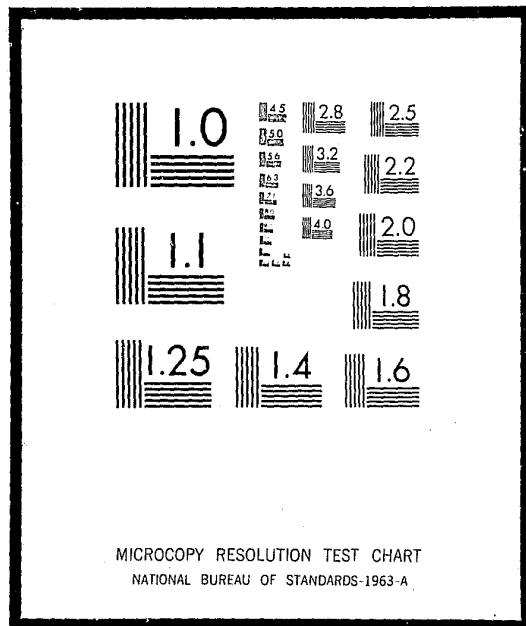


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The Role of Correctional Industries —A Summary Report

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Summary of 18-month study under
Grant No. NI-025

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

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I. INTRODUCTION

This summary report concerns a study of the role of correctional industries. Information regarding the nature of prison industry programs and their relative effectiveness is badly needed. Recent studies of the American correctional system have not focused on these questions in any detail. The task force report on corrections published by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice devotes only a few brief pages to a general discussion of the role of industries in the correctional process.

Historically, prison industries were used more to exploit than to train inmates. In some instances inmate labor was also used to obtain fair competitive advantage in the market place. Legislation and administrative actions have corrected these abuses but at the same time they have created certain barriers to an effective correctional industries program.

That prison labor can be effectively utilized in industries has been demonstrated by the experience of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. For state industries to be effective either as an economic or rehabilitative program, such inadequacies as obsolete equipment, inadequately trained personnel, lack of markets, inmate underemployment, and inefficient production techniques must be identified and corrected.

Correctional industries operations have remained relatively constant over the past twenty-five years. Their traditional role has involved: (1) marketing a limited range of products to other state agencies, (2) paying token wages to inmates and (3) operating so as to minimize competition with free labor and business. This focus has been primarily the consequence of restrictions stemming from depression era legislation. Within these legislative constraints, correctional industries directors have attempted to develop sound programs of rehabilitation and training. The results of their efforts have been and are still being seriously challenged.

The central purpose of the research reported here is to develop on a regional basis the empirical foundation for making sound judgements regarding the operation of correctional industries programs.

The specific goals of this project are fivefold: (1) to examine the current status of prison industries in Iowa and six adjacent states of Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska and South Dakota,

(2) to collect and analyze information obtained from prison personnel in these seven states regarding the role of correctional industries, (3) to compare the attitudes of these prison personnel with those of a national sample of state correctional administrators and key industry directors, (4) to determine the receptivity of influential groups (legislators, business leaders, union officials, and employment specialists) in one state (Iowa) to selected prison industry innovations, and (5) to review the survey findings with regional correctional representatives in terms of their meaning for the future of state and interstate industries programs.

II. DATA COLLECTION

NATIONAL SURVEY

One hundred and two questionnaires were mailed to high ranking state correctional officials and correctional industry directors in each of the fifty states and the District of Columbia. Eighty-five questionnaires were returned, forty-four from administrators and forty-one from industry directors. Complete sets of two questionnaires were returned from thirty-six states. The number and pattern of questionnaire returns suggests that a highly comprehensive sampling of the groups surveyed was achieved.

SEVEN STATE SURVEY

The data for this survey was collected from correctional personnel in seven midwest states: Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Minnesota, Nebraska, South Dakota and Wisconsin. Questionnaires were administered in the major adult prisons to: (1) 70 non-industries administrative staff and (2) 96 correctional industries personnel to the level of supervisor.

COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE SURVEY

This survey focused on three segments of the "power structure" in the state of Iowa. It represents a sampling of the attitudes of legislators, union leaders and industrialists regarding the role of correctional industries.

Questionnaires were sent to all members of the Iowa legislature, and executives in 604 manufacturing firms, and major union representatives. All Iowa industries employing over 500 employees in addition to a sampling of smaller firms were included in the survey. Two questionnaires were sent to each company, one to the president or manager and one to the purchasing agent. The union sample consisted of the presidents of the Iowa Central Bodies (13), Local Trade Council Presidents (17), an officer of each of the State Labor Associations (28), and the members of the Center for Labor and Management's Labor Advisory Committee (17).

III. GOAL CONSENSUS

Details regarding all three surveys, including survey data tables and sample questionnaires, are presented in the report, "The Role of Correctional Industries," published by the University of Iowa's Center for Labor and Management. The following paragraphs briefly summarize the survey findings regarding the relative importance of industries' goals.

There was a surprisingly high degree of consensus among the respondents regarding industry goal priorities. In all three surveys the following goals were rated most highly: (1) to develop in each inmate employed in industries a set of attitudes favorable toward work and the work situation, (2) to develop in each inmate employed in industries the minimum qualifications necessary to hold a job (i.e., general job skills, the ability to follow instructions, follow safety rules, etc.), (3) to develop in each inmate employed in industries attitudes favorable to living a law abiding life.

It is interesting to note that all three goals are rehabilitative in nature and appear to be consistent with current and emerging correctional philosophy. One of the few recommendations made by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice pertaining to prison industries suggest that, "States should work together with the Federal Government to institute modern correctional industries programs aimed at rehabilitation of offenders through instilling good work habits and methods. . . ."

The basic survey patterns in the seven state sample were as follows:

(1) Both industries and non-industries personnel agreed that the most important goals of prison industries are rehabilitative in nature, i.e., attitude change and skill development, (2) Goals related to improving the financial condition of the inmate are perceived at best as being of secondary importance, and (3) Industries and non-industries personnel are in some disagreement regarding institutional maintenance and production goals with industries personnel rating the latter higher and former lower.

The response from community representatives did not differ significantly from that of correctional personnel. It would appear that the views of the public in regard to the role of correctional industries is not greatly at variance with those of correctional administrators.

IV. ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS

Under the general heading of organizational analysis, seven categories of activities were commented on by the respondents. A summary of the survey answers is presented.

MARKETS AND PRODUCTS

A majority of the respondents supported the policy of limiting the sale of prison-made goods to state markets and of legislation requiring state purchasers to give preference to prison-made goods. However, industries personnel believed they were capable of competing on the open market and that their products were of competitive quality. Labor representatives opposed open market conditions—one fourth indicated prison industries are a possible threat to jobs of free men, but they did advocate higher inmate wages and more diverse fringe benefits.

They also indicated that union policies did not prohibit membership to ex-inmates, and three-fourths of the respondents were of the opinion work release inmates should be admitted to union membership. Only fifty-three percent, however, believed that inmate time spent in training under a certified instructor should be counted toward any apprenticeship.

Legislators also favored the present system, although many would look for some degree of financial innovation. For example, half of the legislators supported the operation of a privately financed operation within a prison industry. They also advocated some changes regarding remuneration, fringe benefits and training, and in no instance did the legislators stress profit over the training and rehabilitation of inmates.

The manufacturers were more supportive of change in terms of marketing, product competition and financing than the other respondents. Seventy percent said they would favor modernization and upgrading of prison industries, even though this might cost the state additional funds or result in competition with some commercial enterprises. They also indicated that the major goal of industries should be rehabilitation and that job training should have precedence over profit. Many advo-

cated greater remuneration for inmates as well as eligibility for social security benefits.

Only forty percent of the respondents indicated that their companies hired ex-inmates. Most firms had no policies against hiring them and many felt that they had a social obligation to assist the ex-offender in making an economic readjustment to society. Less than half, however, indicated affirmatively that they would consider hiring work releasees from either jails or state correctional institutions.

FINANCE

Majority opinion endorsed the notion of a state-controlled, self-supporting industries program. There was awareness, however, that the pressure to be fiscally self-sufficient could interfere with the primary goals of inmate attitude change and skill development. Less than 20 percent of the corrections personnel favored the direct involvement of private industry, either financially or through managerial activities.

INTEGRATION

On the other hand, a high proportion of respondents indicated that close coordination of industry activities with other prison programs was highly desirable. The participation of industries personnel on all major decision-making committees was the most frequently recommended method for achieving this integration.

While there was a fairly high degree of agreement regarding how industries should be tied in with the rest of the corrections operation, there was enough divergence to suggest that industries do have some strain toward autonomy, and that this is in part due to what they perceive as a failure of the administration to fully understand and support their role.

REMUNERATION

There seemed to be a near consensus that both money and good time should be used to remunerate the inmate for industrial services. Correctional personnel, however, indicated that the level of remuneration was to be no higher than necessary in order to motivate the inmate to perform on the job. While there was some support for innovations like paid vacations, social security and unemployment compensation for inmates, it was not strong and the probability of these programs devel-

oping was seen as slight. There did not seem to be a feeling that it was industries' role to aid in the provision of a secure financial base for the released inmate.

TRAINING AND ASSIGNMENT

The training of inmates in the rudimentary skills necessary to obtain and hold a job was seen as a major concern of prison industries. The development of high skill levels in larger numbers of inmates was not perceived as industries' responsibility. A high proportion of respondents felt that inmate training needs should be a basic but not exclusive determinant of job assignment.

POLICY

Industries and non-industries correctional personnel, while agreeing on the goals and industries and how they should be managed and financed, differed considerably on some policy issues, such as how industries profits should be used, work scheduling, and maximizing work release. These differences seem to focus primarily around resource utilization with industries personnel being less favorable to programs and procedures that might be perceived as impeding the effectiveness of their operation.

The climate for the implementation of changes within prison industries and for devising new approaches to integrate the ex-inmate back into society appears favorable. Both labor and management posed no major obstacles toward cooperative ventures, and a majority of both officials indicated a willingness to serve on a prison industries advisory board.

V. THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA CONFERENCE

A four-day regional correctional administrators institute was held at the University of Iowa, December 14-17, 1970. The purpose of this meeting was (1) to present the findings of the regional survey, (2) to propose a tentative model of correctional industries and (3) to solicit the comments of the participants toward the research results, the suggested model and the role of industries in their region.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

In addition to the survey reports discussed by the principal researchers Jude West and John Stratton of the University of Iowa, talks were presented by a variety of other speakers including representatives of the Department of Justice, a University of Iowa Law Professor, the Director of Industries from the Canadian Penitentiary System and a businessman. The general views of each of these participants is briefly summarized below.

Lawrence Carpenter, Chief, Corrections Program Division, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Department of Justice spoke on the topic "Corrections in the 1970's." He said that corrections in America were deeply in trouble and that the entire system needed to be rebuilt. Carpenter suggested funds might be obtained in part by centralization and the reduction of facilities duplication. He stated that prisons are the most ineffective means of correction and concluded that "prisons must be reserved for only those offenders who present an immediate and dangerous threat to public safety." Carpenter pointed out that LEAA is financing a variety of programs, e.g., administrative reorganization, staff training, construction of model correctional centers, and research which will hopefully point the way to greater correctional effectiveness. Carpenter indicated that the Federal Government is providing more funds than ever before for correctional improvement and concluded his presentation stating: "Correctional administrators have said for many years that they could do the job society expects of them if they had the money and resources. These are now available. Now they will have the chance to show us what they

can do. But even with this new support, I predict that the task is not going to be easy."

The topic covered by Phillip J. Mause, Assistant Professor of Law, the University of Iowa, was "Prison Industries: Legal Limitations and Some Policy Perspectives." Mause listed four policy considerations which he felt should be examined in depth as they applied to prison industries: (1) Removal, (2) Net cost of correction system, (3) Rehabilitation and (4) Competition with private industry. He stated that decisions are made in these areas without adequate information and that traditional limitations are accepted without questioning the validity of the premises on which they are based. Mause called for research on the objectives of prison industry and urged that correctional personnel push for the changes suggested by research findings.

"The Role of Correctional Industries" was the subject of W. Robert Burkhart, Corrections Specialist, U.S. Department of Justice. Burkhart stated that correctional industries needed to develop more specific conceptions of their goals than the universally accepted and overly broad one of rehabilitation. He indicated that program evaluation was needed to determine how well correctional goals are being achieved, saying, "Although there are many limitations to these findings, we must base our decisions in this field upon the information we have." Burkhart summarized a number of research efforts to illustrate both the problems and the utility of this activity. He concluded his presentation by suggesting that correctional managers demand and utilize research to both clarify goals and to evaluate their attainment, stating: "Experts must make the critical decisions regarding both the aims of corrections and the methods to achieve these aims; but management and research specialists can be of great assistance in helping to establish, maintain and evaluate the efforts derived from such decisions."

Arthur H. Wulfsberg, former Assistant Vice President, Spacecraft Division, Collins Radio, analyzed prison industries operations from the viewpoint of a private sector businessman. He expressed disappointment at the rather limited number of prison industries operations in the seven state area and indicated that many of the job skills created were irrelevant to the job market of the region. Consequently, the work provides little motivation or improved work attitudes.

He pinpointed five constraints under which prison industries must operate: (1) Limited markets, (2) Lack of capital for modernization, (3) Large labor intensive industries, (4) Industries requiring little training and (5) High employee turnover coupled with competition for inmate time with other institutional programs.

Wulfsberg suggested that the solution to these problems might be accomplished through changes in legislation, the modernization of industries, and the employment of free employees within industries.

For comparative and informational purposes, J. A. McLaughlin,

Director of Industries, Canadian Penitentiary System, reviewed a recent Canadian Federal Prison Industries Study conducted by Professor Robert Evans, Jr.

After presenting some major characteristics of the Canadian Penitentiary Service and the general background of this particular study, McLaughlin highlighted the general recommendations in the Evans Report. Less than five percent of the recidivists studied credited industries experience as useful in acquiring their first job, and it was recommended that greater emphasis be placed on white-collar job training. Specific industries such as agriculture, shoe manufacturing and the needle trade should be reduced or possibly abolished.

According to the Evans report, industries training opportunities should be broadened and inmates assigned work in which they may be interested. Moreover, marketing policies and internal organizational structure and policies should be consistent with the objective of increasing inmate job skills for future employment. Many specific recommendations of the Evans study parallel those offered in the Stratton-West study.

VI. A SUGGESTED MODEL FOR CORRECTIONAL INDUSTRIES

To facilitate the workshop discussions, conference participants were offered a model for correctional industries. This model was based on the results of the project survey as well as visits to the Federal Industries Program in Atlanta, Georgia, and prison industry operations in each of the seven states.

The model: (1) locates the position of industries in the total corrections system (Chart I), (2) focuses upon the correctional industries process as a subset of the total correctional system (Chart II), (3) examines inmate progression through correctional industries by length of sentence (Chart III), (4) suggests wage levels for three types of work in the rehabilitative work industries (Chart IV), (5) presents a ten-year projection of the external factors affecting correctional industries (Chart V), and (6) suggests the correctional industries functional mix over time (Chart VI).

Chart I—The Position of Prison Industries in the Total Corrections System

The complex processes of corrections from the acceptance of the inmate into the system through his return to society as a law abiding member of the community are outlined. An inmate's education, work experience, emotional and mental handicaps and the length of the sentence are analyzed before he is directed into the various processes best suited for his rehabilitation and training. Some inmates are assigned to general and vocational educational activities and are exposed to the efforts of corrections counselors, chaplains and psychiatrists. Others are assigned to correctional industries for work skills development. Within industries certain work activities are more specifically training-oriented than others. These are labeled "rehabilitative" industries. Other industries labeled "non-rehabilitative" industries are not designed to develop work skills within inmates but rather to occupy their time constructively.

Chart II—Correctional Industries Process: A Subset of the Total Correctional System

The primary goal of industries is to return to society an individual

with positive work attitudes and skills that qualify him for job placement. After the prison work experience, therefore, the next step generally is work release or return into society through parole.

Inmates working primarily in rehabilitative industries pursue this work from seventy-five to one hundred percent of the working day and are presumed to have few interruptions for other correctional activities.

Inmates in "non-rehabilitative" industries are assigned primarily as a way to occupy their time. This is done either on a full-time basis (six to eight hours a day) or on a half-time basis (three to four hours a day). This kind of assignment is reserved for long-term inmates or those who are thought not to be able to benefit from more rehabilitative industries programs. It is estimated that inmates who are working in vocational or general education programs can spend twenty-five to fifty percent of their time in certain repetitive "non-rehabilitative" types of industries operations.

Chart III--Inmate Progression and Growth Through Correctional Industries by the Length of Sentence

If an inmate's sentence is of a short duration, i.e., less than two years, the training goal is limited to the development of positive work attitudes and the acquisition of general work skills. Certain industries could be developed to accomplish these limited ends. If the sentence is from one to four years, a combination of industries activities could be utilized to develop in the inmate a positive work attitude and some specific work skills which would be transferable to similar jobs in private industry. And if the sentence is as long as five years, the inmate can be placed in a type of industry designed to produce a skilled workman.

As indicated in Chart III, the inmate may begin in a general work skills program, and then, depending on the length of sentence, he can proceed to specific work skills programs or possibly into training for a skilled trade. This progression would depend upon ability, desire and general work record. It is also possible for some inmates to progress directly from educational activities to work release without having obtained any correctional work experience. Inmates who do not apply themselves are transferred out of the rehabilitative or training industries into the non-rehabilitative type.

Chart IV--The Wage Level for Three Types of Work in Rehabilitative Work Industries

The question was raised in the three surveys whether inmates' remuneration should be increased. Some corrections personnel indicated that inmates should receive the minimum wage, but this was a minority opinion. Consequently, three types of wage scales based on three types of rehabilitative industries operations are suggested. At the basic level, the inmate would receive from twenty-five to fifty cents an hour depend-

ing upon his experience, attitude and merit. In higher-level training operations, pay would range from fifty to seventy-five cents an hour. For the very skilled jobs, the inmate would receive up to one dollar an hour. With higher wages, inmate maintenance obligation would increase.

Chart V--A Ten-Year Projection of the Environmental Factors Affecting Correctional Industries

Discussions with correctional industries personnel and analyses of survey data indicate that the major influences on industry operations come not from industries personnel but from legislatures and community interest groups. Many of the current policies and procedures in industries are based upon legislation developed in the late thirties and assumed attitudes of community, labor, management and legislative groups. Based on the analysis of the Iowa community power structure survey and the report of the President's Commission on Crime, it appears that legislation restricting correctional industries and corrections in general will be reduced. It is also presumed that legislation will be enacted that permits greater latitude in the development of realistic rehabilitation programs. With legislative restrictions reduced and a more favorable business environment, industries personnel can institute major changes. By 1980 it is predicted that correctional industries goals and procedures will be relatively free from certain existing pressures exerted by forces outside the corrections system.

Chart VI--Suggested Correctional Industries Functional Mix Over Time

Four industry variables are analyzed: marketing, finance, technology and location. In 1970 markets are generally limited to state and federal agencies. The basic sources of financing are short run, and for the most part the operations are non-automated. Industries operate only within prison walls, and industry directors have little involvement in or control over the work release program. None of the seven states studied operate an industry operation outside the walls. Based upon the assumption that industries would in the future have more autonomy in setting their policies and procedures, it is suggested that programs be reevaluated in terms of the above four variables.

The industries market could be expanded to the general public. Industries by the very nature of their markets compete with private manufacturers who service state agencies. This type of competition is allowed by the private sector, and it appears that business will allow some extension of competition into areas where competition is not strong. Industries directors must assess the market needs of their state, the capability of a particular industry to supply products in demand, and means of distributing these items to the public. New financing

arrangements should also be explored, including the possibility of private industry-financing operations within or outside the walls. Greater automation and improved production techniques should be instituted to expose inmates to the latest technological procedures and facilitate their adjustment to real work situations.

It is suggested that in the next decade industries will move toward more open marketing, with some programs financed primarily by private sources. This will permit industries to obtain resources for automated operations, thus preparing inmates for the type of work situations they are more likely to encounter upon reentering society.

Movement away from a closed to a more open system is stressed. It is suggested that industry can best accomplish its goals by considering various aspects of the 1975-1980 mix of marketing, financing, technology and program location. Not all these changes should or will be accomplished within ten years in every state, but the exploration of proposed alternatives will no doubt lead to significant changes in the operations of correctional industries.

CHART I
THE CORRECTIONAL PROCESS

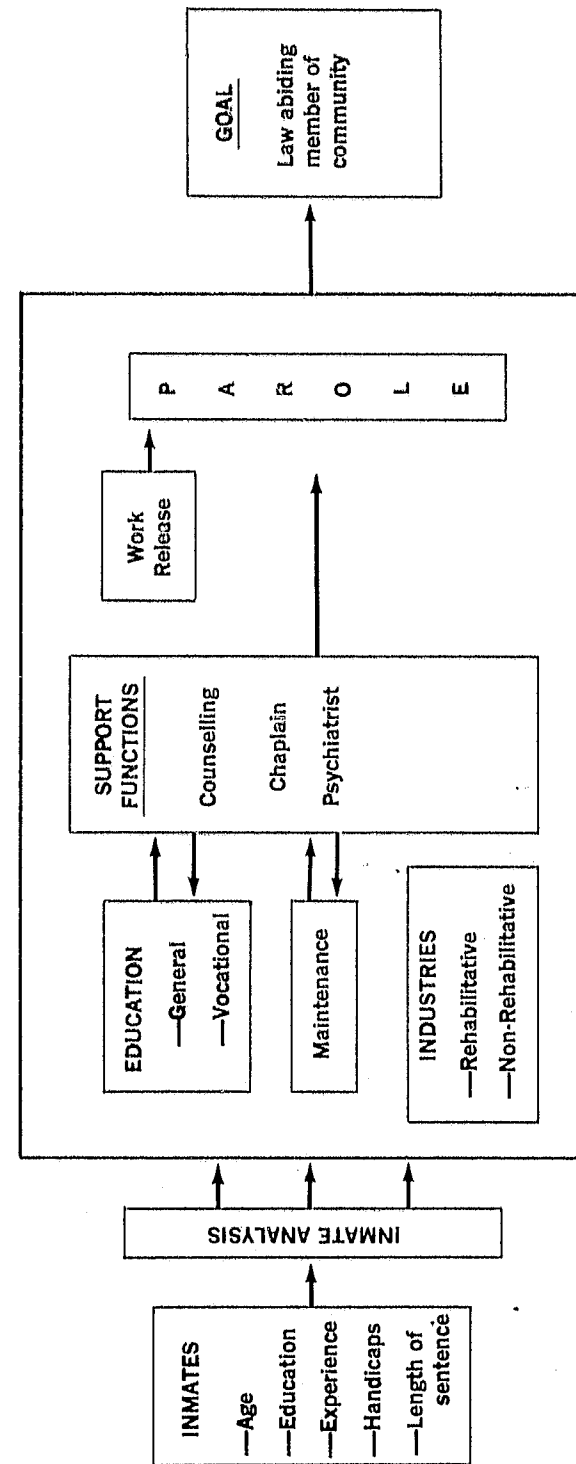


CHART II

CORRECTIONAL INDUSTRIES PROCESS—
SUBSET OF TOTAL CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM

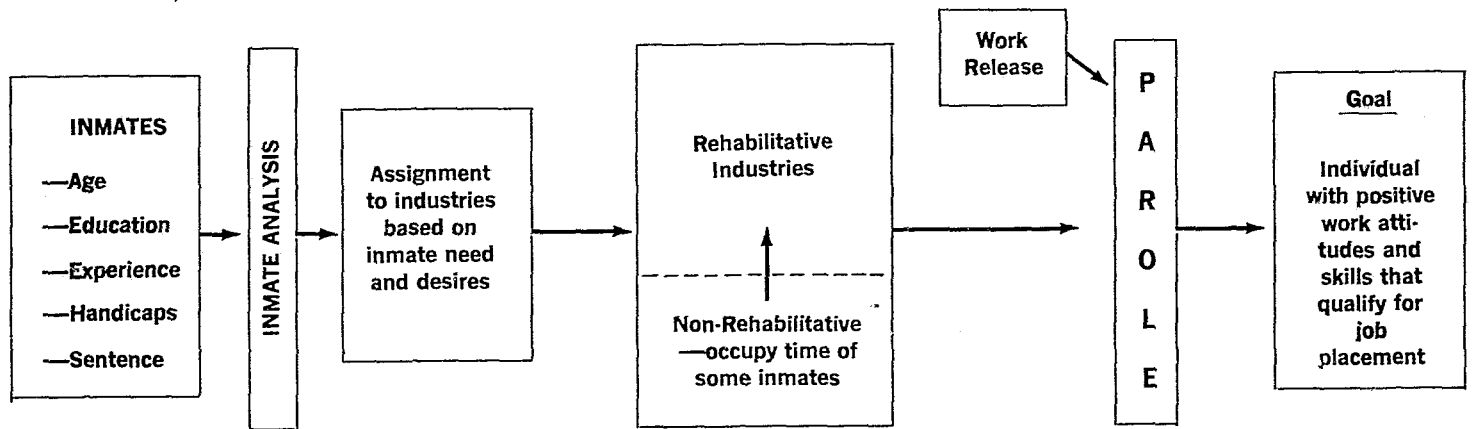


CHART III

INMATE PROGRESSION AND GROWTH THROUGH
CORRECTIONAL INDUSTRIES BY LENGTH OF SENTENCE

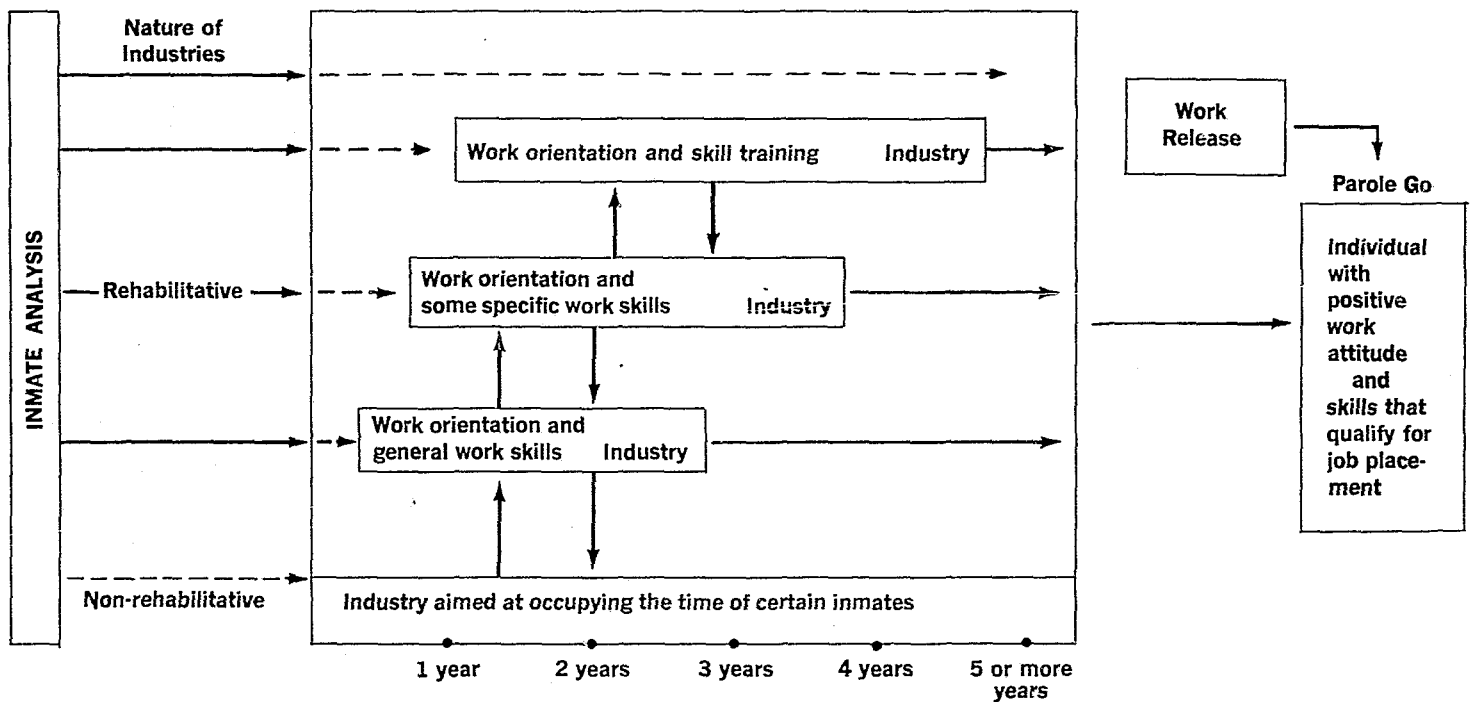


CHART IV
SUGGESTED REHABILITATIVE INDUSTRY
GENERAL ORIENTATION TO WORK INDUSTRY

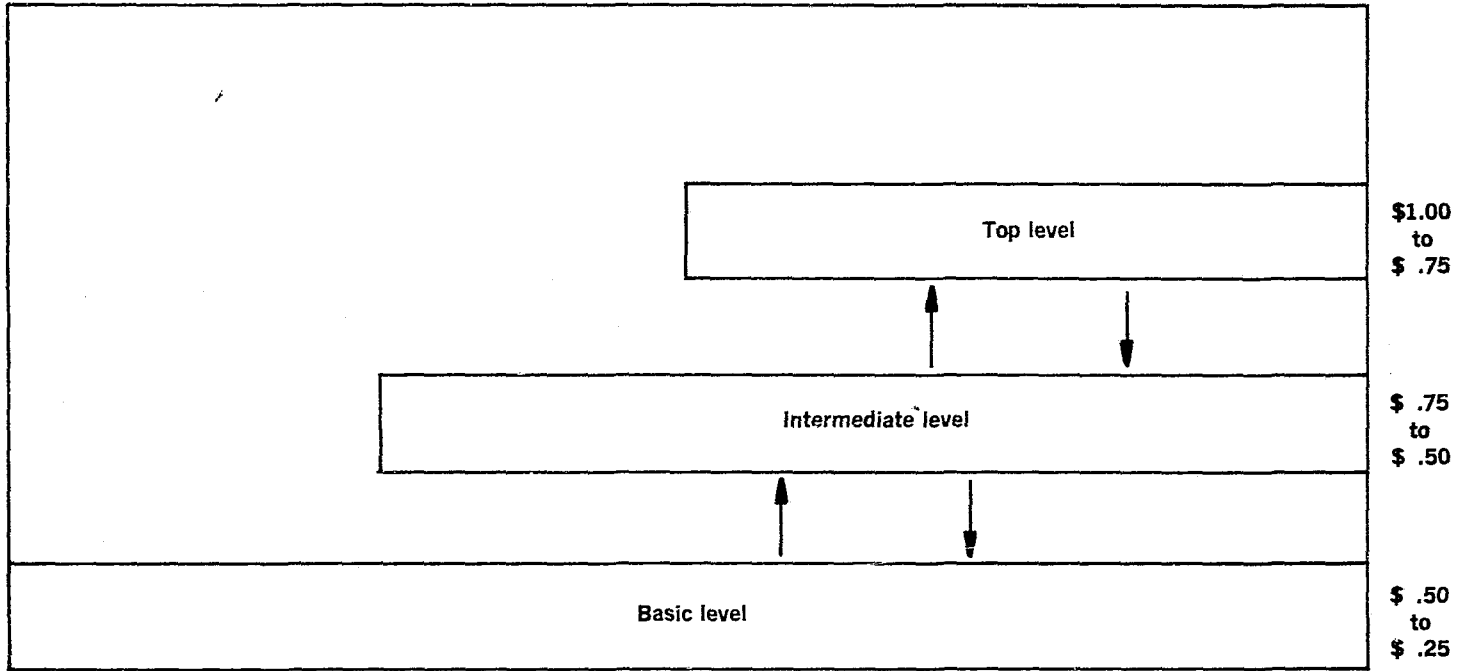


CHART V
CORRECTIONAL INDUSTRIES AND THE ENVIRONMENT
A TEN YEAR PROJECTION

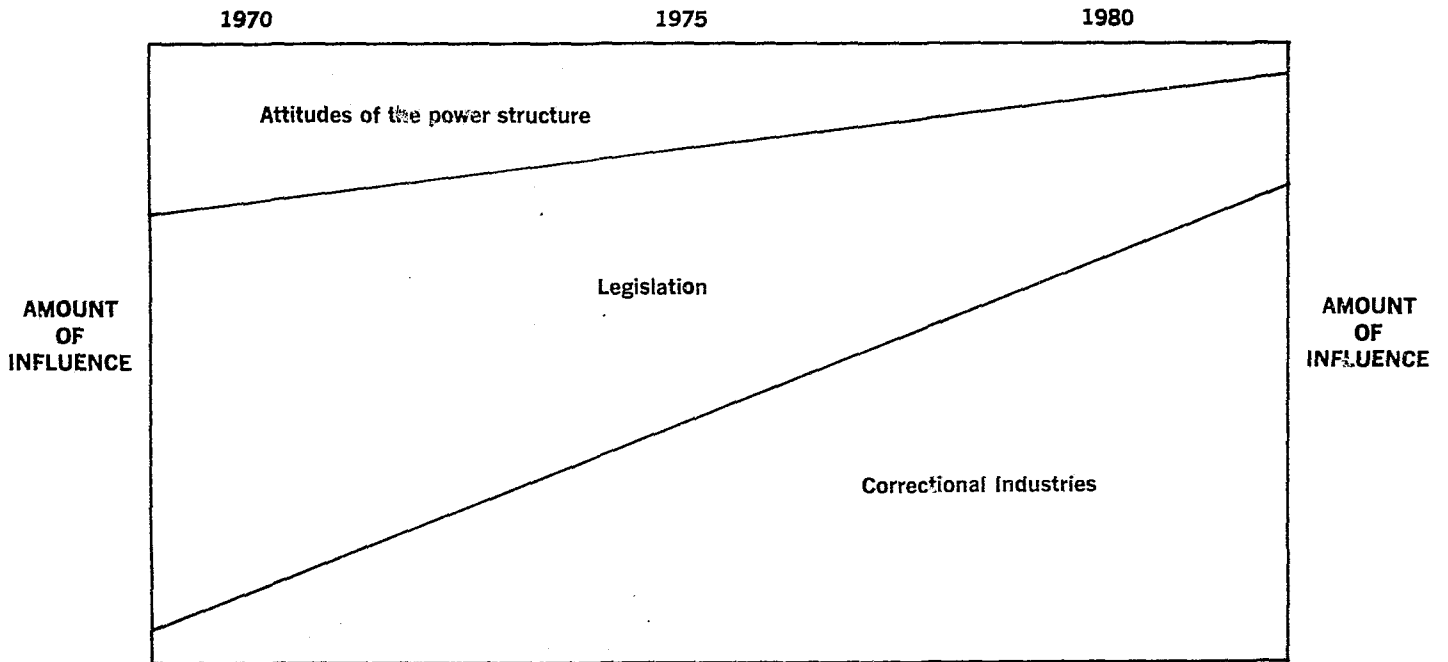


CHART VI
SUGGESTED CORRECTIONAL INDUSTRIES MIX

	1970	1975	1980
MARKETING	State Agencies only	State Agencies and Public in non-competing area	Open Marketing
FINANCING	State Funds only	State Funds plus some privately financed industries	Primarily private financing
TECHNOLOGY	Single short run non-automated operations	Some automated lines	Automated and long cycle operations
LOCATION	Inside prison only	Inside and some outside operations	Primarily outside operations

VII. CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS REACTION TO THE STUDY

On the final day of the conference, prison administrators and industries directors were assigned to small groups and asked to comment on the survey findings and the suggested model of prison industries. A brief recapitulation of the key points presented by these groups are listed below.

1. Correctional industries is part of a team effort in the total correctional process, and although not viewed as the primary training resource, in some instances it can be the most valuable form of inmate treatment.
2. The industries operation should be efficient and generally self-sustaining.
3. Tax funds should not be employed on the general manufacturing level, although they may be necessary for capital improvements.
4. State markets available to industries appear sufficient for a profitable function and industries personnel should aggressively seek potential customers.
5. Although not antithetical to prison administrators, the idea of open marketing should be viewed with caution.
6. Higher wages, incentive pay plans, and other inmate emoluments were thoroughly endorsed, even though large gains in this area did not appear too likely.
7. Industries should be state-run, state-financed and state-operated.
8. Industries should be viewed in terms of training versus non-training rather than in terms of rehabilitation versus non-rehabilitation.
9. Industries may have a diminishing role in the correctional process as increased use is made of community correction centers.
10. Industries directors recommended the following operational procedures and considerations:
 - a. An unbroken work schedule of six to seven hours a day.
 - b. Increased compensation for inmates.

- c. Capital expansion proposals based upon feasibility studies.
- d. Use of industrial advisory committees.
- e. Study of prison industries and private sector joint ventures.
- f. Elimination of featherbedding in industries.
- g. Increased utilization of effective industries and the phasing out of those operations no longer practical or effective as training activities.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

The analysis of the three surveys indicated problems in industries operations and their relationship with other elements of the prison organization and the general public. A series of recommendations are offered as a way of dealing with these problems.

1. Correctional goals and their relative priorities should be clearly articulated to all members of the system. (Frequently lip service is given to one goal (rehabilitation) while other goals—custody, institutional convenience, profit are given priority. This leads to needless confusion and frustration.)

2. Correctional chiefs and industries directors should increase the visibility of overriding rehabilitation objectives, if this is indeed the case. (This point should be made clear to all employees in order that it can be reflected in important decision making processes.)

3. Industries goals (as well as correctional goals) should be formulated in measurable terms. (It is difficult to ascertain whether goals are being attained when they are stated too broadly. Goals should be stated in terms of specific operations to permit success or failure to be measured.)

4. Systematic evaluations should be implemented to determine whether industries programs are achieving attitude change and raising the work potential of inmates as well as to learn whether these changes are related to successful post-release adjustment. (Both kinds of evaluation are necessary as it is possible industries successfully produce attitude and work skills changes without affecting post-release outcome.)

5. Operations and policies of industries programs should be reevaluated to determine if they are consistent with the primary objectives and specific goals of correctional industries. (Operations and policies can be inconsistent or even interfere with organizational goals. Constant evaluation of the link between operations and goals is necessary to maximize goal attainment.)

6. Industries directors and correctional chiefs should discuss openly and specifically the implication of the potential conflict between the rehabilitative vs. the profit nature of industries. (There is some disagreement regarding the role of "profit" in prison industries. The

whole area of financing industries operation seems to be somewhat unclear, and there is a need to make explicit the role of profit in industries operations.)

7. Prison industry should seriously explore the possibility of open marketing to maximize training and earning potential. (Modern production methods and a competitive market situation are probably necessary to create a realistic work situation and assure a reasonable profit level.)

8. Legislation should be sought to enable money to be borrowed for capital improvements. (Present plans and general legislative attitudes regarding resources for prison programs indicate that outside capital may be the only way funds can be obtained for the upgrading of industries.)

9. If training goals are primary and training considerations make profitable industries operation impossible, a subsidized industries program should be considered as a contribution to correctional treatment. (Industries are possibly asked to achieve the impossible by being "burdened" with incompatible expectations.)

10. The possibility of increasing the level of inmate remuneration and inmate participation in such government sponsored programs as social security and unemployment insurances should be seriously explored. (Such steps could increase the probability of post-release success by reducing inmate financial pressures. Greater financial awards might also be powerful motivators and a strong mechanism for social control in the prison.)

11. The lack of strong business and labor suspicion and negativism toward correctional industries should be recognized. (Many decisions regarding prison industry may be made as a reaction to falsely perceived views of business and labor. These groups are probably willing to tolerate more change than is anticipated.)

12. Each state should consider the establishment of a labor, management and legislative advisory council to: (a) assist industries in developing state-wide policies aimed at innovation and organizational change in prison industries, (b) obtain technical and public relations assistance from local power structures in initiating new programs, and (c) serve as a catalyst for improved communications between corrections and the public.

IX. OBSERVATIONS

As a consequence of the contact the study team has had with correctional personnel in the course of carrying out this project, a number of "notions" or "insights" regarding the current situation and future prospects of correctional industries have been developed.

Currently many states run "hobby shops" rather than industries. Inmates tend to be underemployed and with few exceptions work with archaic machinery. This situation is not likely to change in the immediate future, as many of the industries, in spite of short working days and out-of-date production methods, are able to produce more than they can market. Changes in the direction of increased efficiency would therefore result in more inmates being displaced from work. Many prison administrators perceive the real value of industries in terms of their ability to keep inmates occupied and provide a depository for inmates who cannot be successfully placed in more treatment oriented programs. There is a view that industries programs have lesser rehabilitative value than other more sophisticated and more costly programs and that they provide little actual training.

Correctional administrators, while favoring certain innovations such as increased inmate pay and social security benefits, do not feel that these benefits can be given to only industries inmates. They believe such benefits should be available to all inmates and should not be provided until universal coverage can be obtained. Industries might possibly underwrite pay for inmates in other jobs from industry profits, but such profits must usually be returned to the state or used to help support the maintenance of the total institution. Consequently, the prospects for other inmates benefiting in this way seem relatively dim given the fiscal pressures faced by most correctional institutions.

Another significant factor affecting the future of prison industries is the orientation of current leadership. There is a decided tendency for industries managers to be product and technology rather than inmate oriented. Of greater importance is the fact managers also tend to be tradition oriented and rather reluctant to question the status quo. Many seem to be aware of the changing nature of the correctional process, but they are not quite sure how to adjust their industries program to cope with this change. Unless innovations are supplied from

outside the industries fraternity, industries programs will probably continue into the future as they have in the past.

Many industries seem faced with both quantitative and qualitative labor supply problems due to decreasing prison populations and competing programs. Industries in all but the largest institutions are finding it increasingly difficult to efficiently run a variety of programs (justified as a means of keeping competition with free industry low in any one area). Most industries managers do not number among their list of realistic solutions to this problem such alternatives as: (a) entering into cooperative arrangements with private enterprises, (b) interstate industries operations, or (c) lobbying for the removal of legislative restrictions on sources of income, income disposal and markets. As a consequence, many industrial operations may become even less valuable for training and "rehabilitative purposes" in the near future.

It would indeed be unfortunate if prison industries were allowed to deteriorate further. It is believed they have considerable rehabilitative potential and are administratively desirable as a means of keeping select inmates occupied. It appears that the real value of prison industries has not been tapped nor have they been run as modern production centers remunerating employees a fair days wage for a fair days work. Further, there has been little isolation of industrial function, i.e., profitable industries to keep men with long sentences occupied as compared with others designed to maximize skill development even though operational subsidies may be required. LEAA should encourage the development of innovative industries programs and the evaluation of these efforts in comparison with other treatment programs such as vocational training and group therapy. Correctional people are currently most receptive to innovation and evaluation, but the impetus and perhaps initial financial support for change must come from outside the system. Specifically, it is recommended that LEAA consider the following:

- a. Encouraging a study of state and federal legislation defining and limiting the activities of prison industries and the consequences of this legislation for goal achievement. Particular attention should be focused on the "competitive threat" of prison-made goods to private industry. It is obvious that prison-made goods do compete with those business concerns which count state institutions among their potential markets. However, this threat to free enterprise and free labor is relatively slight when compared with that of foreign manufacturers or competing concerns within a specific product area. A systematic evaluation of the "threat" of prison industries might provide the basis for legislative change allowing prison industries to more effectively pursue the rehabilitative goals they and the public perceive as their primary concerns. Model legislation might be suggested.

- b. Encouraging meetings between correctional administrators to explore interstate cooperation in prison industry operations.
- c. Underwriting and evaluating a state correctional industries program designed to implement the model and recommendations outlined above.

END