudinal data. In either case, by reaching the decision to withdraw two institutions from co-corrections before full implementation of the evaluation design, the Bureau underscored the importance of undertaking co-correctional evaluation at the state level.

V. ATTAINABILITY OF DATA

Insofar as the purpose of a Phase I assessment is to "take a first step toward a conclusive evaluation" of the topic area, an interest of this study is to determine not only the ready availability, but the attainability of the primary data associated with the measurement points contained in the synthesized measurement model. So while Chapter IV dealt with the degree to which these measurements had actually been taken and used, Chapter V is concerned with the amount of effort required to attain the desired data.

A. Availability of Specific Data

Table 3 suggests the general level of effort required to obtain data necessary to measure each of the states described in the synthesized measurement model. This table includes all of the information contained in the explication of the measurement model in the Frameworks Paper, and adds a column on attainability. The Table contains a short description of each of the states, potential measurements for each state, and a final column which generally indicates the immediate attainability of data for each of these measurements. For a more complete description of the measurement model itself, the reader is referred to the Frameworks Paper.

Because of the great diversity in the data-collection capabilities of coeducational correctional institutions, comments concerning the attainability of each measurement must be of a general nature. In the table, an affirmative answer to the question of attainability indicates that the requisite data is readily available at most institutions. "Partial" attainability connotes probable availability in raw form, in one or several locations within a given institution, or in some other degree of incompleteness, at most institutions; comments in regard to partially available data focus on efforts necessary to





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1 OF 2

TABLE 3

EXPLICATION OF MEASUREMENT MODEL AND DATA ATTAINABILITY

	Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
1	Present or projected number of inmates in the system in relation to the capacity of the system's institutions (general population pressure to force change in institution use)	# of sentenced inmates, present and projected, proportionate to rated capacity of system # of sentenced inmates, present and projected, above rated capacity	S, F - Yes. Some states may lack long-term population projections.
2	Availability of space in presently single-sex institutions	# of spaces available in single-sex institutions	S, F - Yes. From jurisdictional records. Includes absolute maximum space, i.e., temporary and makeshift quarters
3	High number of inmates in a given security level relative to the capacity of existing single-sex institutions rated at that security level	Capacity of all institutions of a given security-status proportionate to # of inmates in that status level	S, F - Yes. From jurisdictional records
4	Differences in per capita costs of single-sex institutions in equivalent security levels	Per capita costs by institution, by sex Per capita costs by security level, by sex	S, F - Yes, except in states where lack of equivalent facilities makes this area irrelevant
5	Anticipation of per capita cost reduction through the provision of work crews of the opposite sex in single-sex institutions	Estimates of cost reduction caused by inmate labor Civilian labor costs, broken out from budget, of positions replaceable with inmate labor	S - Possible. May be hidden in various budget lines F - Yes
6	Availability of programs in single-sex institutions which are not available in institutions for the opposite sex	Enumeration of programs by institution	S, F - Yes. Through survey of institutions or jurisdictional records
7	Population pressure from inmates of either or both sexes under youthful offender status	Ratio of # of youthful offenders to the capacity of institutions used for incarceration of youthful offenders, by sex	S, F - Yes
8	Absence of facilities for a given sex in certain regions of the jurisdiction	Geographical placement of institutions, by sex P/A of institutions by regions, by sex	S, F - Yes. From jurisdiction

	Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
9	Correctional system's adoption of co-corrections for programmatic reasons	P/A of system planning for co-corrections P/A of expected outcomes # of protection cases for co-correctional institutions # of sentenced married or common-law couples	S, F - Partial. Would necessitate examination of jurisdictional records, which may not be obtainable
10	Co-correctional institution of given: A. Rated capacity B. Sex ratio (staff and inmate) C. Race ratio (staff and inmate) D. Population size (staff and inmate) E. Security level F. Age range G. Program types	A. # of spaces available B. # of staff and inmates, by sex C. # of staff and inmates, by race D. # of staff and inmates/capacity of institution E. # in each security level, by sex F. Age range by sex G. # of programs available, by sex	S, F - Yes
11	Inmate attitudes regarding: A. Self-identity B. Sex-role attributes C. Sexual behavior	A. Scale measuring self-esteem Scale measuring expressed opposition to institution Prisonization scale Argot role scale Scale measuring post-release expectations B. Survey of inmate concepts of sex-roles C. Survey of inmate attitudes toward sexual behavior (The above administered upon arrival and release)	S - Generally unavailable. Acquisition dependent on cooperation of jurisdiction and institution; development and administration scales and surveys; analysis of data F - Presently unavailable (DCM).
12	Degree to which the contact policy reflects the state's statutes on sexual relations and system's policy on physical contact	P/A of a policy at the system level Divergence of policy from general manual Divergence of policy from statutes	S, F - Generally unavailable, but obtainable through examination of statutes, policies
13	Degree to which the contact policy is based on perceived "community" attitudes of other criminal justice jurisdictions	P/A, and # of court actions, communications, etc.	S, F - Partial. Dependent on cooperation of institution and completeness of files
14	Degree to which the contact policy is based on perceived "local" community attitudes	P/A, and # of letters, newspaper comments, petitions, etc.	S, F - Partial. Dependent on cooperation of institution and completeness of files
15	Degree to which the contact policy is based on perceived staff attitudes toward inmate self-control, morality, statutes, disciplinary control	Questionnaire for staff on contact policy (part of a general survey on attitudes)	F - Partial (some institutions). S - Generally unavailable. Obtainable through cooperation of institution; administration and analysis of questionnaire

	Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
16A	<p>Policy on physical contact:</p> <p>A. With the opposite sex. Maximum allowable contact before sanctions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No physical contact 2. Limited contact 3. No intercourse 4. Overt intercourse 5. Sexual assault 	<p>Codification of policy statements by level -- scaled</p> <p>Attributed causes for changes in policy</p>	<p>F, S - Policy statements available; codification necessary. Causes for policy changes may be more sitate interviews with staff, inmates.</p>
16B	<p>Policy on physical contact:</p> <p>B. With the same sex.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Same restriction and levels as heterosexual 2. Same restrictions, but different sanction level 3. Different restrictions and sanctions 	<p>Codification of policy statements -- scaled</p> <p>Attributed causes for changes in policy</p> <p>Divergence from policy in single-sex institutions of jurisdiction: P/A</p>	<p>F, S - Policy statements available; codification necessary. Causes for policy changes may be more difficult to document, and necessitate interviews with staff, inmates.</p>
17A	<p>Level of permitted interaction in:</p> <p>A. Structured activities:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Education 2. Work 3. Religious services 4. Recreation 5. Organizations 6. Dining 7. Medical 8. Community programs 	<p>P/A of interaction in each area</p> <p>Interactions in each area codified and scaled</p> <p>See measurements for 28-34</p> <p>P/A of policy and/or screening criteria on participation of couples together in programs</p>	<p>S - Partial. Necessary to codify and scale data</p> <p>F - Partial (BCM will provide some data, but will not codify and scale data).</p>
17B	<p>Level of permitted interaction in:</p> <p>B. Unstructured activities (the degree to which men and women have opportunities to "socialize")</p>	<p>Hours per week available for male-female social interaction outside of structured activities</p> <p># of places in which this interaction may/may not occur</p>	<p>S, F - Partial. Obtainable through survey of inmates, staff</p>
18	<p>Dress codes</p>	<p>P/A, by sex</p>	<p>S, F - Yes. Informal dress codes may necessitate interviews with inmates to determine presence or absence.</p>
19	<p>Perceived levels of aggression and assault related to sexual activities</p>	<p>Staff and inmate estimates, by interview or questionnaire</p>	<p>S, F - No. Obtainable with cooperation of institution, construction of questionnaire and analysis of data</p>

	Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
20A	Control mechanisms available for contact policy implementation by surveillance: A. Modification of facilities and equipment 1. Lighting 2. Communication equipment 3. Locks, barriers, etc. 4. Dual facilities	# of modifications, each category Total costs, each category Per capita cost, each category	S, F - Partial. Costs may be hidden in various budget lines.
20B	Control mechanisms available for contact policy implementation by surveillance: B. Control of movement 1. Restrictions of movement by males or females, or both, by: a. time b. area 2. Passes	1. # of places from which males restricted # of places from which females restricted # of places from which both sexes restricted # of places restricted by time, by sex 2. P/A of passes, by sex	S, F - No. Obtainable through examination of policy, and by survey
20C	Control mechanisms available for contact policy implementation by surveillance: C. Staff supervision 1. Increase in security staff size 2. Distribution of supervision 3. Extension of supervisory responsibilities to non-supervisory personnel 4. Proportion of staff by sex to sex of inmates	1. # of new security staff positions Salary: dollar increase 2. Changes in non-supervisory staffing components 3. P/A 4. Security personnel per capita by sex	S - Partial. Difficulties may exist in measuring staff allocation, but possible through job analysis and cost-accounting F - Partial (BCM).
21A	Control mechanisms available by sanction: A. Internal sanctions 1. Reprimand 2. Restriction of privileges 3. Segregation 4. Good time loss	P/A code violations with sanction Types of code violations with sanction # of disciplinaries by violation and sanction levels	S - Partial. However, obtainable with difficulty, because of wide variations among jurisdictions in types of violations, disciplinaries, sanctions. Would necessitate complex coding system F - Partial (BCM will tabulate types and severity of violations, sanctions).
21B	Control mechanisms available by sanction: B. Transfer 1. Availability 2. Type of institution accepting transfers from coed facility 3. Length of time before return	Transfer policy by sex for 1, 2, 3	S, F - Yes

	Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
21C	Control mechanisms available by sanction: C. Additional criminal charges	Policy and # of additional criminal charges for statute violations	S, F - Yes
22	Implementation level of contact policy 1. Limited 2. As other policies 3. Priority	Proportion of disciplinaries for contact to total disciplinaries Severity of contact sanctions compared to severity of all sanctions Proportion of contact disciplinaries to each other disciplinary type	F - Partial (BCM). S - Only one state tabulated data on these measurements. Availability dependent on record-keeping capabilities of institution
22A	Implementation of contact policy: A. Inmates 1. Inmate disciplinaries 2. Differential by sex	1. # of disciplinaries per capita by type # of sanctions by type, by sex 2. Disciplinaries by types per capita, by sex # and % of disciplinaries involving partners and couples, by type and sex Sanction levels of above, by sex	S - Partial. See above Measurements in 22A, however, are more obtainable than those in 22. F - Partial (BCM).
22B	Implementation of contact policy: B. Staff 1. Transfers 2. Resignations 3. Time or salary loss 4. Demotion	P/A, and number of sanctions, each category Ratio by sex, each category	F - Partial (BCM). S - Unknown. Dependent on record-keeping capabilities of institution or jurisdiction
23A	Staff attitudes of existing staff and newly selected staff regarding: A. Perceived sex attributes 1. Males and females in general 2. Male and female staff 3. Male and female inmates	Questionnaire regarding perception of sexual attributes regarding 1, 2, 3, administered to both existing staff and newly selected staff	F - Partial. A few questions in present Federal Co-correctional Opinion Survey are relevant. S - No. Design possible with use of present scales, or development of a new one. Dependent on cooperation of institution, staff
23B	Staff attitudes of existing staff and newly selected staff toward: B. Sexual behavior 1. Heterosexual 2. Homosexual 3. Inter-racial	Section of questionnaire in 23A regarding views on the control of types of heterosexual and homosexual behavior, and attitudes toward inter-racial sexual behavior, administered to both existing staff and newly selected staff	Same as above
24	Diversity and ambivalence on sex-role attributes, sexual normality, and desirability for control of sexual behavior, by staff sex, race and position	Score ranges on questionnaire in 23A Score average on questionnaire by sex, age, race and position	S, F - No. Possible, given existence of questionnaire

	Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
25	In-service training program for staff on: A. Control policy B. Sex attributes C. Sexual behavior D. Inmate-staff relationships concerning sex E. Staff-staff relations	P/A of A-E # of hours of training Pre-post testing to determine retention of training material	S, F - Partial. Obtainable through survey of staff, training office records. Testing dependent on cooperation of institution. Many institutions may lack formal records on # of training hours.
26A	Integration of male and female staff: A. Policy and actual distribution of assignments within the institution by sex of staff (i.e., male residence, perimeter guards)	P/A of policy Codification of positions by availability to each sex P/A of male or female staff in given assignments Distribution of staff assignments, by sex	S - Partial. Difficulty in comparability of staff positions in different institutions F - Partial (BCM will provide statistical information, but assignment categories are extremely general).
26B	Integration of male and female staff: B. Proportion of females to males 1. Total 2. By rank	1. Ratio of females to males 2. Ratio by rank of females to males	F, S - Partial. Obtainable through institutional records, Civil Service files
27A	Medical services: A. Level of use by sex	# and proportion of sick calls, by sex	F - Yes (BCM). S - Unknown, but obtainable through survey
27B	Medical services: B. Policy 1. Birth control 2. Pre-natal and placement procedures 3. Abortion 4. Other sex-related programs 5. Psychotropic drugs	P/A of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 Codification and scaling of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 P/A of counseling for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5	F, S - Partial. Available through survey of medical services departments and codification of data
27C	Medical services: C. Types of services 1. Birth control 2. Pre-natal 3. Abortion 4. Other sex-related programs 5. Psychotropic drugs	1. # per capita/month 2. #/year per capita by source* 3. #/year per capita by source* 4. # and use per capita 5. # and type of prescriptions per capita by sex	S - Partial. Difficulty in obtaining data on source of pregnancy. Possible legal or policy prohibitions against divulging information F - Partial (BCM will collect data on drugs, abortions and pregnancy, source of pregnancy).

* Source: pre-sentence, furlough, institution, other

	Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
28	Psychological services: A. Number of groups, and types B. Integration C. Participation: male/female D. Development of new programs and types E. Counselling for pregnancy	A. Enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. Proportion, per group D. # and type, and enumeration E. P/A, and enumeration	S - Partial. Obtainable by survey. F - Partial (BCM will provide general data. Remainder attainable by survey).
29	Religious services: A. Participation B. Integration C. Development of new programs	A. Ratio, by sex of participants B. P/A C. # and enumeration	F, S - Partial. Determination of participation rates difficult because of lack of counting procedures at services, etc.
30	Work assignments: A. Number and types B. Integration C. Income D. Development of new programs E. Participation rates: male/female F. Hours available; proportion by sex	A. P/A, and enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. P/A and level, by sex D. # and enumeration of new programs E. # of participants by sex in programs, related to sex ratio of total population F. # of hours, by sex	F, S - Partial. Obtainable by survey, examination of institutional records. (BCM will provide general data on participation rates, etc., but not on income or hours available).
31	Educational programs: A. Number and types B. Integration C. Income D. Development of new programs E. Participation rates: male/female F. Hours available; proportion by sex	A. P/A, and enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. P/A and level, by sex D. # and enumeration of new programs E. # of participants by sex in programs, related to sex ratio of total population F. # of hours, by sex	F, S - Partial. Obtainable by survey, examination of records. Several state institutions maintained educational programs through a separately-budgeted and administered school district. Difficulty may arise in obtaining data from a variety of sources. (BCM will provide general data on participation rates, etc., but not on income or hours available).
32	Recreational programs: A. Number and types B. Integration C. Income D. Development of new programs E. Participation rates: male/female F. Hours available; proportion by sex	A. P/A, and enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. P/A and level, by sex D. # and enumeration of new programs E. # of participants by sex in programs related to sex ratio by total population F. # of hours, by sex	F, S - Partial. Obtainable by survey, examination of records, observation. Lack of participation rates, number of hours to be expected at many institutions. (BCM will provide some data on furloughs for recreational purposes).

	Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
33	Organizations: A. Number and types B. Integration C. Income D. Development of new programs E. Participation rates: male/female F. Hours available; proportion by sex	A. P/A, and enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. P/A and level, by sex D. # and enumeration of new programs E. # of participants by sex in programs related to sex ratio by total population F. # of hours, by sex	F, S - Partial. Obtainable by survey, examination of organization records (BCM will provide some data on outside-institution attendance of organizations' meetings).
34	Work-, study-, and community-release programs: A. Number and types B. Integration C. Income D. Development of new programs E. Participation rates: male/female F. Hours available; proportion by sex	A. P/A, and enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. P/A and level, by sex D. # and enumeration of new programs E. # of participants by sex in program related to sex ratio by total population F. # of hours, by sex	S - Partial. Obtainable by survey, examination of institutional records F - Partial (BCM).
35	Furloughs: A. Presence and # B. Policy on taking furloughs by couples C. Proportion: male/female	A. P/A, and # B. P/A, and type C. # per capita, by sex	S - Partial. Obtainable by survey, institutional records F - Partial (BCM).
36	Jurisdictional work-, study-, community-release and furlough policies	P/A and codification	F, S - Yes. Codification necessary
37	System influence on policy	Statutes: P/A and codification Policy statements: P/A and codification	F, S - Yes. Codification necessary
38	Local community influence on policy	# of newspaper comments, petitions, letters, etc.	F, S - Unknown. Dependent on record-keeping capabilities of institution
39	Volunteers used in programs: A. Staff B. Community	# of volunteers from staff # of volunteers from community Types of services provided by volunteers Hours worked per program Age, sex, and race of volunteers in relation to age, sex and race of inmates # of contacts with volunteers per capita	F, S - Partial. Obtainable by survey

Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
40 Staff-inmate distance and relations	Staff/inmate ratio # of staff volunteers for community release # of staff-inmate programs and description # and # per capita of disciplinaries for disrespect and/or disobeying orders Proportion of disciplinaries for disrespect and/or disobeying orders to total disciplinaries # and # per capita of disciplinaries for assault on staff	F, S - Partial. Obtainable by survey. Incomplete record keeping, lack of coding system for disciplinaries may inhibit accurate data-collecting in some categories. (BCM will tabulate some statistics on disciplinaries, staff overtime).
41 Staff morale	Resignations, by sex Transfer requests, by sex Morale scale, by sex # of sick leaves per capita, by sex	F, S - Partial. Obtainable by examination of jurisdictional and institutional records. Morale scale dependent on cooperation of institution, development and administration of scale (BCM, except morale scale).
42 Inmate interaction levels with: A. Same sex B. Opposite sex	Prisonization questionnaire on time spent in interaction, level of interaction, number of interactions by age, by sex Structured observation	F - Partial S - No. Dependent on cooperation of institution, development of questionnaire, observation techniques, etc.
43 Security staff increase	# increase in security staff positions Break out security staff salary from budget	F - Partial (BCM for # increase). S - Unknown. Dependent on availability of line item in budget for this category. Difficulty may arise through combination and overlap of other functions within security positions.
44 Program staff size: A. Increase B. Proportion of total staff	# increase in positions Ratio of program staff/total staff	S - Partial. Obtainable through survey, but difficulty may arise through combination and overlap of other functions with program positions F - Partial (BCM).

Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
45 Program cost: A. Per capita male, female and total B. Proportion of total budget	Break out of FY budget items	F, S - Unknown. May not be a separate line in budget; also may be distributed among several jurisdictions (see 31).
46 Facility per capita cost	Break out of FY budget items	F, S - Unknown. May not be a separate line in budget; also may be distributed among several jurisdictions (see 31).
47 Security per capita costs	Before-after job analyses of all positions, to account for changes in custodial responsibilities of non-custodial staff, and concomitant "real" costs broken out from budget	F - Partial (BCM). S - Unknown. Job analysis dependent on institutional cooperation. Also, difficulty in comparability of security positions, both within jurisdictions over time, and between jurisdictions
48 Total per capita cost for co-corrections	Break out of FY budget items	F, S - Unknown. Several costs may not be broken out in a way which facilitates attribution of increased costs or savings to co-corrections.
49 Alternate space utilization available if institution were single sex	Ratio of spaces utilized by housing both sexes, to estimated use by single sex # of spaces available in housing restricted to one sex	F, S - Yes. Includes absolute maximum number of spaces, including temporary and makeshift quarters
50 Emotional involvement	# of requests for marriage Perceived # of couples by staff, by inmates # of sex-related assaults per capita See 42	S - Partial. Difficulty may arise in incomplete record keeping, lack of staff/inmate cooperation. F - Partial (BCM will provide data on assaults).
51 Inmate appearance change: A. Clothing B. Physical	A. See 18, 22A B. Cavior scale of physical appearance Codified descriptions by staff, by inmates	F, S - No. Dependent on cooperation of institutions, administration of scale, codification of descriptions.

	Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
52	Availability of non-coercive sex options	See 18, 22A, 42 Changes in II from pre-post testing	F, S - Partial. Possibility of infringement of other variables in pre-post test
53	Assault levels	See 22A Compare to pre-co-corrections or comparable single-sex institution	F, S - Unknown. Difficulty in finding comparable single sex institution
54	Administrative transfers for disciplinary measures	See 22A	S - Partial. See 22, 22A F - Partial (BCM).
55	Staff turnover	# of resignations and transfers per capita, by sex See 41 (1-2)	S - Partial. Dependent on institutional or jurisdictional record-keeping F - Partial (BCM).
56	Institutional milieu	CIES See 22A, 41, 42, 58	F - Yes (BCM). S - Partial.
57	Pregnancy level	See 27C and comparative data on women's single-sex institutions, both correctional and other	F, S - Partial. Difficulty in identifying comparable single-sex institutions or in using data on comparable non-correctional coed institutionalized populations, or on non-institutionalized "outside" populations
58	A. Program availability by sex B. Program utilization by sex	A. Proportion of total programs integrated B. Proportion of participation by sex Attendance and achievement rates for each program, total and by sex	F, S - Partial. Participation, attendance and achievement rates available from records, with cooperation of institutions (BCM).
59	Post-release adjustment	Parole data # of divorcees, marriages # of stable sexual relationships # of children living with parents	F, S - Unknown. Availability dependent on parole system record-keeping and cooperation (BCM will provide some parole data).

	Description of State	Possible Measurements	Attainability
60	Changes in system regarding facility availability, program utilization, regional distribution, per capita costs, inmate disturbances, security levels	Use of 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58 for comparison with previous system levels	F, S - Partial. See comments on attainability of identified measurement points. Comparison with previous levels may be difficult because of intrusion of several variables, such as population changes, inflation and other jurisdictional budget changes, public attitudes to corrections, etc.
61	Recidivism	Recidivism rates by sex for releasees after two years Comparative data before and after institution conversion and/or comparable institutions	F, S - Partial. Jurisdictions' methods of determining recidivism rates vary widely, if they exist at all. Difficulty in identifying comparable institutions (DCM will provide 18 - month recidivism follow-up for 1975 releasees, 6 month follow-up for 1977 releasees).

bring this data to the intended level of use. A negative response regarding attainability is accompanied by a summary of the tasks necessary to acquire data. Because of their distinct differences in data collection capabilities, responses are provided for both Federal (F) and State (S) institutions.

B. General Problems of Attainability

In addition to the Table's estimates of the attainability of data at each measurement point, it is also appropriate to comment in a more general manner on data attainability. Chapter III included a discussion of problems incurred by past evaluation efforts, most of which also have application to future research. However, the following discussion focuses specifically on the levels of effort necessary in the collection of data.

1. Lack of requisite data.

Because of the relative lack of interest at the state level in research indications for co-corrections -- indeed, co-corrections was generally received as part of a progression of system-level adjustments -- there was little effort to aggregate data, and the determination of the location of certain types of data was often difficult. Only monitoring data necessary for institutional operations was ordinarily developed, and little of this information is significantly useful in the study of co-corrections. In some institutions, for example, no distinction was made with regard to inmate's sex when determining costs, program participation rates, or other variables often presumed to be significant in co-correctional institutions. Recovery of this information might be impossible, or at least involve intensive tabulation of information in inmates' individual files.

2. Lack of central filing systems.

Because of the extremely limited time period of the site-visits, and the concomitant necessity to examine all aspects of institutional operations and processes, it

was impossible to comprehensively identify types of information gathered at each institution. This problem was compounded by the lack of a centralized location for filing data useful for research. The previously-mentioned lack of a research office in state institutions was reflected by this deficiency. Several jurisdictions maintained separate departments -- and thus separate record-keeping systems -- for important institutional functions such as actual participation in education or counselling programs. In some institutions, various forms of data were not even kept in one office, but were split between two or more different offices. As a result, researchers might initially experience difficulty in the identification of available types and sources of information. The problem becomes one of determining the locations of desired data, its completeness, and the uniformity with which it has been recorded over time. To some extent, these problems may also be encountered in the Federal system; unit management, for example, also entails unit record-keeping, and so requires the researcher to duplicate data collection efforts within each unit.

3. Problems with computerized data-collection.

Two state institutions had computer terminals connected with their jurisdictional data storage systems. These systems contained all information commonly found in an inmate file: personal characteristics, offense history, and history within the institution, including disciplinary action, program participation, escape records, furlough status and history, etc. While much more convenient for the researcher attempting to collect data, at the institutional level the systems were employed only for institutional operations such as determining daily count or "pulling" a file on a particular inmate. At both institutions there was a general lack of understanding about the capabilities of the system.

4. Tabulation and comparability of the data.

Even in institutions with relatively good record-keeping capabilities, requisite data remained in "raw" form, and any research efforts in co-corrections would first require the review of this massive amount of data. The problem is further complicated by the already-mentioned lack of data comparability found in previous research in co-corrections. Variations exist between jurisdictions and within jurisdictions at a large number of points, such as personnel structure (e.g., whether counselors on the correctional staff or part of the unit), disciplinaries and their sanctions (e.g., how disciplinaries are codified), and recidivism data (e.g., how calculated). Therefore, in addition to the tabulation, codification and scaling of data would be necessary in many areas. On the Federal level, however, such problems are alleviated by greater consistency of definitions in these areas. Furthermore, the aforementioned Bureau of Prisons study of co-corrections by Burkhead, Cavior and Mabli will provide, upon completion, a large amount of tabulated data at many of the measurement points of the synthesized model, and in general greatly simplify data collection at the Federal level. The acronym "BCM", used in the Attainability column in Table 3, identifies the information which will be gathered in that Bureauwide study.

5. Sensitivity of data.

Collection of information at several measurement points may be difficult because of the sensitive nature of the data and subsequent reticence of institution staff and inmates to provide accurate information concerning these. The institutional administration may feel political pressure or legal restraints which make information about sexual activity, drug usage, psychiatric care, etc. too sensitive to divulge. Inmates and staff interviews and surveys concerning sex and homosexuality, institutional violence, and interaction levels may be influenced by a variety of factors, which may result in

inaccuracy. Furthermore, the plethora of research efforts at certain co-correctional institutions may make cooperation by staff and inmates more difficult to obtain. Staff at one institution claimed that inmates were so "over-researched" that they may refuse to be interviewed by researchers.

C. Future Avenues for Attaining Data

Despite these problems in attainability of data for the synthesized measurement model, further research may reveal other approaches to data collection which could not be determined by this assessment because of its preliminary nature. Thorough familiarization with formal and informal data-collection capabilities of each institution may reveal alternate means of gathering data through extrapolation from other sources, or discovery of additional measurements at some points. Examination of present and future computerized data-collection systems by experts may reveal ways to more effectively gather and make compatible data which may now be "hidden". As mentioned in Chapter VI, one alternative for further research in co-corrections is an in-depth assessment of the data collection systems at existing coed institutions.

VI. EVALUATION INDICATIONS

Earlier chapters have indicated that the amount and sophistication of prior research on co-corrections have been limited; moreover, that insufficient knowledge is available to estimate the amount of effort required to attain many measures presented in the synthesized measurement model. Because the Bureau of Prisons' co-correctional research project offers the prospect of yielding a rich source of data, which promises to partially fill several major gaps in knowledge, the implementation of another full-scale research design is appropriately deferred until the results of that study have been analyzed, and further research questions refined. Nevertheless, Chapters IV and V suggest several partial investigations, the implementation of which may serve to extend the Federal effort, or complement previous or ongoing research. Chapter VI broadly outlines several such potential research designs, which are given fuller adumbration in the Phase II Design.

The designs outlined in this chapter have been subsumed under two broad purposes: improvements to the utility of the data base; and, determining the effects of co-corrections. Two designs are considered related to the first purpose: the first involves an in-depth study of the attainability of comparable data from state institutions; the second explores the potential for utilizing state data retrieval systems for co-correctional research. Four designs are presented to study the effects of co-corrections: a demonstration project, a follow-up on post-release adjustment, a study of on-unit behavior changes, and a cost-benefit analysis of co-corrections. One type of design which has repeatedly been recommended, and will eventually warrant implementation, would involve a comparative study of the effects of coeducational versus single-sex confinement across several types of institutional settings, including prisons, mental

hospitals, hospitals, schools, prison camps, orphanages, convalescent homes, other military settings, and quarantined populations.

A. Designs to Improve Utility of Data

1. Development of a data base.

a. Problem statement. As previously mentioned, one glaring gap in knowledge about co-corrections is caused by the inconsistency in record-keeping and lack of comparability of data. This lacuna not only is evident among different jurisdictions, but even occurs within single institutions. The de-emphasis on research, the often low programmatic intent for the establishment of co-corrections, and the occasional existence of separate administrative divisions for provision of some services (e.g. education, counselling) contribute to these impediments to facile testing of hypotheses.

b. Design. A project to identify and standardize data at all existing coed institutions could be developed to partially remedy this problem. A team of researchers, spending several weeks or months at each facility, would interview staff and determine all offices in the institution which keep records. The team would examine those records to determine their application to the synthesized measurement model developed by this project. The research to determine data-attainability would not be limited to suggested measurements, but seek others which the present project may have overlooked.

In addition to identifying data, the team would compare data both within institutions over time, and among different jurisdictions. The project would develop procedures to facilitate the standardization of dissimilar data, and distinguish areas, such as disciplinary reports and job classifications, in which definitions may vary so much as to impinge on the comparability of seemingly compatible data. The team would strive to integrate the data as fully as possible with that generated by the Federal effort in

progress.

c. Products. Such a design would produce a catalogue of data available to researchers in co-corrections, and suggestions to further standardize data collection in the field.

2. Establishment of uniformity in computerized data systems.

a. Problem statement. Two visited institutions operated terminals connected to their jurisdictions' computerized data retrieval systems. Current trends suggest that use of such systems may become widespread. However, as discussed in Chapter V, institutional use of these systems was limited to record-keeping and management. In the institutions, little was known about research capabilities of the computers, and it was therefore unclear whether the systems could contribute to research on co-corrections. At the jurisdictional level, the principal use for the systems was to determine information necessary for management decisions, such as offender population projection, payroll, etc. These offices lacked resources available to perform more esoteric research.

b. Design. A second potential design for improving the utility of the co-correctional data-base would develop a team of researchers in corrections and computer science to determine the utility of the present data retrieval systems for research. Like the aforementioned design, this team would be responsible for identifying all data presently available in storage banks; it would also determine the comparability of this data. While such a project would require close cooperation with jurisdictional authorities, it is expected that benefits from the project, through enhancement of computer capabilities, would be an incentive for participation. However, a study of this type might more appropriately occur after, or in tandem with, the National Evaluation Program's imminent Phase I Assessment of Correctional Data Systems.

c. Products. Such a design would produce a catalogue of available data, computer programming techniques useful in the retrieval of such data in a comparable state, and suggestions for methods to standardize both present and future data storage systems for greater utility in research and evaluation of co-corrections.

B. Designs to Determine Effects of Co-corrections

1. Demonstration project.

a. Problem statement. Another impediment to research in co-corrections has been the lack of consistency and uniformity within individual projects. Chapter II has specified the breadth of changes which have occurred over time in coed institutions. A result of these changes has been the inability of evaluators to rigorously analyze outcomes of co-corrections, because of fluctuations in potentially crucial variables and intrusion of other factors into the institutional process. In addition, the wide variety of programmatic and non-programmatic justifications for co-corrections, often existent within the same institution, further complicates the isolation of outcomes resulting from co-corrections.

b. Design. The development of a "model institution" with stable programs and goals, for a period of time sufficient for adequate data on institutional processes and outcomes to be collected, could partially alleviate the problem. Such a design would first entail determination of the most important or useful programs, policies, outcomes, etc. which would be studied. The model would control as many significant variables as possible, including staff selection and training, inmate selection and characteristics, policies on contact, interaction levels, community linkages, nature and extent of programs, etc. An operational framework for the institution could be derived from the

logic models presented in the Frameworks Paper of this Phase I Assessment of Co-corrections, or, alternatively, a given model operationalized in its present form. The model project would include methods to monitor implementation and maintenance of each variable at the determined level. An effective method of insuring implementation might be to tie continued funding of the project to the maintenance of the desired consistency and uniformity. The model project would have an extensive data collection and evaluation design built into it and provision would be made for extensive follow-up of releasees from the model institution. Ideally, selection of the institution for such a model project would also be based on its comparability to other, non-coed institutions for control purposes. While all facets of institutional life could not be compatible, the control institution would necessarily duplicate as closely as possible all aspects of the reintegration model upon which the model institution would be based, with the exception of the presence of both sexes.

c. Products. Such a model program would provide previously unavailable data on the effects of co-corrections, as unsullied as possible, by the wide variety of intervening variables which impact on present coed institutions. It would ideally develop data comparable across both coed and single-sex institutions. Also, the present confounding of outcomes caused by the variety of programmatic and non-programmatic intents would be lessened. Finally, post-release adjustment data which could be comparable with similar data from single-sex institutions could be developed from such a study.

2. Post-release adjustment follow-up.

a. Problem statement. Although modern co-correctional institutions have existed for nearly six years, studies of the behavior of inmates released from the facilities are sparse. Only one state coed institution presently provides useful statistics

on recidivism, and the data from the current Bureau of Prisons study will not be available until July, 1978.

The present state of research not only lacks comparisons of recidivism rates between coed and single-sex facilities; it is devoid of information about other aspects of post-release adjustment. As discussed in Chapter III, recidivism measures do not permit a determination of the quality of life of the releasee, nor, more importantly, do they indicate either which co-correctional outcomes have an effect on post-release adjustment, or how post-release adjustment affects recidivism.

b. Design. A post-release follow-up might be designed which develops large comparable cohorts from releasees from several coed and single-sex institutions. The great diversity in characteristics and geographical location among coed institutions, as detailed in Chapter II, should lend itself to the identification of comparable single-sex institutions. The project would then interview the selected releasees, preferably at several intervals after release. Interviews would include an examination of social and sexual adjustment of releasees, drug usage, job satisfaction and tenure, child care, marital stability, etc. Results would be tabulated and significant differences in post-release adjustment identified. The project could also include collection of data on recidivism from parole officers and other State and Federal criminal justice agencies, as a means of further validating self-report data.

c. Products. A post-release follow-up of this sort, assuming proper controls for randomness and comparability, could yield a clearer perception of the actual effects of co-correctional outcomes on post-release adjustment, and of post-release adjustment on recidivism of incarcerated offenders. Even a more limited study of recidivism rates would provide a valuable complement to the present Federal study.

3. Study of on-unit behavior changes.

a. Problem statement. Even more scarce than investigations of the effects of co-corrections on recidivism are rigorous investigations of its influence on behavior during incarceration. Although a "softening" effect on the violence of prison life is a widely-perceived outcome and an intended goal of many coed institutions, little hard evidence has been collected which would document such an effect. Moreover, changes in self-identity and sex roles are difficult to document. The multiplicity of intervening variables prevents the facile determination of actual, on-unit behavior changes from comparisons of disciplinary rates and other management-oriented data.

b. Design. A potential alternative design which might limit the confounding of certain variables would measure behavioral changes on-unit for suitable periods before and after the introduction of co-corrections at an institution. Such a project would necessitate identification of an institution which is "going coed" well before actual implementation of the program. The design calls for an intensive analysis of the social dynamics of at least one unit of the facility. Such an examination would include levels of interaction (both inmate/inmate and staff/inmate), identification of social systems within the unit, perceived levels of homosexuality, etc. Data might be obtained through a combination of methods, including surveys, interviews and observation. Study of the unit would continue through and beyond the introduction of the opposite sex to the institution. It is assumed that, as in the model-institution design, other variables such as program availability, staff-inmate ratio, etc. would be reasonably constant throughout the investigation. Once again, this might be accomplished through financial support to the institution which would be dependent on maintenance of the program. Alternatively, the effects of policy-change on on-unit behavior might be examined. The project would investigate effects of co-corrections on on-unit behavior,

as exemplified through changes in social structure; "cliques"; presence of and status of homosexuals on the unit; the nature of on-unit relationships; nature and level of violence; and levels of interaction among unit members and between unit members and staff.

c. Products. An on-unit research design could measure changes in behavior without being directly tied to such data as disciplinary levels, which might be subject to changes in administrative policy or staff implementation. It would study aspects of inmate behavior which, while not immediately affected by co-corrections, may nevertheless register significant alterations.

4. Cost-analysis of co-corrections.

a. Problem statement. Despite the perceived importance of financial benefits and costs in the decision to "go coed," little actual evidence has been collected in this area. One reason for this lack is the additional administrative load which would result from separate accounting for each sex. At the same time, co-corrections is potentially susceptible to "hidden costs" stemming from subtle and difficult-to-measure items, such as shifts in staff responsibilities, changes in program participation rates and thus per capita program costs, and benefits from inmate labor. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter IV, additional costs from co-corrections, such as those incurred in possible high staff turnover rates, limited program participation, etc., are even more difficult to delineate. As a result, jurisdictional decision-making concerning implementation and continuation of co-corrections is encumbered by confusion about costs.

b. Design. An intensive study of data concerning the costs and benefits of co-corrections at several institutions could alleviate this lack of knowledge. Experts in cost-analysis could be employed to examine changes in per capita expenditures in several facets of prison operations. The project would examine costs in each department or division of the institution; emphasis would be placed on data in other than monetary

form, such as increases or decreases in labor, materials, etc. In this way, budget changes which result from inflation could be isolated. Job analysis would measure changes in job responsibilities, such as an increased focus on security, which may result from co-corrections. This, however, would be difficult or impossible in institutions whose coed program antedated the beginning of the project. The study would carefully note cases in which increased costs might be a desired goal of the program, such as when increases in a program's budget reflect a higher participation rate resulting from co-corrections. Changes in labor costs, supplies and facility modification would be carefully delineated, and this data would be compared across institutions to determine which costs and benefits are incurred, and under what conditions.

c. Products. The study would yield data useful for administrators to determine the real costs and benefits of co-corrections, when examining the possibility of instituting or continuing coed programs in their jurisdictions.

VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Conclusions

A number of assumptions have been entertained about the functions to be served by, and the potential benefits to be derived from, co-corrections: the reduction of institutional control problems, smoothing out the process of reintegration into the "free world," the development of heterosexual coping skills and clarification of sex-identities, as well as the realization of economies of scale, relief of overcrowding, and achievement of other inmate- and system-centered objectives. At the same time, concern has been expressed about possible adverse consequences of co-corrections: upon women, upon those who were "already there," and on community relationships.

However, the underlying concepts behind coeducational corrections are relatively simple. Corresponding to the non-programmatic and programmatic purposes for the integration of incarcerated men and women, are two basic concepts, neither of which is necessarily valid in all circumstances:

- o Two can live as cheaply as one; and
- o Male and female need each other.

Derived from these basic concepts are the expectations that the presence of men and women in institutions used to capacity will serve the system economy, and that the interaction of incarcerated men and women will have positive effect on institutional functioning, or the inmates' lives.

The spread of co-corrections, since its introduction in 1971, has been rapid, and has often been received as one of several system-level adjustments. The implementation of co-corrections has generally been preceded by scrutinizing the concept as a programmatic strategy, although the actual move into co-corrections has often been

precipitated by a situation unrelated to the programmatic functions of co-corrections.

The process of implementation has often been one of trial-and-error, and most coed institutions have continued to "flex" with the vicissitudes of system-level need. Where decisions have been reached to phase-out co-corrections, they have generally been premised on pressures to maximally use available space, and not on dissatisfaction with the concept of co-corrections.

Co-corrections has been implemented amidst fears of pregnancy, sexual assault, and emotional involvement; and, as a result, heavy external controls have often been applied, in the form of surveillance and sanctions. However, even where a minimum of external controls has been applied, and co-corrections has been valued for its effects on institutional life, it has often been suggested that "it develops a normal atmosphere, but then extracts the normal consequences of that atmosphere."

The amount and sophistication of evidence available to support the several "chains-of-assumptions" which have evolved to explain the effects of coeducational confinement, is limited. Past research generally indicates that co-corrections may, indeed, reduce institutional violence, improve atmosphere, and curb post-release criminality; however, many of the presumed causal links remain unexamined, the first rigorous investigations of co-corrections are only now being initiated, and no conclusions can be drawn with certitude. No firm statement can be made at this time, therefore, about the success or failure of co-corrections to fulfill any set of expectations.

B. Recommendations

Several recommendations for further research in the area of co-corrections have been suggested, to both improve the utility of the data base, and extend the state-of-knowledge regarding certain effects of co-corrections.

This Phase I Assessment of coeducational corrections also suggests a number of additional recommendations:

- o Prospective implementers should keep in mind that co-corrections is still an exploratory concept, which has only begun to be systematically investigated. Nevertheless, despite the "trial-and-error" basis which has often characterized development of coed institutions, the body of experience regarding co-corrections is wide enough that potential implementers should take it into account. Efforts should be made to clearly delineate the thrust and intent of a given program, that is, to develop a definition of what the coed situation is to accomplish.
- o Both potential implementers and administrators of existing institutions should determine on which co-correctional models they are operating, and should isolate points at which expectations are in conflict. However, because disparate expectations stem from divergent concepts of both criminality and the functions of incarceration, these differences do not necessarily need to be reconciled. Algorithms should be developed to represent the activities and desired outcomes in a given institution.
- o The logical structure which describes a given institution should be used to monitor selected institutional processes.
- o When co-corrections is perceived to be a potential solution to system-level problems -- both underutilization and overcrowding -- prior consideration should be given to long-range population projections for both sexes, and potential alternatives to "juggling" populations. Where a single-sex institution is underutilized, consideration should be given to either moving the occupants to a smaller single-sex institution, or redefining the security level of the institution to permit introduction of more offenders of the same sex, as well as to co-corrections. Otherwise, one runs the risk of later precipitating abrupt changes or reversals in programs.
- o Jurisdictions containing low numbers of female offenders, but interested in utilizing co-corrections as a program strategy, should be more aggressive in pursuing development of inter-jurisdictional arrangements.
- o States should not be inhibited from establishing coed institutions by the belief that only the Bureau of Prisons has the resources necessary for coeducational programs. Presently, states are operating coed facilities over as wide a range of institutional characteristics as is the Bureau of Prisons.

- o Whenever possible, women should be afforded the same choice of single-sex or coed confinement that is offered to male offenders. The presence of a choice reconciles two arguments: on the one hand, that female offenders should have an opportunity to develop apart from male-influence in an essentially male-dominated correctional system; and, on the other hand, that "normal" society contains both sexes, and that co-corrections offers opportunities to adjust to two-sex society in a controlled setting. In order to provide the option of single-sex confinement to women in jurisdictions operating coed institutions, inter-jurisdictional arrangements will frequently have to be developed, ordinarily with either other states, or local institutions.
- o Consideration should be given to the rationales given for the necessity of any particular proscriptions of physical and social contact. It should be noted that a rigid and restrictive contact policy, with the consequent feedback phenomenon of evasion and intensified control, appears to result in both staff and inmate tension, and in diversion of energies from other institutional goals and programs.
- o Consideration should be given to development of means to support internally-generated controls. The provision of community activities and/or institutional programs, to provide alternate relationships and alternate uses of time and attention, should be considered as potentially more constructive in a co-correctional setting than the use of high levels of surveillance and sanctions.
- o Consideration should be given to the degree of "normalization" which is possible with regard to heterosexual relationships. For example, where statutes do not prohibit administrative changes in the matter, institutions should review policies on inmate marriage and marital rights.
- o Consideration should be given to whether tendencies to control the institution through differential restrictions on either sex, or in regard to interracial, inter-ethnic, or inter-class relationships, are present.
- o Wherever possible, sanctions for violations by males and females should be equal. If transfer is regarded as a significant tool in effecting institutional control, males and females should be equally subject to transfer. In most jurisdictions, the provision of a single-sex institution to which women may be transferred will require development of inter-jurisdictional arrangements, on either state or local levels.
- o LEAA funding to programs in coed institutions should not exclude inmates of either sex, except where bona fide justifications are present; for example, women's consciousness raising is not a program for which a presumption exists that access should be provided to males. LEAA should also tie continued funding to the maintenance of

sexually non-discriminatory policies on program participation.

- o Coed institutions should work in conjunction with the jurisdiction's civil service commission to develop standards and selection procedures for staff hiring, which account for the interest in working, and ability to work, with offenders of both sexes.
- o In-service training programs should be developed to work with staff in developing and clarifying the policies and desired outcomes for co-corrections, in order that staff may more effectively work to fulfill them.
- o Care should be taken to insure that, in the change-over of women's institutions to co-correctional status, the highest administrative positions in the correctional system are open to women.

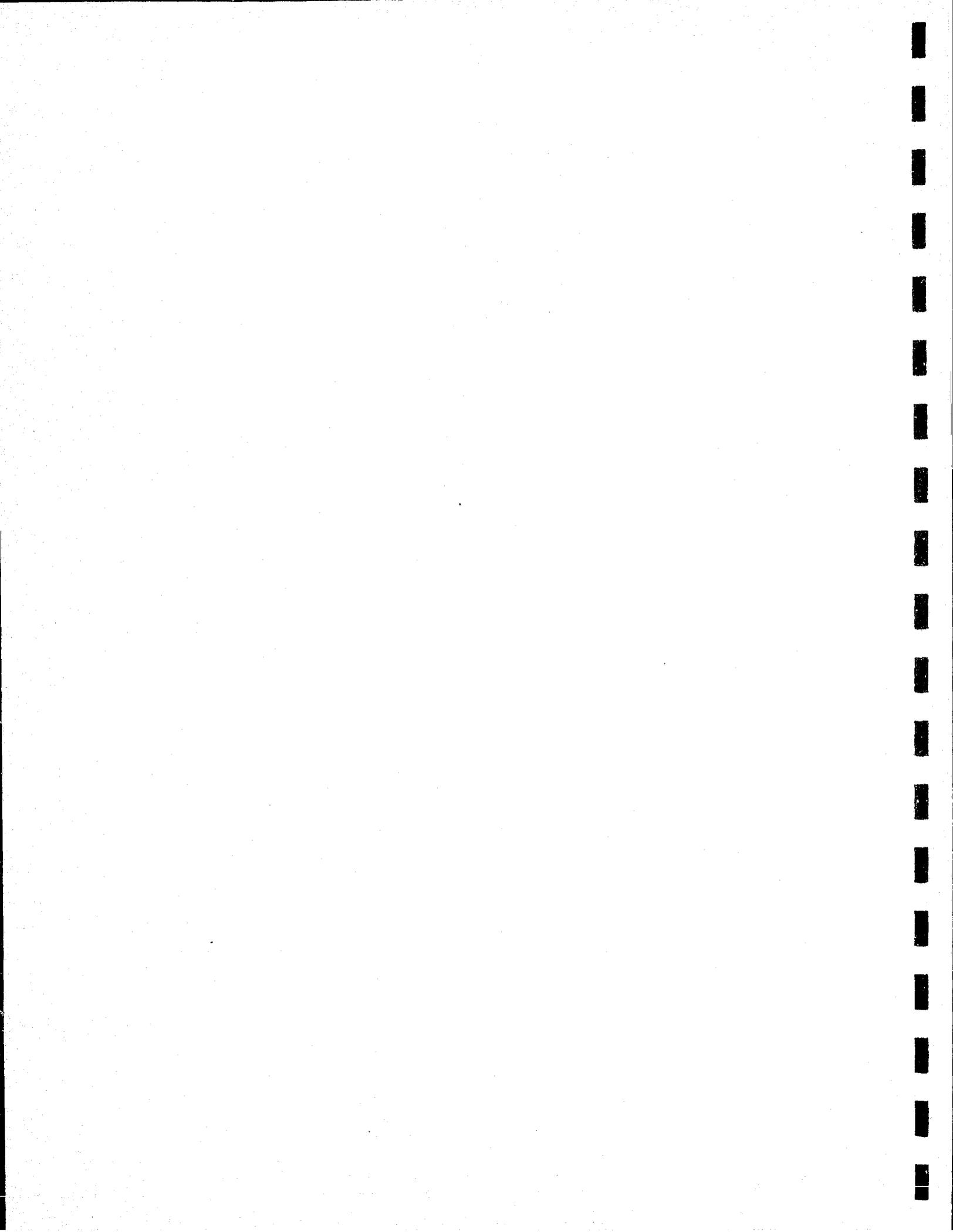
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APPENDIX 1

Research Questions: Bureau of Prisons Co-corrections Proposal



Research Questions

Question 1: Are inmates in co-correctional FCI's different from those in single-sex FCI's?

Hypothesis 1a. There is a difference in general demographic characteristics.

Dependent Variables

Age at commitment for instant offense
Age on July 1, 1977
Ethnicity
Citizenship
Legal residence
Type of commitment (first for instant offense)
Type of sentence
Highest school grade completed at commitment
Beta IQ
SAT Battery Median

Hypothesis 1b. There is a difference in seriousness of prior criminal histories and current offenses.

Dependent Variables

Sentence length
Offense severity (Parole Commission rating)
Salient factor score (Parole Commission rating)
Time served (relative to Parole Commission guidelines)
Central monitoring case (yes/no)
Age at first commitment
Number of prior arrests
Number of prior commitments

Hypothesis 1c. There is a difference in the inmates' drug histories.

Dependent Variables

Drug dependence
Type of drug
Alcoholism

Hypothesis 1d. There is a difference in the ratio of disciplinary transfer to other transfer commitments.

Dependent Variable

Discharge code from prior institution (transfer cases only)

Question 2: Is there a difference in the institution atmosphere and staff-inmate rapport between co-correctional FCI's and single-sex FCI's?

Hypothesis 2a. There is a difference in responses to the Correctional Institutions Environment Scale

Dependent Variables

Correctional Institutions Environment Scales (CIES)

Hypothesis 2b. There is a difference in inmate sick call rate and use of psychotropic medication.

Dependent Variables

Number of males and females seen for sick call per day
Psychotropic medication cases and duration of prescription
Contract versus full-time psychiatrist

Hypothesis 2c. There is a difference in staff morale.

Dependent Variables

Overtime costs per pay period (biweekly)
Sick leave utilization by males and females
Number of resignations by males and females
Lateral transfers by GS-level and same versus different job
Promotions within institution
Promotions requiring transfers both "in" and "out"
Morale scale

Hypothesis 2d. There is a difference in the frequency of Administrative Remedies in general and especially those which are complaints against staff.

Dependent Variable

Administrative Remedies (BP 9's only)

Question 3: Is there a difference in the number (per inmate) and seriousness of disciplinary problems between co-correctional FCI's and single-sex FCI's?

Hypothesis 3a. There is a difference in the rate of inmate on inmate fights and assaults.

Dependent Variables

Inmate on inmate assaults without weapons
Inmate on inmate assaults with weapons
Inmate on inmate fights

Hypothesis 3b. There is a difference in the rate of inmate on staff assaults and threats of assaults.

Dependent Variables

Inmate on staff assaults without weapons
Inmate on staff assaults with weapons
Inmate on staff threats of assaults

Hypothesis 3c. There is a difference in the rate of incident reports.

Dependent Variable

Incident reports

Hypothesis 3d. There is a difference in the rate of commitments to the Special Housing Unit for Administrative Detention.

Dependent Variables

Commitments to and days in Administrative Detention for disciplinary reasons
Commitments to and days in Administrative Detention for protection from other inmates
Number of beds in Administrative Detention

Question 4: Is there a difference in drug abuse activities between co-correctional FCI's and single-sex FCI's.

Hypothesis 4a. There is a difference in the rate of introduction of contraband drugs into the institution.

Dependent Variable

Instances of introduction of contraband drugs

Hypothesis 4b. There is a difference in the rate of use of illegal drugs.

Dependent Variables

Instances of possession of illegal drugs
Instances of overdoses on illegal drugs
Urine analysis tests
Institution drug profile (see hypothesis 1c)

Question 5: Are co-correctional FCI's handling their "fair share" of the disciplinary cases?

Hypothesis 5a. There is a difference in the rate of transfer of disciplinary problem cases.

Dependent Variable

Disciplinary transfers

Question 6: Is there a difference in the rates of consensual and predatory homosexuality between co-correctional FCI's and single-sex FCI's?

Hypothesis 6a. There is a difference in the rate of predatory homosexuality.

Dependent Variables

Instances of homosexual rape
Instances of fights related to homosexuality
Inmate survey

Hypothesis 6b. There is a difference in the rate of consensual homosexuality.

Dependent Variable

Inmate survey on participation in homosexuality

Question 7: Is the pregnancy rate in co-correctional FCI's different from that found for appropriate comparison groups?

Hypothesis 7a. There is a difference in pregnancy rate between women in correctional FCI's and those in the selected comparison groups.

Dependent Variable

Instances of pregnancy

Question 8: Is there a difference in the number of furloughs between co-correctional FCI's and single-sex FCI's?

Hypothesis 8a. There is a difference in the furlough rates.

Dependent Variables

Overnight furloughs
One day furloughs

Question 9: Is there a difference in the number and diversity of program opportunities available to male and female inmates between co-correctional FCI's and single-sex FCI's?

Hypothesis 9a. There is a difference in the number of inmate programs.

Hypothesis 9b. There is a difference in the number of non-traditional (for their sex) programs.

Dependent Variable (9a and 9b)

List of inmate programs

Question 10. Is a co-correctional FCI more expensive to operate than a single-sex FCI?

Hypothesis 10a. There is a difference in operating costs.

Dependent Variables

Staff-inmate ratio

GS-level distribution

Salaries for correctional staff per inmate (average count)
per annum (July 1, 1976 to June 30, 1977)

Overtime costs - regular and for disturbances, escape hunts, etc.
(January 1, 1977 to June 30, 1977)

Question 11: Are staff and inmate attitudes toward co-corrections affected by experience with co-corrections and mode of implementing co-corrections?

Hypothesis 11a. There is a difference in attitude toward co-corrections between staff in co-correctional FCI's and staff who have never worked in co-correctional FCI's.

Hypothesis 11b. There is a difference in attitude toward co-corrections between inmates and staff at young adult and adult co-correctional FCI's.

Dependent Variable (11a and 11b)

Co-corrections Opinion Survey

Question 12: Is there a difference in response patterns to various scales measuring sociological concepts between inmates in co-correctional FCI's and single-sex FCI's?

Hypothesis 12a. There is a difference in inmates' self-esteem.

Hypothesis 12b. There is a difference in inmates' feelings of contextual powerlessness.

Hypothesis 12c. There is a negative relationship between self-esteem and contextual powerlessness.

Hypothesis 12d. There is a difference in inmates' post-prison expectations.

- Hypothesis 12e. There is a positive correlation between self-esteem and post-prison expectations.
- Hypothesis 12f. There is a difference in inmates' expressed opposition to the institution.
- Hypothesis 12g. There is a difference in inmates' attitude toward the law.
- Hypothesis 12h. There is a difference in inmates' degree of prisonization.
- Hypothesis 12i. There is a difference in the Argot roles assumed by inmates:
 "Square John," "Ding," "Polititian," "Right Guy," or "Outlaw."

Dependent Variables (12a, 12b, 12c, 12d, 12e, 12f, 12g, 12h, and 12i)

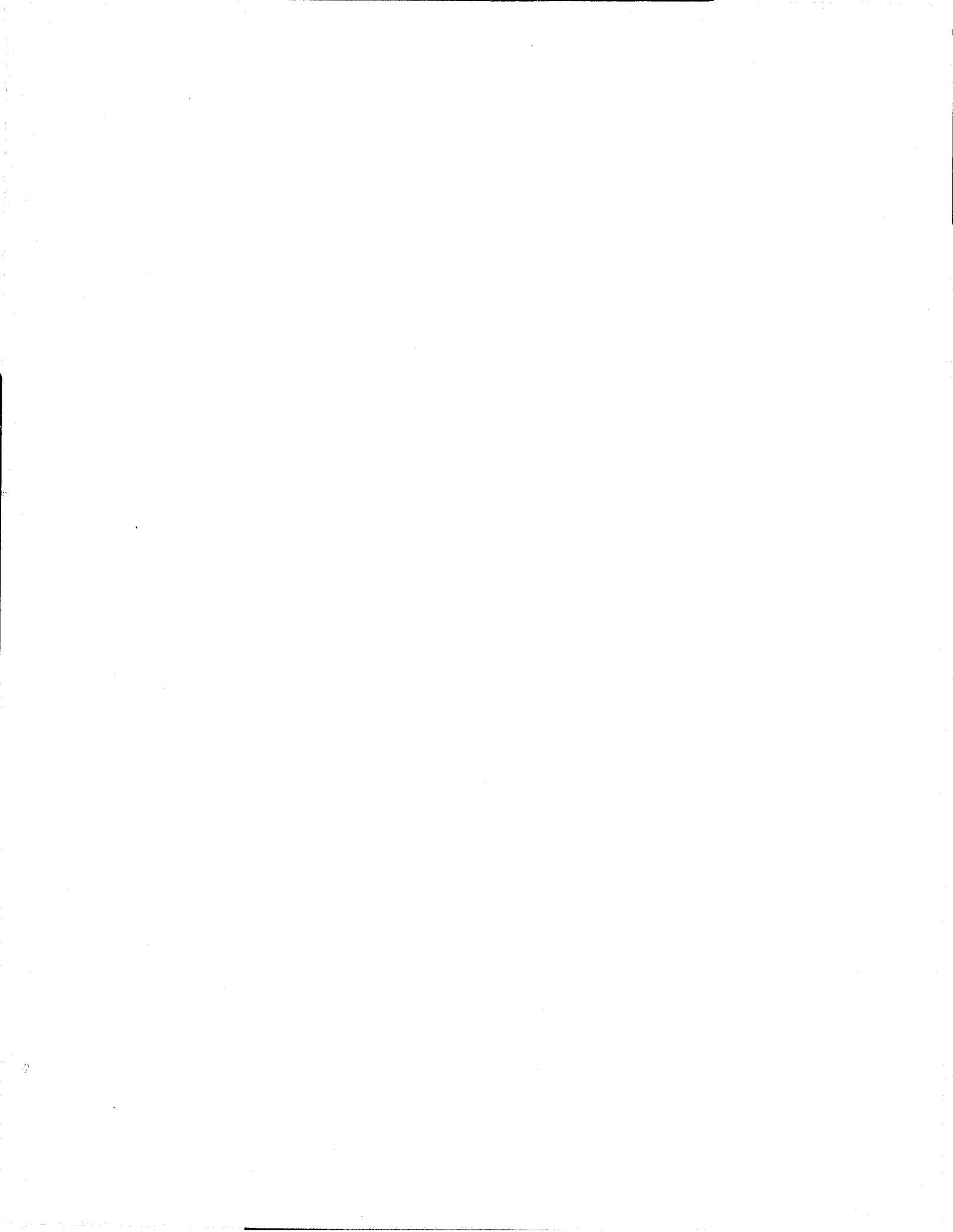
Self-esteem scale
 Contextual powerlessness scale
 Post-prison expectation scale
 Expressed opposition to institutions scale
 Attitude toward the law scale
 Prisonization scale
 Argot role scale

Question 13: Is there a difference in the post-release adjustment of inmates released between co-correctional FCI's and single-sex FCI's?

- Hypothesis 13a. There is a difference in recidivism (recommitment for at least 60 days) rate.
- Hypothesis 13b. Inmates released from co-correctional FCI's will recidivate at a different rate than would be predicted from their Salient Factor scores.

Dependent Variables (13a and 13b)

Outcome 6 months after release to the community for the 1977 release sample
 Outcome 18 months after release to the community for the 1975 release sample
 Salient factor score



END