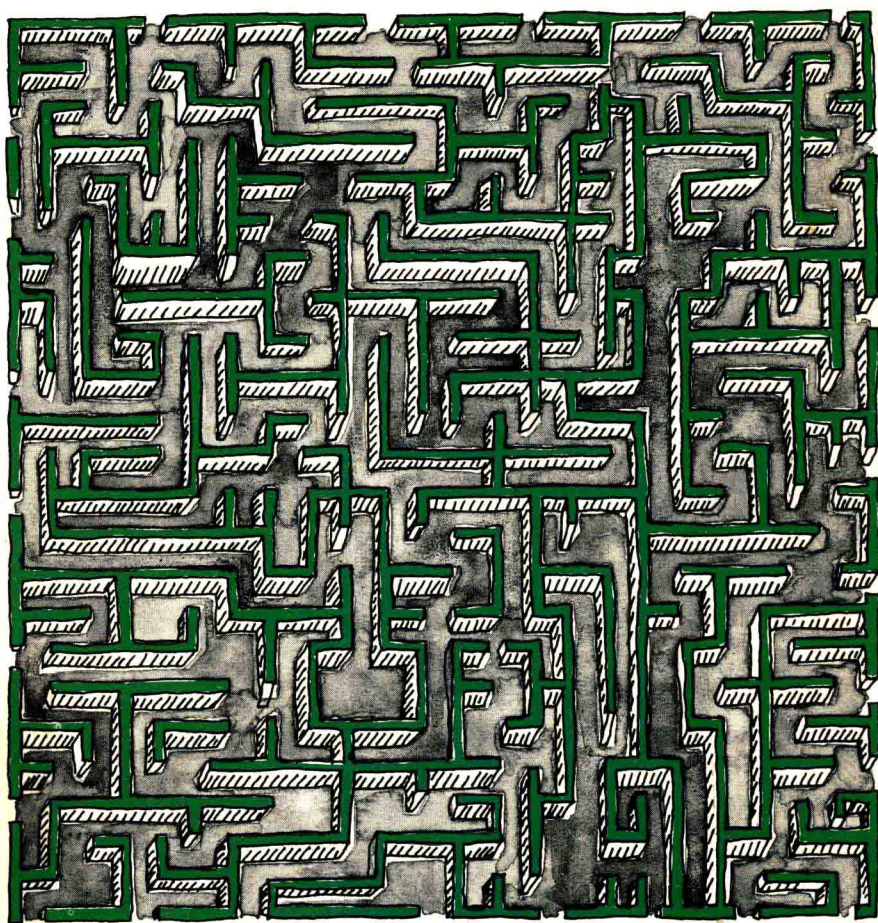# CORRECTIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Theory and Practice

BARTOLLAS/MILLER

CORRECTIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Theory and Practice

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Gregg Division
McGraw-Hill Book Company

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Correctional Administration: Theory and Practice

To our parents,
Clemens and Margaret Bartollas
H. Jerome and Ruth Miller

FOREWORD

The management of a prison used to be so simple. Within recent memory wardens were autocrats free to work their wills on staff and prisoners to an extent to be matched only by renaissance princes. A riot, a mass escape, or a particularly egregious case of corruption might topple a warden, but the annals of American penology include many autarchs whose proficiency at absolutism was demonstrated by long and peaceful tenure of office. The assurance with which they wielded power is typified by an anecdote about a certain vintage warden of a maximum security prison whose peace was disturbed one afternoon by a young lieutenant bursting into his office with the news that there had just been a fatal stabbing in the yard. "Indeed?" the warden responded. "If it weren't for a few such incidents it would be a shame to take the state's money for the work we do."

All that has changed. Prisoners are not to be repressed as they once were, partly because the old ways of repressing them are no longer tolerated by the courts, the media, or the public, and partly because the prisoners themselves are different. Modern correctional managers know that they cannot count on judicial eyes being averted if they beat or abuse prisoners; on the contrary, they know that they will be held accountable for what they do and for what they are reported to have done. Modern inmates know that they have rights and that their infringement can be remedied in court. They have also learned methods of organization from their experience on the streets. These inexorable processes have eroded the absolutism of the old prison. Just as in the politics of western governance, the powers of the warden have been curbed by checks and balances designed to assure equilibrium of justice.

The simplicity of the warden's task in the old regime was matched by society's expectations of the prison. Guards were supposed to guard the perimeter and to act in the event of disturbances, but no one thought they should be role models for residents of correctional facilities. Aside from a visiting chaplain and a physician on call, the prison was free of professional intrusion. Wardens did not need to concern themselves about the complaints of social psychologists or analyses of sociologists retained for the purposes of program evaluation. What allowance was made for due process in the administration of discipline was a matter between the warden and his or her conscience.

I have hinted at only the most significant of the numerous complexities which confront the beleaguered correctional manager. In the past wardens could control by ukase, or at least thought they could. Contemporary administrators, however, must lay out a planning cycle, budget, review operations, study a set of fiscal accounts, assure themselves of compliance with law and departmental policies, scan the effectiveness and adequacy of custodial control, and above all else monitor the response of the inmates in their charge to all the things which are done for and to them. It is a task which obviously could only

be done with the support of a large and diversified staff. Such a staff cannot be recruited or retained for subservience to lordly caprice; specialized contributions must be provided for, and correctional managers know that they must coordinate brains and skills as well as deploy weapons and muscle.

The authors of this pioneering text have described the tasks of the new correctional manager, the forces which make new and severe demands on one's administrative skill, innovative talents, and physical and moral stamina. They have also tallied up the resources which a correctional manager has—or should have—to meet some of the most perplexing challenges facing any professional public administrator today. Most of the problems confronting correctional managers force them to choose among unsatisfactory solutions. That may be the reason why, as Norval Morris has remarked, the prison is an unloved institution. The patience to make such choices is an indispensable attribute in the administration of prisons.

The old wardens were to be found only behind prison walls and tended to discourage intruders from the community. Their successors, the managers, must not be merely receptive to citizens interested in knowing what is going on in their behalf within those walls; they must also tackle the community with their own initiatives. Work-release programs, furloughs, halfway houses, hostels, and various other correctional services must be introduced into the community. They must mobilize not only the various technical and professional skills needed for such programs but also the special knacks of public relations which will make community-based corrections acceptable to neighbors who are not quite sure that these good programs belong on their particular street. The record of success for this aspect of correctional administration is checkered at best. Managers need all the help they can get, and some of it is to be found in these pages.

This is a book which will guide the novice past the most dangerous hazards in his or her chosen career. It will also be useful to experienced managers in their review of the assumptions and practices to which they have been committed. The old wardens neither needed nor desired such a book; the arts of autocratic control either came to them naturally or not at all. To the new correctional managers, such a guide is a necessity, and as such it is commended.

John P. Conrad, Senior Fellow
The Academy for Contemporary Problems

PREFACE

This book is written for those who are training to become correctional managers and those who are correctional administrators. These persons are charged with the responsibility of managing their facilities and programs so effectively that offenders under their care are well prepared for full and unrestricted participation in society. Therefore, if correctional administrators are to be effective, they must so manage their institutions and programs that both offenders and society benefit.

Until recently, the management of correctional facilities has not been particularly questioned; society has seemed to assume that, as long as the institutions and their clients remain out of sight, those who run them can do pretty much as they please. As a result of almost two centuries of correctional isolation, many institutions and agencies are still being managed as they were when they were first established. For institutions, especially, principles of classical bureaucracy and military tradition have been combined to produce a rather distinctive style of organization and management. Authoritarian supervision, a hierarchy of relationships, a downward-only flow of communication within the organization, strict rules, and severe punishment for the violation of rules are believed by many in corrections to be the essential ingredients for running correctional programs. This military model has been criticized severely. The critics claim that top management tends to manage more for the benefit of the administrators than for those beneath them in the institutional structure. Furthermore, lower-level staff become alienated from the goals of the institution and become extremely dissatisfied with their jobs. The quality of their work suffers, their relationships with peers and inmates, or residents as we shall call them in this book, deteriorate, job turnover increases, and the effectiveness of the institution diminishes.

The alienation of residents increases as they are ordered, manipulated, and ignored by staff and are often brutalized by other residents. The programs they are forced to participate in are often poorly developed and ineffective. Then, when they are released to the community, they frequently are left on their own to survive as best they can. They quickly find that the community is prejudiced against them and discriminates against them when they apply for jobs. Ex-offenders frequently are embittered by their experiences, and some choose to return to crime to survive.

Correctional planners are at present trying to overcome at least some of these problems. Additionally, considerable literature, national planning commissions, and consultants' groups have stated both implicitly and explicitly that corrections should move away from the military model. The concepts they recommend originated in the business world over the past half century, but it is only during the past decade that pressure to use these concepts in corrections have dramatically increased.

The emerging trend is to try to make institutions and agencies more

humane, just, and desirable for both staff and clientele by implementing more participative management and client centered methods. Staff and residents of institutions, and agency personnel and clients are all being asked to participate in the decision-making processes of their respective facilities. The assumption is that both staff and residents will thereby find their contacts with correctional facilities and programs becoming more acceptable.

Proponents of participative approaches believe that staff will become more committed to institutional programs and goals if they are allowed to share their expertise with other institutional personnel. Correctional administrators, at the same time, will benefit from the knowledge these staff bring to the decision-making process. Resident and client participation, too, is very important, since they are the focus of the correctional institutions and facilities. At present, most simply do their time, stay out of trouble, protect themselves from violence, and get released as soon as possible. But, under participative programs, their experiences with the criminal justice system have the potential of being constructive and positive.

This book is based on five years of experience in adult and juvenile correctional settings and also on considerable correctional research. Its purpose is to present some of the emerging alternatives to the military model of correctional administration. Three models in particular, the formal participative, the leadership, and management by objectives, are presented. The goal of the book is to provide administrators, staff and clients with background information on what is happening in correctional management today, some of the alternative management techniques that are being used, and their implications for both personnel at all levels of correctional organizations and their clients.

Chapter 1 looks at how forces in society are affecting corrections today. Chapter 2 examines the history of punishment and some of the correctional facilities that have evolved over the past two centuries. Chapters 3 and 4 develop in some depth the military, formal-participative, and leadership models of management and their consequences for staff and residents of institutions. Chapter 4 also develops briefly the management by objectives (MBO) approach and two approaches to budget planning—zero-base budgeting and the planning, programming, budgeting system (PPBS). Chapters 5 through 8 discuss how modern management techniques affect those in top administration, middle management, and line management. Chapter 9 focuses on the management of probation and parole. Chapter 10 examines the management of community-based corrections and diversionary programmings. Chapter 11 discusses the management of planned change. Finally, Chapter 12 presents a brief statement on staff development and a summary of the book.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CONTENTS

SOCIETY, CRIMINAL JUSTICE, AND CORRECTIONS

1

Correctional administration, as defined in this book, is concerned with the management of adult and juvenile offenders after they are convicted by the courts. Society, of course, has always been faced with the problem of what to do with those who violate rules, and the solutions to this problem have varied widely from one society to another. In some societies and ages, the punishments meted out to offenders have been horrible and brutal, while in other times and places offenders have been treated with compassion and understanding. The history of punishment in the United States is practically as varied as that of the rest of the world, for this country too has swung from one extreme to another.

Correctional managers are caught in the midst of conflicting societal forces, all of which push and pull them in opposing directions. Their job is to somehow mediate among the opposing forces to the satisfaction of their employers, the public; their supervisors, the department of corrections; and their clients, the offenders. These managers must also contend with what many call the criminal justice system—a wide variety of police departments and sheriffs' offices; courts at the federal, state, and local levels; correctional facilities; and probation and parole departments. These organizations are all somewhat autonomous, yet each has a very specific role to play in the criminal justice process. What happens in one, therefore, affects what happens in the others.

Not surprisingly, the fact that these organizations are all somewhat autonomous sometimes leads them into conflict that is disruptive for the entire system. Managers sometimes contribute to the conflict, but they also have to deal with it. How they deal with it determines to a great extent how effectively the criminal justice system operates.

In this chapter, we examine three major topics in contemporary corrections: society's reaction to crime, the components of the criminal justice system, and the conflict between corrections and the rest of the criminal justice system.

SOCIETY AND CRIME

Society expects criminals to be punished according to an accepted standard of justice. Citizens at all periods in history have rebelled at what they considered to be unjust laws and excessive punishment; history is replete with instances of citizens rising up to overthrow government that paid too little attention to popular conceptions of rightness and fairness. A study of history also shows that citizens refused to apply punishments to criminals, regardless of what the laws stated, when they did not agree with the severity of those punishments. The history of the United States follows this same pattern, for the American Revolution was a rebellion of irate citizens against an unfair British law.

The one point on which citizens generally can agree is this: If a serious crime is committed, the offender should be corrected in an institution. In fact, Americans have believed for some time that institutions are appropriate places in which to put all types of deviants.[1] However, in spite of the popularity of confinement, the argument about what to do with criminals is far from over. Any agreement that does exist over the efficacy of correctional institutions is overshadowed by the many societal forces affecting them. A look at some of these forces is in order.

Fear of the Criminal

Americans today, as in every decade of this nation's history, fear crime and criminals. Citizens may not have been affected personally, but they frequently know of individuals who have been harmed or who have lost property as the result of a criminal act. Apprehension over being harmed themselves is increasing because of the way the news media report unusual crimes and give the impression that run-of-the-mill crime is out of the ordinary.

However, the existence and extent of crime is not to be discounted or diminished. Indeed, crime is real, it does affect people, and, according to one of the nation's chief barometers on the amount of crime—the *Uniform Crime Reports*—it is increasing. The 1975 *Uniform Crime Reports* indicates that the volume of index crimes for 1975 increased 10 percent over 1974.[2] Furthermore, if the percent of increase in crime since 1960 is examined, the increase appears astronomical: Table 1–1 indicates that the number of index crimes increased over 179 percent since 1960.[3] The number of persons over twelve and the households and businesses that were victimized also offer chilling evidence. In 1973, 36,925,000 victimizations occurred as against 39,694,000 in 1974, an increase of 7.5 percent over 1973.[4] These figures, when combined with the apprehension of citizens over crime in their local communities, reinforce dramatically the seriousness of the crime problem on both the local and national levels.

Citizens react sharply by putting pressure on state and national legis-
lators and local law enforcement agencies to do something about the
problem. Letters are written to editors of newspapers asking "Why are
local officials ignoring the problem?" Police and judges are criticized
and officials of correctional agencies who put convicted offenders back
in the community on parole come under fire. The citizens are adamant
in their demands: they want something done and they want it done fast.
As a result of this pressure, the number of persons sentenced to prisons
has increased, the degree of interest in community-based corrections

Table 1-1   National Crime, Rate, and Percent Change

Crime index offenses	Estimated Crime 1975		Percent Change over 1974		Percent Change over 1970		Percent Change over 1960	
	Number	Rate per 100,000 Inhab-itants	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
Total	11,256,600	5,281.7	+9.8	+8.9	+39.0	+32.6	+232.6	+179.9
Violent	1,026,280	481.5	+5.3	+4.4	+38.9	+32.5	+255.8	+199.3
Property	10,230,300	4,800.2	+10.3	+9.4	+39.0	+32.6	+230.5	+178.1
Murder	20,510	9.6	−1.0	−1.0	+28.2	+21.5	+125.1	+88.2
Forcible rape	56,090	26.3	+1.3	+.4	+47.6	+40.6	+226.3	+174.0
Robbery	464,970	218.2	+5.1	+4.3	+32.9	+26.8	+331.2	+263.1
Aggra-vated assault	484,710	227.4	+6.2	+5.4	+44.7	+38.0	+214.1	+164.1
Burglary	3,252,100	1,525.9	+7.0	+6.1	+47.5	+40.6	+256.6	+200.0
Larceny-theft	5,977,700	2,804.8	+13.6	+12.7	+41.5	+34.9	+222.2	+171.1
Motor vehicle theft	1,000,500	469.4	+2.4	+1.6	+7.8	+2.8	+204.8	+156.5

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States,
1975,* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1976, p. 11.

and diversionary programs has waned, and the United States Supreme Court and many states have reinstituted capital punishment.

increase in confinement. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice reported that in 1965, state and federal institutions for adults held 221,597 offenders.[5] By 1971, the numbers confined had dropped to 198,061, and by 1972 they were down to 196,092. But then the trend reversed; the numbers increased to 204,211 in 1973 and 218,205 in 1974.[6] By January 1, 1976, 250,000 persons were confined in state and federal institutions, and this number soared to 275,578 by January 1, 1977. See Fig. 1–1. *Corrections Magazine*, in describing the problem of overpopulation, refers to it as a severe and critical emergency.[7]

decline in community-based corrections. In the early 1970s, deinstitutionalization, or the doing away with institutions, was a strong movement in corrections in this country. For example, the state of Massachusetts closed all its training schools in 1971 and 1972. Work release and home furloughs gained great popularity in adult corrections. National commissions were advising that no more correctional institutions be built and that those in existence be gradually phased out. Optimism was at an all-time high, and experts were forecasting a new era in American corrections.

The get-tougher-on-criminals attitude of the mid-1970s changed all that. In Florida, for example, only 60 percent of convicted felons are being given probation rather than the 80 percent of a few years ago. Michigan also is experiencing a 5 percent switch away from probation. Many states report that their parole boards are tightening up. Florida has seen a 30 percent decline in parole rates. Several dramatic failures, as in California where an offender on furlough murdered a policeman, decreased the public's faith in community-based corrections. Following this incident, the number of home furloughs in California dropped from 14,000 in 1971 to 1,100 in 1974. Even though the success rate of work release and home furloughs was 97 to 99 percent in every state that utilized these programs, the failures received the publicity.

the revival of capital punishment. The revival of capital punishment cannot be said to be due entirely to fear of criminals. Many have long believed that the possibility of execution deters criminals from committing crimes; these persons would support the death penalty even if the crime rate were not increasing. Nevertheless, the death penalty was abolished for a short period of time. The ruling in *Furman v Georgia* in June 1972 seemed to be the end point of what was a general downward trend over the past fifty years toward fewer and fewer executions. For example, 1667 offenders were executed in the 1930s for various crimes, whereas the numbers executed in the 1950s had dropped to 717. In the 1960s the total number executed was 191, and the last execution carried out in June 1967[8] marked the end of such punishment until the

Figures are in thousands—as of January 1.
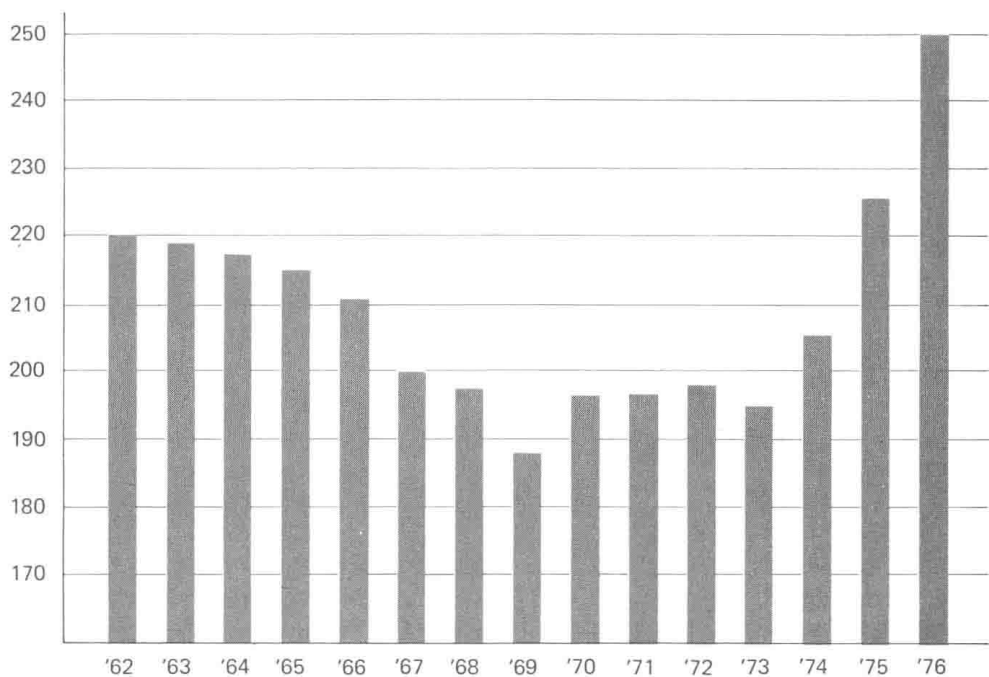
LEAA figures for '69, '70, '71 do not include certain states.
Figures from 1962-1974 from LEAA   1975-1976 figures from *Corrections|Magazine* survey

Fig. 1-1 Total population of U.S. state and federal prisons—1972-1976*

firing squad death of Gary Gilmore in January 1977. Indeed, by that date, there were 358 prisoners on death rows in 20 states.[9] A Gallup poll taken in 1976 also showed that 65 percent of the American people now support capital punishment.[10]

Correctional Funding

Although society is demanding that more be done about crime and criminal justice, correctional managers must continue to operate the institutions that house more and more offenders. Certainly, this is not new, for correctional managers have long had to contend with budgets that permitted them only the bare essentials of correctional programs. In most cases, the salaries paid to correctional workers have not been competitive with those of industry. The result has been that more highly skilled and educated workers have either gone to work into the private sector or have obtained higher-paying jobs in other public agencies.

Programs, too, have not been funded adequately. A prime example of this is the fact that even though the population of correctional facilities is swelling to the bursting point, state legislatures have been reluctant to appropriate funds for new facilities. New prisoners simply are being

*SOURCE: *Corrections Magazine*, vol. 2, March 1976, p. 9.

tossed in with those already under lock and key, thereby increasing tensions considerably. Once confined, residents find underdeveloped educational, vocational, counseling, recreational, and religious programs. Staff running the programs are frequently poorly prepared for dealing with offender population and do not have the knowledge and the necessary modern equipment for successful programs even though they may be highly committed to their work. Even the food service, which is crucial to the maintenance of well-run, quiet institutions, is badly neglected in facility after facility across this country. The solutions to the financial problems of corrections are twofold. Either a concerted effort must be made to change social policy so that more persons are kept in the community—probably the sanest solution—or more money must be funneled into corrections.

Table 1–1 shows the percent of funds that the local, state, and federal government allotted to the various components of criminal justice in 1974.

The column of correctional activities shows that the federal government contributed only 6.6 percent of all funds that went into this component of the criminal justice system; the states spend more on corrections than either the federal or the local governments. Presumably, if the federal government would allocate a larger portion of its contribution to the criminal justice system to corrections, a significant improvement might follow. The situation would also be improved, of course, if the state and local governments would do the same.

The problem of where to allocate funds is not easily solved. The criminal justice system is only one of a vast array of national programs requiring funding. State and local governments also have myriad demands made upon their resources. The problem is compounded greatly by the fact that disagreement exists among individual citizens and groups that support and oppose programs on the basis of particular philosophies and ideologies. The ideological differences among these citizens prevent formulation of a definite policy toward crime and determine the success or failure of funding programs.

Prison as a Microcosm of Society

Correctional institutions do not exist in a vacuum, for they are part of a larger society. Gresham Sykes recognized how much the external environment influences what goes on behind the walls:

The prison is not an autonomous system of power; rather, it is an instrument of the State, shaped by its social environment, and we must keep this simple truth in mind if we are to understand the prison. It reacts to and is acted upon by the free community as various groups struggle to advance their interests. At certain times, as in the case of riots, the inmates can capture the attention of the public; and indeed, disturbances within the walls must often be viewed as highly dramatic efforts to communicate with the outside world; efforts in