

# The Second Mile 4

## Sentenced to Fail

Have you ever thought about the situation a judge faces day in and day out? A man stands before him. Suppose he has plead guilty to a serious crime and must now be sentenced. What are those factors the judge must consider?

First, of course, he must consider the nature of the crime. Is it a crime against person (assault, for instance) or a crime against property (robbery or burglary)?

If it's an assault, what were the circumstances? Was it premeditated or did it occur on the spur of the moment? How serious was the victim's injury?

If it's a crime against property, then again, what were the circumstances? How much was stolen? Why was it stolen? Does the individual have a drug record and was this the reason for the theft?

In addition to thinking about the nature of the offense, the judge must also consider the offender himself. What is his background? Does he have a prior record? If so, was it for this type of crime or another? Has he been in prison already?

Finally, the judge must consider the recommendations made by the prosecuting attorney and the probation officer. And on the basis of these factors he must pass sentence.

Until relatively recently, a judge in this situation has had only two alternatives. He could decide to incarcerate the individual or not incarcerate him.

And so the judge passed judgment, swung his gavel and turned to the next case.

This brief discussion points toward one of the major difficulties in the criminal justice system. No matter how conscientious a judge might be in setting a sentence, the fact remains that for decades he has had only a few alternatives from which to select that sentence. He has had basically only two pigeonholes into which to put a wide variety of individuals who have been convicted of a wide variety of crimes. In effect, he has had to sentence as if all offenders were the same.

Consider the practical consequences. The institution the convict enters has a mixed criminal society. Swindlers are lumped together with rapists, car thieves with drug offenders and hardened criminals with novices.

It is this mixture that has led many in recent decades to argue that prisons, rather than curing crime, actually foster it. They contend that the high percentage of men and women who commit crimes after they have served time is due to the prison itself. While there, individuals acquire antisocial attitudes, and in fact, learn criminal skills. Far from "correcting," prisons actually become schools for crime.

This is the context within which the movement toward community-based correction programs ought to be seen.

This approach begins with the assumption that the majority of people in prisons ought not to be there. Only a small percentage are so habitually vicious that they pose a clear and present danger to society. Those people must be kept in maximum security institutions. But where the rest are concerned, the needs of society as well as those of the individual would be better served by keeping them in the community.

Given this initial assumption, those who advocate a community-based approach to corrections can point to several advantages. First, it gives the judge much more latitude in passing sentence. Suppose, for example, the individual before him has a drug habit. Statistics indicate that drug usage is very likely to resume upon an individual's release from prison. But if the individual appears honest in his or her desire to kick the habit, the judge could sentence the person to a community-based drug program.

This approach also opens up more avenues to the parole board. If an individual shows the potential, he may be moved to an education or training release program designed to equip him with either a job skill or academic degree. In either case, he would acquire the tools necessary to enter the job market, rather than simply continue to duplicate his past conduct.

There are also major financial benefits

which accrue from community-based corrections. It costs less to maintain a person on work release than it does to keep him in an institution. If the person has a family, there is a high probability that they will be forced to rely on welfare as long as the primary breadwinner remains in prison. But kept in the community, he can help support them.

Finally, running through all three of these arguments is the fact that community-based corrections help to individualize the response of society toward the offender. They affirm that the individual is still a human being, and not simply, as has been charged, an object to be "warehoused."

For some in our society, these are compelling arguments for community-based corrections. But the fact remains that many are not convinced that the movement toward this approach is appropriate. There are at least two major reasons for their hesitation.

People find simple answers appealing. Thus, "If someone breaks the law, he should be locked up — and if he is, he will learn his lesson," seems to settle the problem. They would rather not be challenged with recidivism statistics — the fact that a great many individuals will return to prison given the continuation of general incarceration in prisons.

There have been, moreover, some spectacular recent failures of judgment by those involved in directing programs conceived as alternatives to incarceration. The shooting of a law enforcement officer by a man on furlough is a striking example. The failure of administrative judgment can sometimes jeopardize an entire program.

Because no other aspect of the criminal justice system has such strong emotional overtones, you should pay particular attention to the diverse points of view illustrated in this tabloid and in the television program. And especially as you perform your task assignment, keep in mind that you are focusing on the criminal, the victimizer. Consider how we do, and how we ought to treat him. Later, in the last tabloid, the way in which our system treats the victim will also be considered.

Perspective

## Decline of the Prison

David Rothman

Although prison walls still impose themselves massively upon the public eye, in this field too we have decreased our reliance upon incarceration. Correctional institutions have lost their 19th-century monopoly. Since 1961 the percentage of the population in prisons has declined annually. The most important procedure effecting this change is probation. In 1965, 53 percent of all offenders were out in the community under the periodic supervision of a probation officer. By 1975, according to the estimates of an advisory committee to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, the proportion will rise to 58 percent. The most dramatic increases have been among juvenile offenders. In 1965 only 18 percent of convicted delinquents served in correctional institutions, while 64 percent were on probation. Among adult offenders, 39 percent of those convicted of a crime were institutionalized, while 49 percent (including, to be sure, misdemeanants) were on probation.

The other major alternative to prolonged incarceration is parole, whereby a convict having completed some fraction of his sentence is discharged from prison and obliged to report regularly to a corrections officer. Although the idea of parole is not new — it was advocated by many prison experts as early as the 1870's — it has been extensively

used only in the post-1930 period. Reliance on parole, it is true, varies enormously from state to state. In New Hampshire and Washington, practically every convict leaves the state prison before completing his formal sentence; in Oklahoma, Wyoming, and South Dakota, less than 20 percent of the inmates enjoy this privilege. Still, by 1965, 18 percent of all juvenile delinquents and 12 percent of adult offenders were on parole. Among all convicts serving in American prisons in 1964, fully 65 percent won release under this program.

Several states are also experimenting with new programs to decrease the distance between correction programs and the community. The publicity given these procedures to date outweighs their actual importance, but they all look to the same anti-institutional goal. One such effort is work release, whereby the offender leaves the prison in the morning, works at his job in the community, and then returns to the confinement at night. One warden regards this innovation as "revolutionary, not evolutionary. It's going to change," he predicts, "about all of penology." For the moment, however, work release has been authorized in some 24 states and for the federal corrections systems. Important programs operate in Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, and North Carolina; in Wisconsin, for example, it affected 30 percent of the misdemeanants in 1956, and 48 percent in 1964. And, at present, some five percent of all federal offenders come under it. But the scope of work release is limited, typically not covering those convicted of crimes of violence or of a morals charge, or those believed to be part of an organized crime syndicate. Some preliminary evaluations also suggest that the arrangement is expensive and cumbersome to administer. Nevertheless, some states are trying to extend the program to cover felons, and they also report a significant drop in such incarceration-related costs as welfare payments to convicts' families.

From *The Public Interest* (Winter, 1972)

# Hypothesis

Robert Martinson

Prison reformers denounced the *brutality* of the prison regime (which was true enough), but they saw this brutality as the major cause of persistence in crime. So they deliberately reformed the prisons — only to produce a worse result. Why? The distinguished American criminologist, Edwin Sutherland, taught that younger offenders learn the ways of crime through "association" with criminal patterns combined with isolation from law-abiding patterns. On this view, the prison — no matter how improved — can still be regarded as a "crime school." Recent theories have done little to deepen this insight. Most theories have this in common — they look for the "causes" of recidivism in changes ("stigmatization," for example) presumably wrought in the offender through his interaction with official agencies. But were the reformers on the wrong track all the time? Could it be that the prison regime *as such* (brutality, food, inmate subculture, etc.) has little or nothing to do with the causes of repeated criminality?

## Work Progress

Suppose (in the absence of firm data) that recidivism rates over the last 150 years were not affected by changes in the prison regime that instead they simply reflect the *interruption of normal occupational progress*. Imagine what damage a five-year prison sentence would have on the chances for employment of a 20 year old apprentice in 1800 as compared to a 20 year old semi-skilled worker today. In 1800, the young apprentice could go on to a productive life despite his disadvantage; the semi-skilled worker of today might well give up the struggle. On this view (which is frankly speculative), the early prisons were brutal but not criminogenic. The re-

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ased offender was needed in an expanding economy. He could take up a new life and did not leave the prison bereft of the minimum requirements — a strong back and a pair of willing hands. The reformers reduced the brutality of the prison, but society changed in the meantime. A relatively brief prison sojourn today may be more criminogenic than a much longer and more brutal sojourn a century ago. (If the effect is strong enough, one could predict an *inverse* relationship between recidivism and prison reform).

## Life Cycle Damage

The early prisons left physical and mental scars but did not inhibit the offender from productive work, marriage, family. Today, prisons produce invisible but inefaceable damage however tenderly they treat the offender. To "make it" in the 1970s requires a more exacting sequence of moves — high school or college, marriage, first job, bank account, next job, and so forth. Let us say that interference with this sequence produces "life cycle damage." The damage is most intense (perhaps irreparable) at just the ages when crime peaks — from 15 to 25. We can now understand how the reformers could see a correlation between prison and further criminality and could come to the false conclusion that the highly visible prison *game* was responsible. But the prison produces its paradoxical result — more recidivism as it is enriched and improved — not directly through anything it does or does not do to the offender, but simply by removing him from society.

On this view, society has outgrown the prison, and deprivation of liberty has come to be a self-defeating measure in a modern industrial economy. The myth of treatment "dangerous" insofar as treatment systems such as California's — which are based on the indefinite sentence, end up removing more and more offenders from society for longer and longer periods of time.

From *The New Republic*  
(April 1, 1972)

## Glossary

- community-based corrections** A method of rehabilitation other than incarceration which keeps the individual in contact with the society to which he will return and allows for individual rehabilitative treatment.
- deterrence** . . . . . The belief that incarceration for a given crime will stop those who contemplate committing it.
- education/training release** . . . . . A community-based corrections program wherein offenders are allowed to leave prison to attend an institution of higher education or a vocational training program while living in special facilities.
- furlough program** . . . . . A program whereby selected convicts are allowed to leave a prison for specified periods of time. Used, for example, when a man is nearing release to allow him to look for a job.
- halfway house** . . . . . A community-based corrections facility designed to provide a less restrictive environment than a prison but more restrictive than parole, often including work training programs.
- indeterminate sentence** . . . . . A sentence imposed not for a precise period, but in terms of a minimum period and a maximum period as provided by statute for the particular offense; for example, a sentence of no less than five and no more than ten years.
- minimum mandatory sentence** A sentence prescribed by law upon conviction for a certain crime; for example, an individual convicted of robbery using a deadly weapon must, in some states, be sentenced to 20 years in prison.
- maximum sentence** . . . . . The longest sentence provided by statute for a particular criminal offense.
- parole** . . . . . The release of a convict from imprisonment before he has served the maximum sentence imposed on him with the agreement that certain conditions will be observed under supervision of a parole officer.
- parole board** . . . . . An administrative board which considers application for parole and which grants or denies it to the applicant.
- probation** . . . . . An alternative to incarceration whereby a judge can allow the individual to remain in the community provided that certain conditions are observed under the supervision of a probation officer.
- recidivism** . . . . . Conviction and incarceration of an individual who has earlier been convicted, incarcerated and released.
- rehabilitation** . . . . . A process by which one convicted of a crime is restored to a useful position in society.

# Task Assignments

1. Find out if your place of employment would hire a prisoner on work release, or an ex-convict.
2. Make an appointment to tour at least one local jail.
  - a. What was its original capacity? How many are now in it?
  - b. What medical facilities and staff are available?
  - c. What programs exist especially for women; for drug users?
  - d. What recreational facilities are normally available to prisoners?
3. Go to the personnel office of a city or county jail. What are the minimum qualifications for a jail guard? Is he given training after being hired?
4. Visit the Womens Treatment Center at Purdy. Tour the facility. What makes it different from other institutions?
5. Visit the Job Therapy office. Find out about their Man-to-Man and Woman-to-Woman programs. What do they do? Who can get involved?
6. Talk to either a Probation or Parole Officer. Find out what the difference is between "probation" and "parole." How much time is spent dealing directly with those on probation or parole as opposed to time spent on routine activities including report writing?
7. Visit the ACLU office to determine what rights an individual loses when he is convicted of a felony.
8. Call Cons-Unlimited and talk to a prisoner on education release. Ask him to compare that with his experience in prison.
9. Read at least three issues of an inmate newspaper from a state institution and describe the major concerns in it as you see them.
10. Visit a halfway house and talk to the director about the program. Ask a resident to compare the experiences there with those in prison.
11. Visit a drug rehabilitation facility (e.g., Sea-Dru-Nar in Seattle). Talk with a resident about the program.
12. Contact the Attorney General's office and find out about the resident lawyer program now beginning in state prisons and other recent innovations.

Note: Because of local policy differences throughout the region, some task assignments may not be feasible and/or may require advance clearance or appointments.

## Bibliography

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- Irwin, John. *The Felon*. Prentice-Hall, 1970.
- Jackson, George. *The Prison Letters of George Jackson*. Coward-McCann, 1970.
- Lifton, Robert. *The Edge of Madness: Prisons and Prison Reform in America*. Watts, 1972.
- McCuen, Gary E., ed. *America's Prisons: Correctional Institutions or Schools for Crime*. Greenhaven, 1971.

## Organizations

- Cons-Unlimited  
University of Washington, 304 K HUB,  
Box 78, Seattle, 98198 (543-4478)
- Job Therapy  
222 John St., Seattle, 98109 (442-1500)  
1703 Kok Road, Lynden, 98264 (354-4173)
- Kitsap County Citizens Crime Prevention  
Commission  
260-2nd St., Bremerton, 98310 (478-4685)
- Municipal Probation — First Avenue Service  
Center  
1203 First Avenue (at Seneca), Seattle,  
98101 (623-7516)
- Pierce County Citizen Committee for Jail  
and Prison Reform  
P.O. Box 5313, Tacoma, 98405 (593-4123)
- Prisoner's Coalition  
918 East James St., Seattle, 98122  
(325-9800)

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## Corrections

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice

"Corrections," America's prisons, jails, penitentiary training schools, and probation and parole machinery, is the part of the criminal justice system that the public sees least of and knows least about. It seldom gets into the news unless there is a jail break, a prison riot, or a sensational scandal involving corruption or brutality in an institution or by an official. The institutions in which about a third of the corrections population lives are located for the most part in remote rural areas, or in the basements of police stations and courthouses. The other two-thirds of the corrections population are on probation and parole, and so are widely, and on the whole invisibly, dispersed in the community. Corrections is not only hard to see; traditionally, society has been reluctant to look at it. Many of the people, juvenile and adult, with whom corrections deals are the most troublesome and troubling members of society: The misdeeds and the failures, the unrespectable and irresponsible. Society has been well content to keep them out of sight.

### Invisibility

The invisibility belies the system's size, complexity, and crucial importance to the control of crime. Corrections consists of scores of different kinds of institutions and programs of the utmost diversity in approach,

facilities, and quality. On any given day it is responsible for approximately 1.3 million offenders. In the course of a year it handles nearly 2.5 million admissions, and spends over a billion dollars doing so. If it could restore all or even most of these people to the community as responsible citizens, America's crime rate would drop significantly. For as it is today, a substantial percentage of offenders become recidivists; they go on to commit more, and often more serious crimes.

### Failure

For a great many offenders, then, corrections does not correct. Indeed, experts are increasingly coming to feel that the conditions under which many offenders are handled, particularly in institutions, are often a positive detriment to rehabilitation.

Life in many institutions is at best barren and futile, at worst unspeakably brutal and degrading. To be sure, the offenders in such institutions are incapacitated from committing further crimes while serving their sentences, but the conditions in which they live are the poorest possible preparation for their successful reentry into society, and often merely reinforce in them a pattern of manipulation or destructiveness.

These conditions are to a great extent the result of a drastic shortage of resources together with widespread ignorance as to how to use the resources available. Moreover, corrections by its very nature must always work at the "end of the line" of the criminal justice system, with those whose problems have overtaxed the resources of other systems.

From *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (1967)

## Overview

Robert Kelgord and Robert Norris

When corrections is examined as a whole, the overwhelming impression is that of programs which are conventional, and which involve the managing, movement, and shuffling of offenders into, around, and then out of the system. Too little exists in the way of alternatives to institutionalization, and institutionalization, when it occurs, results in offenders being confined for periods longer than warranted either by program capability or by effect upon the inmate.

Repeatedly, there is evidence of insufficient relationship between institutional and aftercare programs. Likewise, there is recurring evidence that institutions are "artificial" when compared with the "outside" life to which the offender will ultimately return. Finally, institutions are frequently used as dumping grounds for a variety of social problems.

Field supervision programs generally appear to consist of much paper shuffling, interspersed with brief moments of contact with individual offenders. Such programs tend to be almost exclusively confined to one strategy — that of individual intervention, i.e., casework, counseling, and surveillance. Legal, administrative, technological, and sociological strategies are accorded little, if any, attention. Similarly, the role of the field supervisor as a "broker of services" (i.e., as one who organizes and coordinates client services) appears to have little acceptance.

Significant gaps exist in program development for particular classes of offenders, such as females, violent offenders, and the emotionally or mentally disturbed. Ironically, program resources which exist in the community are not generally being employed, and despite overwhelming evidence in support of community-based programs, such programs are notoriously small in number. On the other hand, it should be noted that, while community-based programs are not common, those which do exist represent one of the most promising aspects of corrections.

From *Federal Probation* (March, 1972)

with our current techniques and where the public has truly not been offered protection

### EXPENDITURES—FISCAL 1970 AND 1971

Agency	Fiscal Year	Total State Funds (\$)	Average Daily Resident Population	Annual Resident Per-Capita Costs (\$)
<b>ADULT CORRECTIONS</b>				
Penitentiary	1970	4,691,360	1,304	3,598
	1971	4,897,476	1,341	3,652
Reformatory	1970	3,382,673	686	4,931
	1971	3,655,363	695	5,296
Corrections Center	1970	3,706,677	597	6,209
	1971	3,967,097	624	6,358
Larch Mountain-Okanogan Honor Camp	1970	241,241	77	3,133
	1971	248,367	73	3,402
Washougal Honor Camp	1970	186,719	58	3,219
	1971	185,754	52	3,572
Clearwater Honor Camp	1970	200,063	59	3,391
	1971	235,393	54	4,359
Total adult corrections	1970	12,408,733	2,781	4,462
	1971	13,189,450	2,839	4,646

Source: Washington State Board of Prison Terms and Parole.

## Testimony

San Francisco

"I was asleep one day and I woke up with a needle in my behind. It just shocked the hell out of me, and I turned around and it was a nurse and guard, and I said, 'What in the hell is that for?' She said, 'That's for your gonorrhea.' I said, 'Hey, I don't got gonorrhea,' and she said, 'Oh yes you do, Priscilla Smith.' I said, 'That isn't even my name!' They just came into the wrong room, wrong girl, and shot me full of penicillin. If I had been allergic to it, I would have been dead. It was a massive dose, and they don't have the facilities to take care of any problem. This goes on a lot. They don't care who you are they just shoot you full of penicillin. They figure everyone has VD anyway so why bother with a test or pap smear just shoot them full of penicillin to be sure they don't spread it any more.

"In isolation you are treated worse than an animal. The food is shoved through the door, there is a little gate they pull down and you see a hand shoving a plate at you paper plates with no utensils. Ever try eating spaghetti with your hands? Fun if you have nothing else to do. They cut your banana's and hot dogs for you just to make sure you aren't going to masturbate. When I found out this is why they did it, I was shocked. I had never even thought of such a thing. The attitudes they take toward people who are in institutions is less than human."

From *Mother Lode* (April, 1971)

## Homosexual Rape

Alan J. Davis

Most of the aggressors seem to be members of a subculture that has found most non-sexual avenues of asserting their masculinity closed to them. To them, job success, raising a family, and achieving the respect of other men socially have been largely beyond reach. Only sexual and physical prowess stands between them and a feeling of emasculation. When the fact of imprisonment, and the emptiness of prison life, knock from under them whatever props to their masculinity they may have had, they become almost totally dependent for self-esteem upon an assertion

through avenues other than physical aggression and sex. They belong to a class of men who rarely have meaningful work, successful families, or opportunities for constructive emotional expression and individual creativity. Therefore, although sexual assaults within a prison system may be controlled by intensive supervision and effective programming, the pathology at the root of sexual assaults will not be eliminated until fundamental changes are made in the outside community.

From *Trans-Action* (December, 1968)

Philadelphia

Charles Williams, 19 years old: "On Tuesday morning, the first week of June at about 9:30 A.M., I was in my cell 412 on D block and I had started to clean up. A tall, heavy-set fella came into the cell and asked for a mirror and shaving brush and a comb, and that my cell partner said he could borrow.

"He then said that he heard something about me concerning homosexual acts. I told him what he had heard was not true. He then started to threaten me and if I didn't submit to him. Then I hit him with my fist

## Punishment to Fit the Crime



# Punishment to Fit the Crime

American Friends Service  
Committee

The first principle in our scheme follows directly from our views on treatment and discretionary power. This is the principle that the law should deal only with a narrow aspect of the individual, his criminal act or acts.

The whole person is not the concern of the law. Whenever the law considers the whole person it is more likely that it considers factors irrelevant to the purpose of delivering punishment. The other factors, by and large, have been and will certainly continue to be characteristics related to influence, power, wealth, and class. They will not be factors related to the needs or the treatment potentialities of the defendant.

One may contend that following this principle will eliminate the consideration of mitigating factors or other circumstances that qualify the seriousness of the criminal act and should therefore be considered in the delivery of a criminal sanction. If there are mitigating circumstances society feels should be considered in administering the law, these should be spelled out in defining the criminal act and not left unstated to be filled in later by functionaries who nearly always will consider factors irrelevant to the treatability of the criminal or to actual harm toward society.

Our desire to maximize the democratic values of self-determination necessarily calls for maximum tolerance for disparate lifestyles. To cope with the problem of maintaining a workable cooperative relationship between individuals in extremely complex social organizations, we ought to fit the punishment to the crime, not the person.

When we punish the person and simultaneously try to treat him, we hurt the individual more permanently than if we merely

imprison him for a specific length of time. We make it more difficult for him to be received back into full dignity. And more importantly, we do not succeed in maximizing compliance with the law, since focusing on the criminal rather than the crime tends to support the fiction that a few "criminals" are the most frequent and most dangerous lawbreakers rather than the more tenable view that criminal acts are committed by a very large number of persons, perhaps the vast majority, who are spread throughout all sectors of society.

A necessary corollary of our principle of punishing for the act is that specific punishment be assigned to the act. All persons found guilty of the same criminal act under the same circumstances are dealt with uniformly.

From *Struggle For Justice* (1971)

## The Purposes of Prison

Robert Utter

An efficient corrections program is needed but its impact should not be oversold. There is no evidence the volume or rate of crime is so related to penal policy that it is dependent upon and varies with changes in correctional programs and practices.

The volume of crime is related to such factors as the density and size of the community population; the age, sex, and race composition of the population; the economic status and relative stability of the population; strength and efficiency of the police force and even seasonal weather conditions. All these things are outside the control of a corrections program.

After having said all this, the public is still entitled to demand that the effort at apprehension and control of those who are violating laws is functioning in its most effective manner. We must do our best with all aspects of the problem, if the end result is to achieve some control of the impact of crime in our time.

The goals of any corrections program should be to provide for the protection of society and the rehabilitation of the offender. Both these goals tie in with each other, for unless we are committed to maintaining all men in prison for life who are apprehended, the fact is that well over 90% of all men apprehended return back to society after processing through our corrections program.

The question that must be asked and answered with as much honesty and intelligence as we can muster is — "How effectively are we now achieving these goals with our present program?"

My own belief is that we need a radical change of emphasis as well as some adjustment in the mechanics of our present programs if we are to succeed. There are some cases where we have been too sentimental about the possibility of changing the offender

with our current techniques and where the public has truly not been offered protection from the offender who is unable to control himself.

Our current system is an offense oriented system, not an offender oriented system and the maximum sentence is based on the offense committed rather than on the capacity of the offender for change. The present system carries with it an implied promise of parole for the offender within a reasonable time.

This is unrealistic in some cases and for this reason I strongly support legislation which would create a dangerous offender category. This would provide, in effect, an indeterminate sentence where the court, in its discretion, after a thorough investigation into the background of the offender, may impose this sentence if the defendant is a persistent felon offender, a professional criminal, or a dangerous, mentally abnormal offender, or has manifested his dangerousness by using a firearm in the commission of the offense or flight therefrom, or for some other reason presents an exceptional risk to the safety of the public.

From *Washington State Bar News* (February, 1971)



## Prison "Reform"

Although not yet fully realized by the people of Washington, their state's traditional programs of criminal justice have undergone drastic change, with even more radical experimental concepts yet to come.

Many believe the reason the public is not yet aware of what is happening is that the changes being made are so radical, so different, that the entire program dare not be exposed in one sitting, or the people would rebel. Instead they are being spoon-fed the changes one small portion at a time, and not until one is ingested and no clamor ensues, is the next dish up. . . .

Prison Reform advocates will surely deny the charges their changes have been secretive, by stating that hundreds of inches of copy in the public press have been devoted to informing the public of the many new concepts. And in part they are right. Many inches have been devoted to the programs. But they were devoted primarily to public relations and promotional efforts to sell the program to the public, not to telling what is happening in our state's prison reform program.

The true facts of the reforms themselves lie buried deep in the stories, sugar-coated with pleasant adjectives, and stated briefly so as to tell as little as possible of what the public really wants to, and should, know. For every sentence of fact is normally preceded by several paragraphs of reassuring fluff and soft sell. . . .

### Change

Walla Walla is no longer the "close security" penitentiary it was one short year ago.

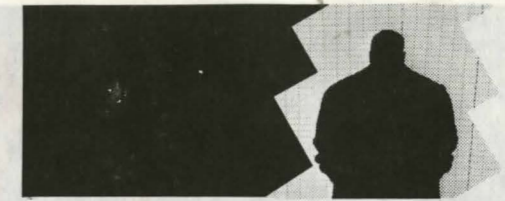
tween them and a feeling of emasculation. When the fact of imprisonment, and the emptiness of prison life, knock from under them whatever props to their masculinity they may have had, they become almost totally dependent for self-esteem upon an assertion of their sexual and physical potency.

In sum, sexual assaults, as opposed to consensual homosexuality, are not primarily caused by sexual deprivation. They are expressions of anger and aggression prompted by the same basic frustrations that exist in the community, and which very probably were significant factors in producing the rapes, robberies, and other violent offenses for which the bulk of the aggressors were convicted. These frustrations can be summarized as an inability to achieve masculine identification and pride through avenues other than sex. When these frustrations are intensified by imprisonment, and superimposed upon hostility between the races and a simplistic view of all sex as an act of aggression and subjugation, then the result is assaults on members of the same sex.

Assuming that this analysis is valid, then the principal psychological causes of sexual assaults in the Philadelphia prison system are deeply rooted in the community — in that millions of American men, throughout their lives, are deprived of any effective way of achieving masculine self-identification

tensive supervision and effective programming, the pathology at the root of sexual assaults will not be eliminated until fundamental changes are made in the outside community.

From *Trans-Action* (December, 1968)



## Racism Charged

Wilmington, Del., Nov. 1 — After the Attica uprising, the liberal press deluged its readers with talk of prison reform. But a year after Attica, the only "reforms" implemented have been to intensify and sophisticate the terror apparatus used to repress the struggles of prisoners.

One of the methods most commonly employed is isolation or segregation. Prison officials single out the most militant and politically conscious prisoners for special treatment.

Right this minute an emergency situation exists within Smyrna Prison. Delaware correction officials John J. Moran and Harry W. Towers, along with Warden Raymond Anderson, have segregated eleven Black prisoners and have begun to build a maximum-maximum security tier within the prison to confine and segregate these brothers.

None of these men — Ronald Payne, Gary Watson, Bernard Guy, Carl W. Henry, Charles W. Lively, Thomas Ricketts, Thomas LeGrande, Randolph E. Dickerson, Steven R. Roulack, Thomas M. Butler, and Charles Stigars — who are being segregated have been charged with anything, much less been given a hearing. Their only "crime" is that they are Black and have openly and actively fought for the liberation of their people. Their new torture chamber, maximum-maximum, is being sealed off from the rest of the prison by iron bars which had to be imported from the old workhouse.

Smyrna Prison was opened in the spring of 1971. It was designed to give the appearance of a mod campus. No bars. No guard towers. The use of bars to construct the new maximum tier is not necessitated by any physical considerations. Steel doors with narrow glass slots and concrete walls are imposing physical deterrents. The iron bars have one purpose: to psychologically break the brothers and impose fear on the rest of the prison population.

The eleven brothers locked inside the tier are being fed in their tiers, denied adequate recreational activity, and denied their right to open visiting. They have made an open appeal to those on the outside for help. In addition they have filed a petition with the courts to stop this racist and genocidal act.

The Prisoners Solidarity Committee is supporting these brothers with leaflets and petitions, and is building for a public meeting demanding an immediate end to the segregation.

From *Worker's World* (November 27, 1972)

## Reform Bill

Clayton F.

In all the controversy surrounding prisoners and penal systems these days, there is agreement on only one point — the present penal system isn't working. Prisons do not rehabilitate the prisoners. They waste human resources. They waste the taxpayer's money.

For several years Ron Hanna, a young social worker who is supervisor of the Pierce county division of probation and parole, has led the fight for reformation of the state prison system. The results of his efforts, a bill of those who work with him in the Citizens for Prison Reform, will be presented to the Legislature as the "Community Corrections Development Bill."

The basic premise of the bill is that 80 percent of those in prison do not need maximum security. And Hanna says that \$8 out of every \$10 spent on prisons is spent on custody, with the other \$2 spent on rehabilitation effort. It is the aim of the bill to reverse this expenditure.

"Prisons have clearly established themselves as crime schools, so the need for positive change is urgent. We believe the public is no longer willing to spend \$10,000 a year for the sake of revenge. Since over 95 percent of those imprisoned eventually return to society, with over 50 percent of them prisoners, the taxpayers are getting neither protection nor rehabilitation for the money," Hanna says.

The legislation calls for phasing out Walla Walla and Monroe prisons over a four-year period, retaining Shelton Corrections Center for men and Purdy Treatment Center for women. The eventual aim would be to reduce the populations of these two, although it is recognized that there are some hard-core offenders for whom imprisonment is the only answer.

The state would be divided into 10 regions each with a Community Corrections Council consisting of 11 members, experienced in rehabilitation programs and appointed by legislative bodies. One of these, as an ex-convict, would have had first-hand experience. The bill also would set up a State Board of Community Corrections to oversee the project.

The programs would include probation and parole departments, drug-addiction and alcoholism-treatment centers, half-way houses and work-release centers, along with educational and job-placement agencies.

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