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FRAMEWORKS PAPER

PHASE I ASSESSMENT OF
COEDUCATIONAL CORRECTIONS

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COEDUCATIONAL CORRECTIONS

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

Prepared by
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June 30, 1977

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This Frameworks Paper is the third product of a National Evaluation Program Phase I Assessment of coeducational correctional institutions. This working paper, which was based upon the information and observations obtained by Koba staff in site-visits conducted earlier in the project, has two major purposes. First, it describes models which represent the major chains of assumptions underlying the activities of the visited co-correctional institutions. Second, it presents a measurement model which can be used for testing those assumptions.

During the preparation of this report, several people aided in its conceptualization and in providing information and advice concerning the overall goals and methods of the National Evaluation Program. Koba gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Dr. Phyllis Jo Baunach and Ms. Jan Hulla of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Appreciation also goes to Mr. Joe Nay, Ms. Lucille Graham, and Mr. Elliot Ratner, all of the Urban Institute.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background

This Frameworks Paper represents the third product of the National Evaluation Program Phase I Assessment of coeducational correctional institutions. The NEP Phase I studies aim at determining the issues and expectations of a wide variety of "topic areas" in the criminal justice field, gathering present knowledge and completed evaluations in each topic area, visiting implementations in the topic area in order to determine the actual activities and outcomes of such projects, assessing the state of knowledge and identifying the needs for more information in the topic area.

The Frameworks Paper serves to link the theoretical issues and expectations with the actual activities as discovered in the field. It does this by representing "the major elements or activities of significant numbers of projects in the topic area in a way that could lead to plausible testing of assumptions linking the expenditures of grant funds to the desired outcomes." The frameworks paper is also crucial to the development of the remaining products of the Phase I study, "since it serves as the basis for assessing the present state of knowledge about the topic area, for the development of the evaluation design and as a general basis for further evaluation in the topic area."

Development of a frameworks paper for co-correctional institutions presented special problems infrequently found in other topic areas in the National Evaluation Program. In none of the cases studied have there been substantial "expenditures of grant funds" to staff and operate a co-correctional program. Instead, co-corrections is inextricably woven into the complex fabric of programs, activities and social dynamics which exists in all correctional institutions. Thus the influences of and upon co-corrections appear in many areas of institutional life, and may be difficult to trace.

B. Range of Institutions Visited

The range of coeducational programs proved to be so broad that no set of characteristics emerged as indispensable for the operation of co-corrections. In addition, individual coeducational programs in the ten facilities studies have drastically altered through the course of their existence; sex ratios, policies, and other characteristics have been substantially changed or even reversed. A brief overview of the observed ranges in several significant categories will suggest this diversity:

- o Jurisdiction: Four Federal and six state facilities were visited.
- o Duration: The country's first experiment in adult co-corrections began in 1971. Nevertheless, eight of the ten sites visited opened their doors to both men and women in 1974 or 1975.
- o Budget: Budgets for 1976 ranged from \$681,000 to \$7,264,200. However, five of the ten operated on a budget between 3 and 5.5 million dollars in FY 1976.
- o Per capita costs: Eight institutions spent from approximately \$9,000 to \$14,500 per year on each inmate, and four of these spent between 10 and 12 thousand dollars per capita. State institutions varied from \$3,683 to 14,432 on per capita expenditure; Federal institutions from \$6,327 to \$14,327 per capita.
- o Population: The size of the ten coed institutions varied from 131 at a state women's institution to 1041 (and rising) at a Federal facility. Four held fewer than 200 inmates, two held approximately 300, two more slightly over 500, and two more were over a thousand.
- o Sex ratio: The male-female ratios in these institutions ranged from nine females to one male at a former state women's institution, to twenty males to one female at a state institution where the co-correctional program was being phased-out. However, the populations at seven of the ten contained fewer than four of the majority sex to one of the minority. Three of the facilities -- all Federal -- had sex ratios of less than two men to one woman. Four state institutions maintained ratios of from three to four females to each male.
- o Staff and staff-inmate ratio: One state facility with 185 inmates employed 55 staff members, thirty of whom were correctional officers. At the other extreme, another state with fewer than 290 inmates has a staff of 330, including 142 correctional staff. Four institutions employed approximately one staff member for each

inmate; the remainder maintained staff-inmate ratios of one to two or three.

- o Security staff-inmate ratio: While three prisons had one correctional officer for every two inmates, that ratio approached one to eight at two large Federal institutions, and was one to six at two other facilities.
- o Security level: In five state institutions, all the state's incarcerated women felons were present in all security levels, while the men were rated for minimum security status. Three of the Federal institutions are medium security, while the fourth is minimum security.
- o Previous use: Five of the six state facilities were women's institutions to which a contingent of males has been added. Three of the four Federal facilities began operation with a co-correctional program, whereas the other had operated with separate male and female divisions. Two institutions were originally Public Health Service hospitals. Interestingly, six of the ten began operations as prison farms, and three are still used for that purpose.
- o Physical plant: The ten institutions included some of the oldest and some of the newest prisons in the country. They ranged from small facilities with few buildings, to sprawling complexes with a dozen or more buildings on hundreds or even thousands of acres.
- o Planning for co-corrections: Administrators from eight institutions, and/or representatives of the central office, visited at least one co-correctional facility and as many as four, before or during phase-in of the program. One began operations with a warden experienced in co-corrections. Two of the co-correctional programs came into existence as a direct or indirect result of a major disturbance, and another unexpectedly received its first contingent of women from another prison which had experienced a disturbance.

In addition to the characteristics considered above, differences were also observed in policy and implementation concerning such processes as the timing and extent of sexual integration in programs, the availability of informal social contact, levels of physical contact permitted, and the use of transfer for violations. Furthermore, as already mentioned, such policies and their implementation often changed considerably in the history of each institution.

These changes reportedly occurring over time are important because, although the site-visits for this study occurred at only one point in time, during a three month period,

more than a "snap shot" of each institution resulted. The ranges noted above reflect the characteristics of visited institutions at a single point in time. Had the study been conducted a year or even six months earlier, however, the characteristics of many institutions would have been vastly different. For example, in five out of the six state institutions visited, the pressures of an expanding female offender population had, in the previous year, brought about system-level redistribution of inmates, which generally entailed a reduction in the male population housed in the co-correctional institution, with consequent shifts in the male-female inmate ratio. In three of these institutions, the ratio fell from approximate equality to three or four to one; in another, the ratio flip-flopped from five to one, to one to three. However, the same population pressures which caused ratios in state institutions to move away from parity allowed Federal institutions to move close to a one to one ratio. Such shifts in sex ratios over the course of time constitute only one of the major changes experienced by coeducational institutions among the many which have occurred, and will no doubt continue to occur, under pressures exerted by exogenous factors, and experimentation with operational adjustments. Meanwhile, the Federal system has recently begun to coordinate co-correctional policy throughout the Bureau of Prisons. In addition, two state institutions -- one visited, and one not visited -- phased-out during this study, and at least one other state institution began to phase-in, while other states have initiated operational planning.

C. Organization and Purpose

The principal purpose of the Frameworks Paper, within the National Evaluation Program structure, is to develop means for the "plausible testing of assumptions" upon which implementations in a topic area are designed and operated. The Issues Paper, the first product of this assessment, gathered general knowledge and past findings in the

topic area of co-corrections, and presented this information through a discussion of underlying assumptions about co-corrections and of related historical, theoretical and operational issues. The site-visits were meant to "anchor" this knowledge more firmly in reality, that is, to examine the relevance and significance of the identified issues to actual implementations in the field. Descriptions and causal flows for each site visited were constructed and are on file at NILECJ.

This third product develops generalized causal flows in the form of logic models. This information, for both programmatic and non-programmatic models of co-corrections, is contained in Chapter II. Chapter III synthesizes the elements of the several causal flows and presents a measurement model, or general framework, applicable across the universe of co-correctional institutions. The synthesized measurement model serves as an "envelope" in which to identify measurement points and potential measures for each of these states. Chapter IV briefly discusses the applicability of the measurement model to specific programmatic and non-programmatic models, and to individual institutions.

The synthesized measurement model will play a central role in future NEP products. The measurement model will serve as a basis for the general assessment of co-corrections which represents the major product of a Phase I Assessment. This State-of-Knowledge Assessment will have three principal functions: definitively scoping the range of the co-correctional universe; determining the availability and prospects of obtaining primary data with which to test causal lines in the measurement model; and assessing the present state of knowledge about co-corrections.

The next product will employ the measurement model to develop a Single Project Evaluation Design, including key measurements and schedules for data collection, which practitioners in co-correctional institutions might use to test certain aspects of

institutional processes and outcomes. The Phase II Design will examine the utility of implementing further research in the topic area under the National Evaluation Program's auspices, or through other sources of funding, and will suggest alternative approaches for filling gaps in knowledge. A synthesis of the first six products issuing from this assessment will be presented in the Summary Report, to be published by NILECJ and to receive wide distribution among criminal justice practitioners.

II. MODELS OF CO-CORRECTIONS

The first working-paper issuing from this assessment of co-corrections emphasized that the implementation of co-corrections -- defined to include all institutions where, under a single administration, adult felons of both sexes are present and in interaction-- might reflect a wide range of views about anticipated outcomes, and an equally wide range of underlying assumptions. A distinction was made between circumstances in which the integration of the sexes and the nature of the heterosexual interaction are themselves perceived as performing a positive function, in terms of inmate needs and institutional control, and those in which the presence of males and females in the same institution serves other ends. However, co-corrections was earlier presented primarily within the context of programmatic functions, although the outcomes desired and expected to accrue from integration may be non-programmatic. Non-programmatic functions of co-corrections reflect efforts to fulfill system needs by simultaneous placement of males and females in the same institution, and may stem from over-crowding or under-utilization of space; the need, resulting from a particular incident, for alternative placements for a number of inmates of one sex; efforts to reduce program duplication or capitalize on limited program availability; and other factors. In such situations, the non-programmatic functions of co-corrections may be perceived as served by ensuring that the placement of male and female inmates has the least effect possible on normal institutional operations.

Whereas it might seem appropriate to restrict the analysis to "programmatic" co-corrections -- on the assumption that only co-correctional "programs" represent "innovative interventions" appropriate for study under the National Evaluation Program -- such a course of action would inadequately represent the activities which actually exist,

and the causal links from inputs through impacts suggested by site-visits. The field-work for this NEP study strongly suggested that in virtually all coed institutions, the presence of co-corrections was at least partly, and in a significant number of institutions was primarily, a function of system-level decision-making unrelated to the perceived value of co-corrections for either institutional control, or inmate needs. A major purpose of this NEP Phase I Assessment, therefore, is to determine if activities related to the presence of male and female inmates form plausible, testable chains of activities, extending from either a jurisdictional commitment to co-corrections as a program or jurisdictional pressure to fulfill system needs, through staffing and introduction of inmates, program structure development, intended outcomes, and on to the expected and intended impacts. That co-corrections is triggered by, and is perceived to serve, both programmatic and non-programmatic functions, makes it essential that the causal chains associated with different co-correctional models be thoroughly explicated prior to construction of a single measurement model.

A. Programmatic Co-corrections

Three programmatic functions for co-corrections emerged during site-visits: reintegration of the offender into the community; maintenance of institutional control; and therapy.

1. Reintegration model.

The reintegration model of co-corrections reflects efforts to use the male-female interaction to "normalize" the institutional environment -- to represent the fuller range of options normally available "in the free" -- and, by being less destructive than traditional single-sex incarceration, to ease the transition to the community after release. This model of co-corrections is based on several underlying assumptions:

- o A more normal prison environment would be more humane and effective.
- o The corrosive effects of traditional single-sex confinement impede post-release adjustment and engender continued criminality.
- o The deprivation of the full range of "normal" affectional relationships, which is associated with traditional single-sex incarceration, is the source of much institutional violence and predatory homosexuality.
- o "Masculine" dominance roles, and the violence associated with quarrels, triangles, etc., are undesirable in a prison setting.
- o Sexual relationships will occur in prison -- it is merely a question of what kind; therefore, they might as well be voluntary and heterosexual, rather than non-consensual and situationally homosexual.

The focus of the co-correctional reintegration model is upon maintaining or restoring the option of interaction with the opposite sex, and, thereby, effecting personal growth or preventing deterioration and "backsliding." This model ordinarily occurs in a context stressing other "normalizing" aspects of institutional life, e.g., use of regular currency, inmate control over "rising-time," etc.

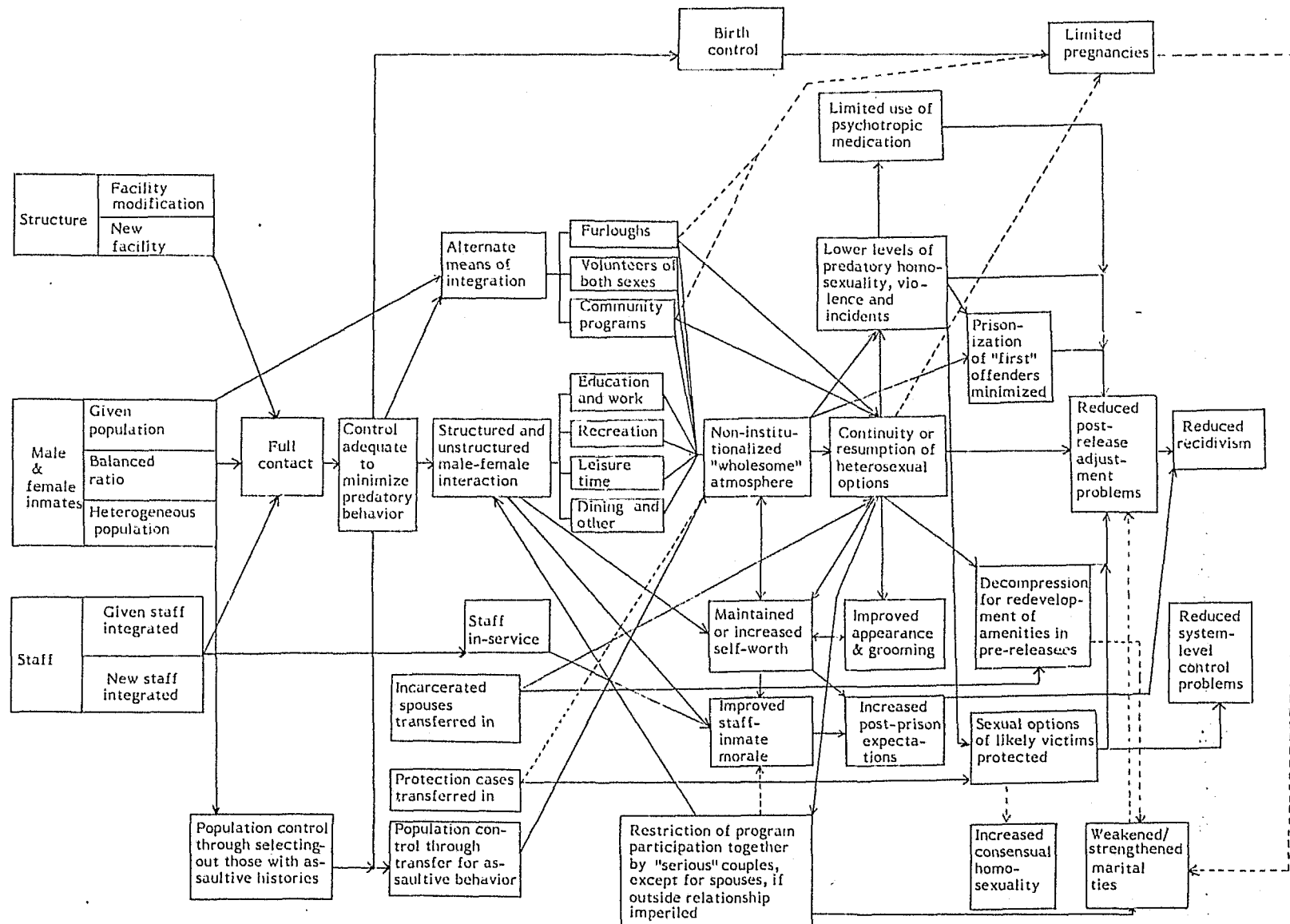
A brief overview of the elements of this model will provide the basis for understanding the chain of assumptions it represents. The inputs to the reintegration model are either the given facility, which may be minimally modified, or a new facility; an integrated staff, either new or modified; and male and female inmates -- ideally, an inmate population the composition of which reflects the range of attributes found in the "outside" world, particularly in terms of sex ratio. Control adequate to minimize predatory behavior is exercised, and population control effected through selecting out those with assaultive histories, and transfer of those displaying assaultive behavior within the institution. At the same time, birth control is made available to limit pregnancies. The structured and unstructured interaction of male and female inmates is sometimes complemented, especially where the population is composed predominantly of one sex, by

increasing the representation of the minority sex, through disproportionate staff integration, furloughs, use of volunteers of both sexes, and community programs. This male-female interaction engenders a non-institutionalized, "wholesome" atmosphere, and a continuity or resumption of heterosexual options, which lead, in turn, to low levels of violence, and limited use of psychotropic medication. By transferring-in incarcerated spouses, the heterosexual options of married inmates unwilling to interact with persons of the opposite sex are restored; at the same time, to increase the likelihood of post-release marital stability, the program participation of "serious" couples is restricted, if "outside" relationships are imperiled. The development of a non-institutionalized atmosphere and heterosexual options lead, in turn, to a number of interacting phenomena: maintained or increased self-worth, improved appearance and grooming, improved staff and inmate morale, and increased post-prison expectations. Staff in-service training similarly leads to improvements in morale.

The reintegration model anticipates the following outcomes: as a result of the presence within a non-institutionalized atmosphere, the prisonization of first offenders is minimized; the continuity or resumption of heterosexual options fosters a decompression period for the redevelopment of heterosexual amenities for pre-releasees, including married couples who are incarcerated together; finally, the sexual options of protection cases, transferred-in because of the haven afforded by low levels of institutional violence, are indeed protected. These outcomes contribute to reduced post-release adjustment problems, which in turn reduce recidivism. System-level control problems are also served by the maintenance of a safe and controlled environment for protection cases.

The actual chain of assumptions represented in the reintegration model may be stated in the following sequence, which corresponds to the flow-chart in Table 1:

TABLE 1
REINTEGRATION MODEL



- o The presence and interaction of male and female inmates will lead to a non-institutionalized atmosphere.
- o The more the composition of the institutional population resembles the "outside" world, the more normal will the institutional environment become.
- o A balanced sex ratio will prevent placing inequitable pressures upon inmates of the minority sex.
- o Either in the absence of a sufficient number of the minority sex to prevent a lop-sided inmate sex ratio, or as a complement to inmate integration, there are several alternative means of sexual integration which will increase the normalized atmosphere: staff integration, furloughs, volunteers, and community programs.
- o Facility modification may increase the non-institutionalized atmosphere, but will not significantly decrease the requisite level of control.
- o In the absence of some form of population control, the non-institutionalized atmosphere will be threatened. By screening out those with assaultive histories, and transferring those displaying assaultive behavior within the institution, the degree to which the non-institutionalized atmosphere prevails is increased.
- o The availability of birth control decreases institutional (occurring inside the institution) and non-institutional (occurring outside the institution) pregnancy rates; furloughs and community programs increase pregnancy rates, but decrease the rate of institutional pregnancy.
- o The interaction of male and female inmates will foster an increase in heterosexual options.
- o The transfer-in of spouses will increase heterosexual options.
- o The non-institutionalized atmosphere and availability of heterosexual options will yield low levels of predatory homosexuality, assault, and other incidents.
- o The interaction of male and female inmates, the non-institutional atmosphere, and the availability of heterosexual relationships, will either maintain or increase self-worth levels.
- o The interaction of male and female inmates, staff in-service training, and increases in self-worth levels will improve staff and inmate morale.

- o Continuity or resumption of heterosexual options will lead to improved appearance and grooming, which reinforce and are reinforced by maintained or increased self-worth levels.
- o Increased morale and self-esteem increase post-prison expectations.
- o Low levels of violence lead to limited use of psychotropic medication.
- o A non-institutionalized atmosphere and low levels of assault will minimize the prisonization of first offenders.
- o Availability of heterosexual options will lead to redevelopment of heterosexual amenities.
- o Provision of a non-violent setting will ensure low levels of violence directed towards, and protection of the sexual options of, protection cases.
- o Presence of large numbers of protection cases may inadvertently decrease the non-institutional atmosphere, or increase the level of consensual homosexuality.
- o Restriction of program participation by "serious" couples, except for spouses, if outside relationships may be imperiled, will increase post-release marital stability, and decrease post-release adjustment problems.
- o Restriction of program participation by "serious" couples will also, given a lop-sided sex ratio, decrease pressures on the minority sex.
- o Restriction of program participation by "serious" couples will also inadvertently negatively affect staff and inmate morale.
- o Institutional pregnancies not involving spouses may weaken "outside" marital ties.
- o Redevelopment of heterosexual amenities may strengthen marital ties.
- o Post-release adjustment problems are also reduced by low use of psychotropic medication, minimized prisonization of first-offenders, redevelopment of the heterosexual amenities, the absence of sexual and sex-related assault, and strengthened marital ties.
- o Placement of protection cases outside single-sex, and within co-correctional institutions, decreases the level of system wide control problems.

- o Reduction of post-release adjustment problems will reduce recidivism.

The chain of assumptions above primarily reflects comparisons with traditional single-sex institutions, but also involves either explicit or implicit comparisons with open single-sex institutions, other co-correctional models, and between operational variations within the co-corrections reintegration model.

2. Institutional control model.

The institutional control model of co-corrections, like the reintegration model, reflects the use of the male-female interaction to "normalize" the institutional environment. Unlike the reintegration model, the institutional control model does not contain references to post-release adjustment, or recidivism. Its methods of population control differ from those associated with the reintegration model, in that heterosexual intercourse is viewed as less "normal," and brings about selective transfer, while de-selection for assaultive histories and transfer for assaultive behavior are also used as population control measures. Moreover, program participation by "serious" couples is more restricted than within the reintegration model, and is not directed toward increased post-release marital stability, but toward low emotional involvement between inmates. Indeed, if the availability of heterosexual options leads to a high level of "coupling," coed program participation may be cut back. The institutional control model of co-corrections is based on these underlying assumptions:

- o The deprivation of the full range of "normal" interactions with the opposite sex, which is associated with traditional single-sex incarceration, is the source of much institutional violence, predatory homosexuality, and other problem behaviors.
- o "Masculine" dominance roles, and the violence associated with quarrels, triangles, etc., are undesirable in a prison setting.
- o Sexual relationships will occur in prison - - it is merely a question of what kind; therefore, they might as well be voluntary and heterosexual, rather than non-consensual and situationally homosexual.

The focus of the co-corrections institutional control model is on the power of the male-female interaction as a management tool in the reduction of institutional violence. This model is often found together with the reintegration model, because they both operate on the institutional environment by using the male-female interaction, despite the fact that many other input, process, and outcome elements differ between the two models. Like the surveillance and sanction model, which is oriented toward ultimate fulfillment of system needs, the institutional control model aims at low pregnancy rates, low emotional involvement, and low levels of predatory homosexuality and other forms of sex-related violence.

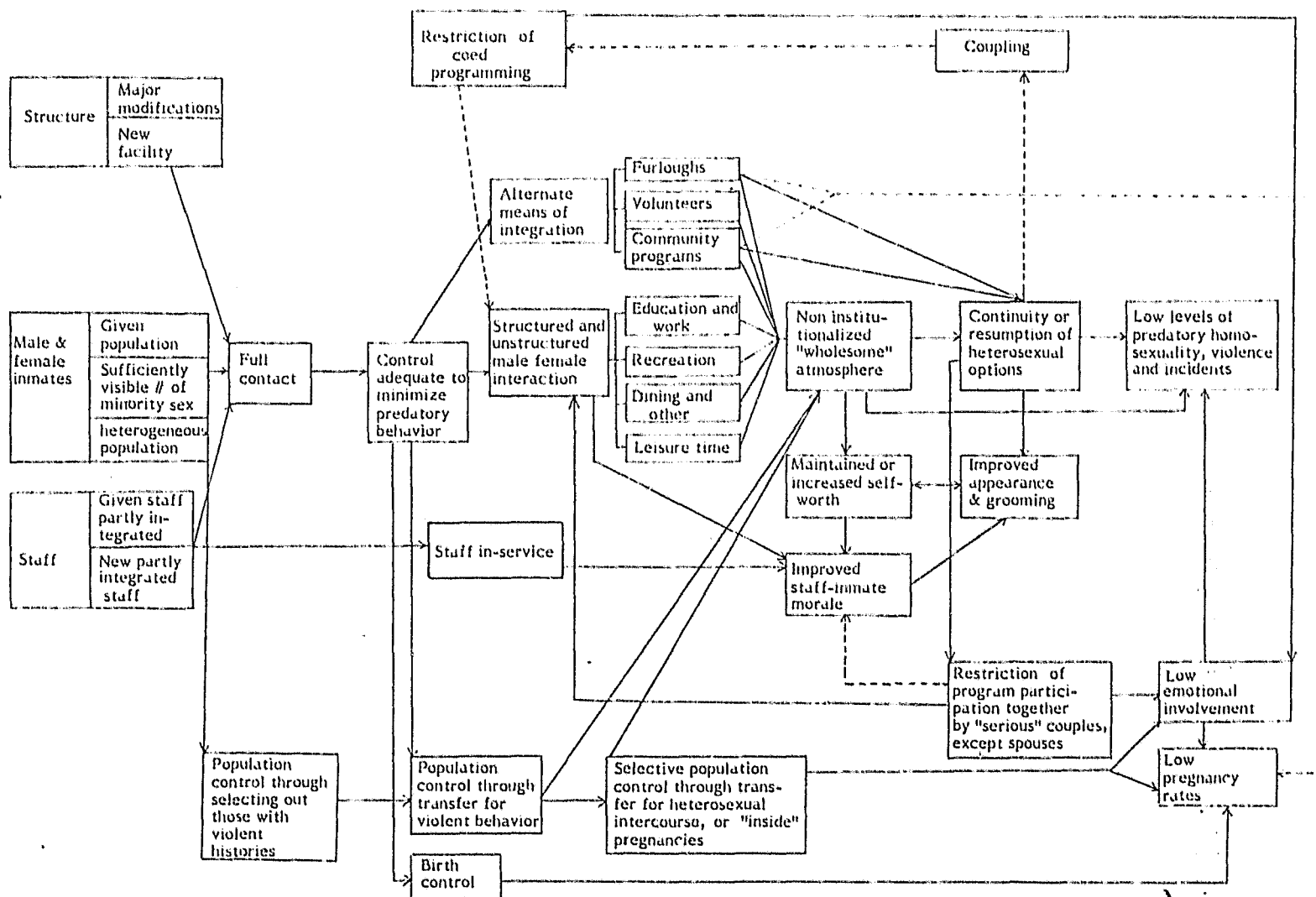
A brief overview will suggest both the differences and similarities between the institutional control and reintegration models, and provide a framework for understanding the chain of assumptions it represents. The inputs to the institutional control model are either the given facility, which may be modified to facilitate control not effected by the male-female relationship, or a new facility; an integrated staff; and an integrated inmate population, as heterogeneous as possible, and containing a sufficiently visible representation of the minority sex to develop and maintain a "normalized" atmosphere, but not close enough to sexual parity to risk precipitating a battle of the sexes to "structure the situation." Control adequate to minimize predatory behavior is exercised, and population control effected through selecting out those with assaultive histories, transfer of those displaying assaultive behavior within the institution, and selective transfer for heterosexual intercourse, or for pregnancies for which there is "no good reason" to believe they occurred in the community. The structured and unstructured interaction of male and female inmates is sometimes complemented by increased representation of the minority sex, through disproportionate line-staff integration, furloughs, use of volunteers of both sexes, and community programs. This

male-female interaction leads to a non-institutional, "wholesome" atmosphere, and to a continuity or resumption of heterosexual options, which are reinforced by furloughs and community programs. The continuity or resumption of heterosexual options, improved appearance and grooming, and maintained or increased self-worth occur in interaction with each other, and the maintenance of a non-institutional atmosphere. Staff and inmate morale increase as a function of male-female interaction, staff in-service training, and the maintenance or increase of self-worth. At the same time, program participation by "serious" couples is restricted, in order to achieve low emotional involvement between inmates, but with the inadvertent effect of threatening increased staff and inmate morale. Transfer for heterosexual intercourse, inside pregnancy, and assaultive behavior, reinforces a low level of emotional involvement; and, should heterosexual options bring about a high level of "coupling," coed programming may be cut back, to decrease the probability of emotional involvement. Low emotional involvement, availability of birth control, and selective use of transfer combine to limit pregnancy rates, although furloughs and community programs may increase the level of non-institutional pregnancy. Low emotional involvement, a non-institutionalized atmosphere, and the availability of heterosexual options, yield a safe and manageable environment, relatively free of sexual and sex-related violence.

The chain of assumptions represented in the institutional control model of corrections may be expressed in the following sequence, which corresponds to the flow chart in Table 2:

- o The presence and interaction of male and female inmates will lead to a non-institutionalized, "wholesome" atmosphere.
- o The more the composition of the institutional population resembles the "outside" world, the more normal will the institutional environment become.

TABLE 2
INSTITUTIONAL CONTROL MODEL



- o A balanced sex ratio may increase control problems by precipitating a struggle between male and female inmates to "shape" or "structure" the institution. Hence, a two-to-one sex ratio may be the most effective one for reducing institutional management problems.
- o A minority sex population lower than (approximately) ten percent of the total will not be sufficient to develop a non-institutionalized atmosphere.
- o In the absence of a sufficiently visible number of the minority sex to develop a non-institutionalized atmosphere, or as a complement to inmate integration, there are several alternative means of sexual integration which will increase the normalized atmosphere: line-staff integration, furloughs, volunteers, and community programs.
- o In the absence of some form of population control, the non-institutionalized atmosphere will be threatened. By screening out those with assaultive histories, transferring those displaying assaultive behavior within the institution, and selectively transferring for heterosexual intercourse or "institutional" pregnancy, the degree to which the non-institutionalized atmosphere prevails is increased.
- o The integration of male and female inmates, furloughs, and community programs, will increase heterosexual options.
- o A non-institutionalized atmosphere will increase or maintain self-worth.
- o The interaction of male and female inmates, staff in-service training, and maintained or increased self-worth, will lead to improved appearance and grooming, which, in turn, will reinforce self-worth.
- o Restriction of program participation together by "serious" couples, and the use of transfer for assaultive behavior or heterosexual intercourse, will lead to low emotional involvement.
- o Restriction of program participation together by "serious" couples may inadvertently decrease staff and inmate morale.
- o The availability of heterosexual options may lead to a high frequency of "coupling" behavior.
- o The restriction of coed programming, in response to a high level of "coupling" behavior, will lead to low emotional involvement.
- o Birth control, selective transfer for heterosexual intercourse, and low emotional involvement, will lead to lower institutional pregnancy rates, and birth control alone to decreased non-institutional pregnancy rates; furloughs and community programs to increased

overall pregnancy rates, but decreased rate of institutional pregnancy.

- o Low emotional involvement, a "wholesome" atmosphere, and the availability of heterosexual options, will lead to low levels of predatory homosexuality, violence, and other incidents.

This chain of assumptions primarily reflects comparisons with traditional single-sex institutions, but also involves either explicit or implicit comparisons with open single-sex institutions, other co-correctional models, and between operational variations within the co-corrections institutional control model.

3. Therapy model.

The therapy model of co-corrections also uses the male-female interaction to "normalize" the institutional atmosphere, but with an eye less on the provision of the fuller range of options normally obtainable "outside," and more on the deliberate development of circumstances which allow "working with," and the correction of, "sexually abnormal" attitudes and behaviors. Like the reintegration model, the therapy model aims at the reduction of post-release adjustment problems, and on reduced recidivism. Its methods of population control differ from other models in that "sexually abnormal" populations may be over-selected, and are transferred only after repeated contact regulation violations and exploitive behavior. Moreover, program participation by "serious" couples is restricted only when relationships are seen as exploitive, and not uniformly then either, if the objectives of therapy dictate continuation. The therapy model of co-corrections is based on the following underlying assumptions:

- o Much criminal behavior stems, directly or indirectly, from the absence of healthy relationships with the opposite sex, or the inability to explore problems of sexual identification.
- o Traditional single-sex incarceration has exacerbated the sexual abnormality of offenders by fostering development of homosexual and often violent subcultures.

- o As undesirable as "masculine" dominance roles are in a prison setting, they must sometimes be tolerated if certain role changes are to be effected.
- o Sexual relationships will occur in prison -- it is merely a question of what kind; therefore, they might as well be voluntary, non-exploitive, and heterosexual, or at least voluntary and non-exploitive, rather than non-consensual and situationally homosexual.
- o To achieve correction of sexually abnormal behaviors and attitudes, some "acting-out" behavior must be tolerated, and control policies must be constructed and implemented with discretion and sensitivity.
- o Those inmates who have traditionally been the focus of sexual exploitation require a higher level of protection of sexual options than others.

The focus of the co-correctional therapy model is on the effects of the male-female interaction upon the development of an atmosphere which limits the necessity and frequency of exploitive behavior, and on the reduction of evident or presumed "sexual abnormalities," which are in turn presumed to be a direct or indirect cause of criminal behavior. The model is often found together with the reintegration model, even though they differ in selection criteria, means of population control, levels of control, function of program restrictions, and in primary intended outcomes.

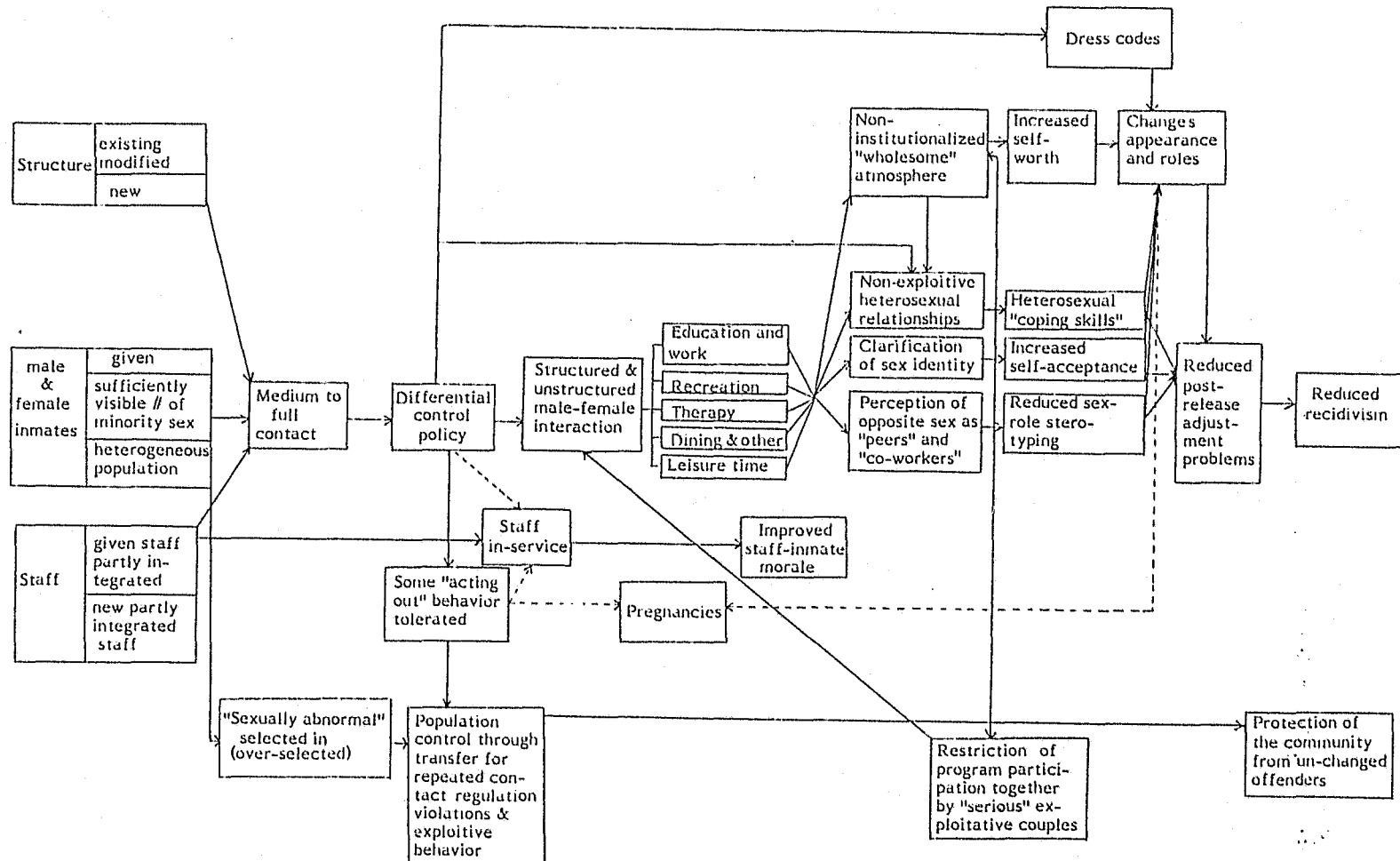
A brief overview will suggest the complexities of this deceptively simple model. The inputs to the therapy model are the existing, minimally modified structure, or a new facility; an at least partially integrated staff; and an integrated inmate population, as heterogeneous as possible, and containing a sufficiently visible number of the minority sex to provide a "therapeutic tool" for both sexes. The "sexually abnormal" are intentionally over-selected, and a differential control policy offers extra protection to males and females with histories of being sexually exploited, while allowing levels of "acting out" behavior sufficient to permit the therapeutic process to operate. The differential control policy and the policy of tolerating "acting-out" behavior require the

implementation of staff in-service training, which leads to increased staff and inmate morale. The structured and unstructured interaction of male and female inmates brings about a non-institutionalized atmosphere, which in turn assists the structured and unstructured interaction of males and females, including a range of therapy modalities, in bringing about non-exploitive heterosexual relationships, a clarification of sex identity, and the perception of the opposite sex as "peers" and "co-workers." The restriction of program participation together by "serious" couples ordinarily occurs only when relationships are perceived as exploitive. The development of non-exploitive heterosexual relationships leads to development of heterosexual coping skills; the clarification of sex identity to increased self-acceptance; and the perception of the opposite sex as "peers" and "co-workers" to the reduction of sex-role stereotypes. The non-institutional atmosphere increases self-worth, which combines with the development of heterosexual coping skills to effect changes in appearance and roles; at the same time, dress codes may mandate changes in appearance, and interact with other variables to effect role changes. Changes in appearance and roles inadvertently combine with the toleration of "acting-out" behavior to increase "therapeutic" pregnancies. Changes in appearance and roles, development of heterosexual coping skills, increased self-acceptance, and reduced sex-role stereotypes, combine to reduce post-release adjustment problems, and reduce recidivism. The transfer out of those repeatedly violating the flexible controls present in the therapeutic setting allows development of means to protect the community from the "too early" release of these offenders.

The chain of assumptions represented in the therapy model of co-corrections may be expressed by the following sequence, which corresponds to the flow chart in Table 3:

- o The interaction of male and female inmates will lead to a non-institutionalized atmosphere.

TABLE 3
THERAPY MODEL



- o The more the composition of the institutional population resembles the "outside" world, the more normal will the institutional environment become.
- o A minority sex population so low as to inhibit regular interaction will deter development of a non-institutionalized atmosphere.
- o An inmate population which does not substantially represent the "general population" will show lower therapeutic effects.
- o A differential control policy will increase the presence of "acting out" behavior.
- o A differential control policy, and toleration of "acting out" behavior, will increase the need for staff in-service training.
- o Staff in-service training will increase staff and inmate morale.
- o In the absence of some form of population control, the non-institutionalized atmosphere will be threatened. By transferring those who repeatedly violate contact regulations or display exploitive behavior, the non-institutionalized atmosphere can be protected.
- o The interaction of male and female inmates in a non-institutionalized atmosphere will lead to non-exploitive heterosexual relationships.
- o The interaction of male and female inmates will also lead to clarification of sex-identity, and perception of the opposite sex as "peers" and "co-workers."
- o The restriction of program participation by "serious" exploitive couples will increase the number of non-exploitive heterosexual relationships, and protect the non-institutionalized atmosphere.
- o A non-institutionalized atmosphere will increase self-worth.
- o Non-exploitive heterosexual relationships will increase heterosexual coping skills.
- o Clarification of sex identity will increase self-esteem.
- o The increased perception of the opposite sex as "peers" and "co-workers" will reduce sex-role stereotyping.
- o Increased self-worth and increased heterosexual coping skills will lead to changes in appearance and roles.
- o Implemented dress codes will lead to changes in appearance, which will interact with increased self-worth and heterosexual coping skills

to increase changes in roles.

- o Changes in appearance and roles, and the toleration of acting out behavior, may inadvertently increase the level of pregnancies.
- o Post-release adjustment problems will decrease as a function of: changes in appearance and roles, increased heterosexual coping skills, increased self-acceptance, and reduced sex-role stereotyping.
- o Reduced post-release adjustment problems will lead to reduced recidivism.
- o Over-selection of the "sexually abnormal," and their transfer out for flagrant and repeated violations of flexible control policies, will delay the parole dates of these recalcitrant offenders, and will thereby protect the community.

The chain of assumptions above primarily reflects comparisons with traditional single-sex institutions, but also involves either explicit or implicit comparisons with open single-sex institutions, other co-correctional models, and between operational variations within the co-corrections therapy model.

B. Non-programmatic Co-corrections

Two non-programmatic co-correctional models -- both aimed at fulfilling system-level needs by minimizing the impact of co-corrections on institutional operations -- emerge: the surveillance and sanction model, and the alternate choice model.

1. Surveillance and sanction model.

The surveillance and sanction model of co-corrections, unlike the programmatic models previously considered, does not use the male-female interaction to "normalize" the institutional environment -- either as a management tool to control problem behavior, or as a means of reducing the destructiveness of traditional single-sex incarceration. Unlike the reintegration and therapy models, the surveillance and sanction model does not contain references to post-release adjustment or reduced recidivism. Like the institutional control model, the surveillance and sanction model

aims at obtaining low levels of pregnancy, sexual and sex-related assault, and emotional involvement. Its methods of population control, which include transfer for strict contact policy violations, are more stringent than those represented by the programmatic models. This model of co-corrections is based on the following underlying assumptions:

- o The presence of both male and female inmates in the same institution poses a management problem which must be tolerated in the interest of system-level goals.
- o Standard prison operations should not be altered by the presence of the opposite sex.
- o Sexual relations are normal and inevitable, and a prison requires external controls to limit their occurrence.
- o To maintain "operations as normal," staff sanctions must be as high as inmate sanctions.
- o Priority implementation of external controls will allow maintenance of normal operations.

The co-corrections surveillance and sanction model emerges when system needs, especially economies in the use of staff and space, are perceived to shift an existing or planned single-sex institution into co-corrections. The focus of the surveillance and sanction model is on minimizing the effect of the presence of both sexes on operations, and on allowing the system to fulfill its needs. As noted earlier, the institutional control and surveillance and sanction models share intended outcomes: low rates of pregnancy, sexual and sex-related assault, and emotional involvement. Institutional energies are marshalled in the surveillance and sanction model toward achievement of these outcomes, on the expectation that, if problem behaviors related to pregnancy, assault, and emotional involvement can be minimized, the institution will have effectively functioned as a "depository," and system needs will have been served.

A brief overview of the elements of this model will provide the basis for the chain of assumptions it represents. The trigger for the surveillance and sanction model is the

existence of one or more system needs, and the expected impact of housing male and female prisoners under the same roof -- or at least within the same institution -- is the fulfillment of these system needs. The inputs to the model are: the given facility; the given staff, plus displaced opposite sex staff; and the given population, plus others delivered by the system to fill vacant rooms or program slots, or to fulfill other system needs. In order to minimize problem behaviors, and maintain normal operations, and in the absence of any perceived benefit to be derived from allowing full contact between inmates, a limited contact policy is formulated. On the assumption that external controls are required, the decision to permit limited contact leads to control through high surveillance and heavy sanctions. High surveillance may take several forms: facility modification, increases in supervisory staff either out of complement or from additional positions, or movement restrictions. Heavy sanctions are reflected primarily in population control through transfer for contact violations, although sanctions against staff are also heavy, especially when staff are perceived to put inmates in "embarrassing positions" by failing to maintain low inmate-inmate, or staff-inmate, emotional involvement, and becoming "personal," rather than "professional." Through the priority implementation of control policy, it is expected that low rates of pregnancy, sexual and sex-related assault, and emotional involvement will result, and that thereby system needs will be served.

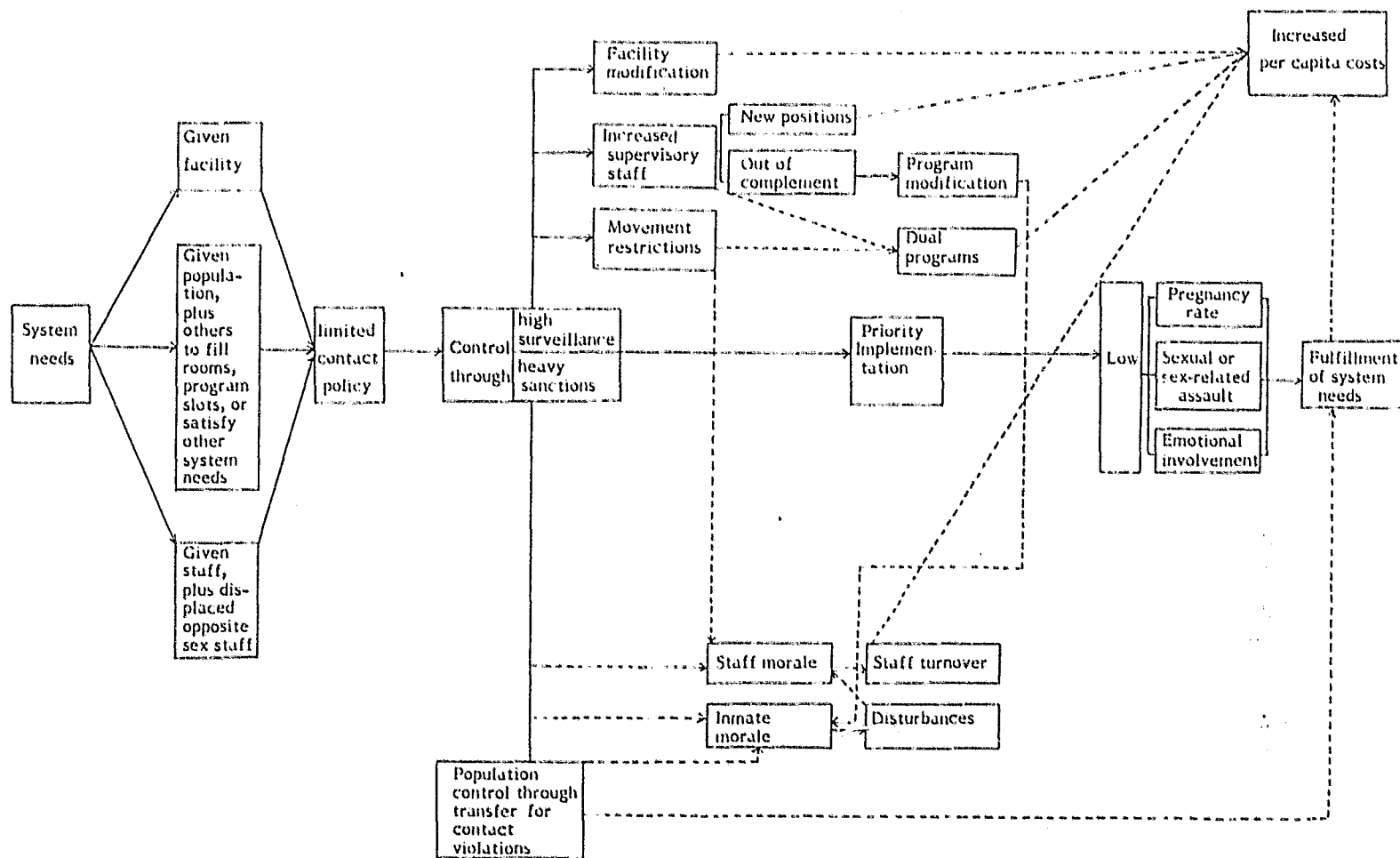
The achievement of system needs, however, may be counterindicated by the occurrence of certain unintended effects of adopting a surveillance and sanction model of co-corrections. Implementation of movement restrictions may lead to dual programs for each sex, and intensify the perceived need for increased supervisory staff. If increases in supervisory staff are out of the existing complement of staff, programs may have to be further modified. Program modifications and heavy inmate sanctions may

decrease inmate morale, and lead to disturbances. Increasing supervisory staff out of complement, heavy staff sanctions, and the presence or threat of disturbances, may decrease staff morale. Decreased staff morale may lead to a high rate of staff turnover. Several factors may lead to increased per capita costs: facility modification, new supervisory staff positions, dual programs, and high staff turnover. Increased per capita costs may be counter to the fulfillment of system level needs; moreover, by transferring inmates who violate contact regulations, and becoming more "selective" an institution, those inmates who represent control problems may be "foisted" on the system, which may also be counter to fulfilling system-level needs.

The chain of assumptions involved in the surveillance and sanction model may be represented in the following sequence, which corresponds to the flow chart in Table 4:

- o A limited contact policy will permit control of the relationship between male and female inmates.
- o A limited contact policy, if given priority implementation through high surveillance and heavy sanctions, will bring about low rates of pregnancy, sexual and sex-related assault, and emotional involvement.
- o Several modes of high surveillance -- facility modification, increased supervisory staff (either new positions or out of complement), and movement restrictions -- will lead to these intended outcomes.
- o Increasing supervisory staff out of the existing complement of staff will require program modification.
- o Transfer for contact regulation violations, or the mere threat of transfer, will lower rates of pregnancy, sexual or sex-related assault, and emotional involvement.
- o Low rates of pregnancy, sexual or sex-related assault, and emotional involvement, will lead to fulfillment of system needs.
- o However, implementation of movement restrictions may lead to dual programs for each sex, which, in turn, may increase the perceived need to increase supervisory staff.
- o Program modification and heavy inmate sanctions may decrease inmate morale, and lead to disturbances, or the expectation of an

TABLE 4
SURVEILLANCE AND SANCTION MODEL



"explosion."

- o Increasing supervisory staff out of complement, implementation of heavy staff sanctions, and the pressure or threat of disturbances, may decrease staff morale.
- o Decreased staff morale may lead to a high rate of staff turnover.
- o Per capita costs may increase as a function of facility modification, the addition of new supervisory staff positions, implementation of dual programs for each sex, and high staff turnover.
- o Implementation of transfer policies for contact violations may lead to implementation of selection standards; even if this does not occur, transfer of persons presenting control problems may increase, or be
- o Increased per capita costs, and "foisting" control problems on the system, may threaten the accomplishment of the system level needs which triggered, or were perceived to have triggered, involvement in co-corrections.

The chain of assumptions above reflect comparisons with traditional single-sex institutions, but also involves either explicit or implicit comparisons with other co-correctional models, and between operational variations within the co-corrections surveillance and sanction model.

2. Alternate choice model.

The alternate choice model of co-corrections, unlike the programmatic models previously considered, and like the surveillance and sanction model, does not use the male-female interaction to "normalize" the institutional environment. Unlike the reintegration and therapy models, the alternate choice model does not contain references to post-release adjustment or reduced recidivism. Like the institutional control and surveillance and sanction models, the alternate choice model aims at obtaining low levels of pregnancy, sexual and sex-related assault, and emotional involvement, and thereby fulfilling system level needs related to alternative utilization. Unlike the surveillance the sanction model, however, the alternate choice model posits the appropriateness of allowing full contact, and involves moving toward the same intended outcomes through

alternatives to the marshalling of institutional resources toward surveillance and sanctions. This model of co-corrections is based on the following underlying assumptions:

- o The presence of both male and female inmates in the same institution poses a management problem which must be tolerated in the interest of system-level goals.
- o Standard prison operations should not be altered by the presence of the opposite sex.
- o Sexual relations are normal and inevitable, but a prison requires a minimum of external controls to limit their occurrence.
- o Sexual relations between inmates are more appropriately limited by providing alternate means to "keep busy," and thereby supporting internal controls.

The co-correctional alternate choice model, like the surveillance and sanction model, emerges when an institution is perceived to be "dumped" into co-corrections in the interest of system-level needs. The model arises less as a conscious management strategy to control problem behavior, and more as an alternate route for reaching system goals which inmates and line-staff urge highly-controlled institutions to adopt. It moves from the contention that full contact is manageable, given sufficient options, without high surveillance and heavy sanctions. This model generally arises within the context of, and in reaction to, the surveillance and sanction model, and contends that the goals of the surveillance and sanction model can be reached without sustaining the associated costs.

A brief overview of the elements of the alternate choice model will provide the basis for the chain of assumptions it represents. The trigger for the alternate choice model is the same as that for the surveillance and sanction model: the expectation within the system that system-level needs can be served by housing male and female inmates in a designated institution. The inputs to the model are the same: the given facility; the given staff, plus displaced opposite sex staff; and the given population, plus others

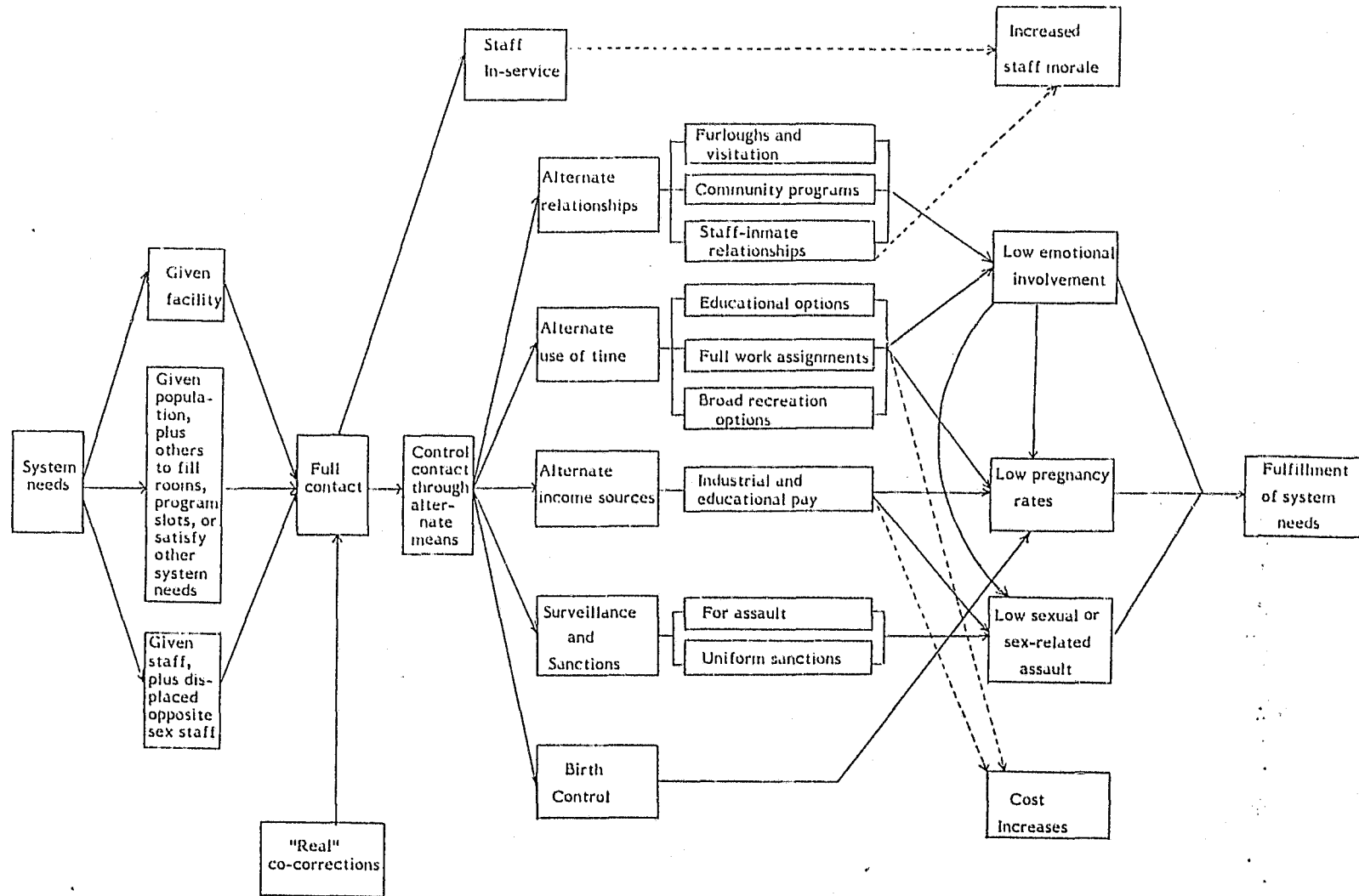
delivered by the system to fill vacant rooms or program slots, or to fulfill other system needs. In order to minimize problem behavior, and maintain normal operations, and in the face of perceived or anticipated counter-productive effects of directing institutional resources toward surveillance and sanctions, a full contact policy is adopted, which may reflect general system-level policy on contact between inmates, or a combination of criminal justice community, staff, or local community attitudes about the nature of "real" co-corrections. On the assumption that sufficient options will allow the institution to accomplish its intended outcomes, the decision to permit full contact leads to the implementation of alternate means of control, which are presented by, or to, inmates as "alternate choices." These alternate choices are: alternate relationships, alternate uses of time, alternate income sources, surveillance and sanctions, and birth control. Alternate relationships (furloughs and visitation, community programs, and staff-inmate relationships) and alternate uses of time (educational options, full work assignments, and broad recreational options) are expected to yield low emotional involvement between inmates. Alternate uses of time, alternate income sources (industrial and educational pay), birth control, and low emotional involvement are expected to result in low pregnancy rates. Surveillance and sanctions (for assault, and with uniform sanctions for both males and females, and both homosexual and heterosexual relations), alternate income sources, and low emotional involvement are expected to bring about low frequencies of sexual or sex-related assault. Implementation of staff in-service training is expected to increase staff morale, already on the upswing from the reduction of staff-inmate distance, fostered by the encouragement of staff-inmate relationships as one more "alternate relationship." The levels of emotional involvement between inmates, pregnancy, and sexual or sex-related assault, are expected to be as low as, or lower than, those produced through exclusive use of surveillance and sanctions. By obtaining its

intended outcomes, the alternate choice model is expected to serve system needs. The costs associated with the delivery of alternate uses of time (educational options, full work assignments, and recreational options) and alternate income sources (industrial and educational pay) are expected to be lower than the fiscal and human costs associated with the surveillance and sanction model of co-corrections. Moreover, the delivery of a relatively high level of programs to keep inmates "busy" and prevent "just sittin' around and thinkin' about sex," may secondarily result in the development of community contacts, employable skills, a bank account, and other tangible and intangible assets, which may, after release, lead to reduced criminal activity.

The chain of assumptions involved in the alternate choice model may be represented in the following sequence, which corresponds to the flow chart in Table 5:

- o A full contact policy can be maintained by provision of alternate choices, rather than by external controls.
- o A high level of programmatic discipline and control will result from the allocation of resources to programs rather than supervision.
- o Alternate relationships and alternate uses of time will lead to low emotional involvement.
- o Alternate uses of time, alternate income sources, birth control, and low emotional involvement, will result in low pregnancy rates.
- o Alternate income sources, surveillance and sanctions (for assault, and uniform sanctions) and low emotional involvement, will bring about low sexual and sex-related assault.
- o Staff in-service training and the provision of staff-inmate relationships will increase staff morale.
- o Low levels of emotional involvement, pregnancy, and sexual or sex-related assault, will lead to fulfillment of system level needs.
- o The costs associated with developing or maintaining alternate uses of time, and alternate income sources, will be lower than the fiscal and human costs involved in the surveillance and sanction model of co-corrections.

TABLE 5
ALTERNATE CHOICE MODEL



- o The delivery of programs to control problem behavior, may secondarily lead to the development of skills, community contacts, or other outcomes, which may contribute to reduced recidivism.

The chain of assumptions above reflect comparisons with other co-correctional models, especially the surveillance and sanction model, but also involves either implicit or explicit comparisons with traditional single-sex institutions, open single-sex institutions, and between operational variations within the co-corrections alternate choice model.

C. Programmatic and Non-programmatic Co-corrections

The above presentation and discussion of programmatic and non-programmatic models of co-corrections, suggested some of the points at which given models are either compatible, or in conflict. That conflicting models make "strange bedfellows" and can precipitate a "state of tension," was suggested in the Issues Paper. Indeed, this earlier working-paper anticipated "that the relative goal priorities within and between institutions are in flux," and that:

Not only are changes observed over time in regard to the dominant philosophy of corrections, but at any given time, diverse and sometimes conflicting assumptions are found to be incorporated within a single institution or program. Co-corrections, rather than reflecting a particular well-integrated set of assumptions, is an excellent example of the diversity of correctional philosophies which may be simultaneously operative.

What the Issues Paper did not anticipate were the fuller explicit and implicit ramifications of each model, which have been adumbrated above, and , more importantly, the fact that each of the programmatic and non-programmatic models presented above is present and operative, in varying degrees, in each existing co-correctional institution. For example, the formulation of a co-correctional strategy primarily for programmatic purposes does not preclude the perception that "continued space requirements, and a continued dedication to keeping people close to home," or "the needs of the moment,"

triggered the program and, therefore, justified the use of a non-programmatic model. The day-to-day operations of a given coed institution might, therefore, be perceived within an institutional control framework by the central office, while the line-staff operates on the alternate choice model, the administration on the premises of normalization and reintegration, and the treatment staff on therapy. Indeed, within each level of an institution, and each person taking part in an institution's life, a measure of ambivalence may exist about the model, or models, within which the institution is addressing operational issues, or formulating expectations. From this ambiguity emerge inconsistent modes of action and heated debates about the actual and ideal inmate populations, population control policies, etc., reflected in such questions as: Do we actually house a highly selected inmate population, or a typical one? Are we selecting-out inmates with certain characteristics, and how uniformly? How long do we, and should we, "work with" someone who finds it difficult to abide by "the rule" of co-corrections? Do we, and should we, tolerate "acting-out" behavior? Are we concerned more with the special requirements of a population in need of rehabilitation, the reduction of destructive aspects of incarceration, or none of these?

"Each is present in each," or, as the priest Zossima stated in a book by Dostoevski, "all is mixing, all is blending." The presence of each model in each institution suggests that the construction of a single measurement model is not only possible, but appropriate.

III. SYNTHESIZED MEASUREMENT MODEL

Because the implementation of co-corrections, regardless of its assumed programmatic or non-programmatic functions, requires basic decisions at the system and institutional levels, it appears to be possible and appropriate to develop a synthesized measurement model outlining the potential system impacts, inputs, processes, outcomes, and co-correctional impacts on the system, which should be considered in an evaluation of co-corrections. The flow diagram in Table 6 represents an effort to indicate the key variables, at both the system and institutional levels, which are involved in the implementation of a decision to "go co-correctional," and is tied to possible measures for each of the variables. One of the functions of the measurement model is to indicate the apparent causal chains involved in the functioning of co-correctional institutions, and to trace the effects of a change in any given variable on the other variables represented in the model. While the flow chart frequently indicates uni-directional causal flow, in reality many of the variables may be affected through feedback loops which are not represented.

The particular set of desired, or expected, outcomes will determine which measurement points will be most critical in a particular evaluation, and the type and range of acceptable measures. The possible measures for each measurement point, contained in Table 7, range from a determination of the presence or absence of a particular point in a given institution, or a description of a particular policy (potentially scaled in terms of other possible policies for comparative purposes), to quantitative measures represented by numbers, ratios, scores, etc. Every effort has been made to provide a basis for comparative evaluation, through either the use of other institutions as controls, or before-after research on the effect of changes in one or more of the variables on a particular

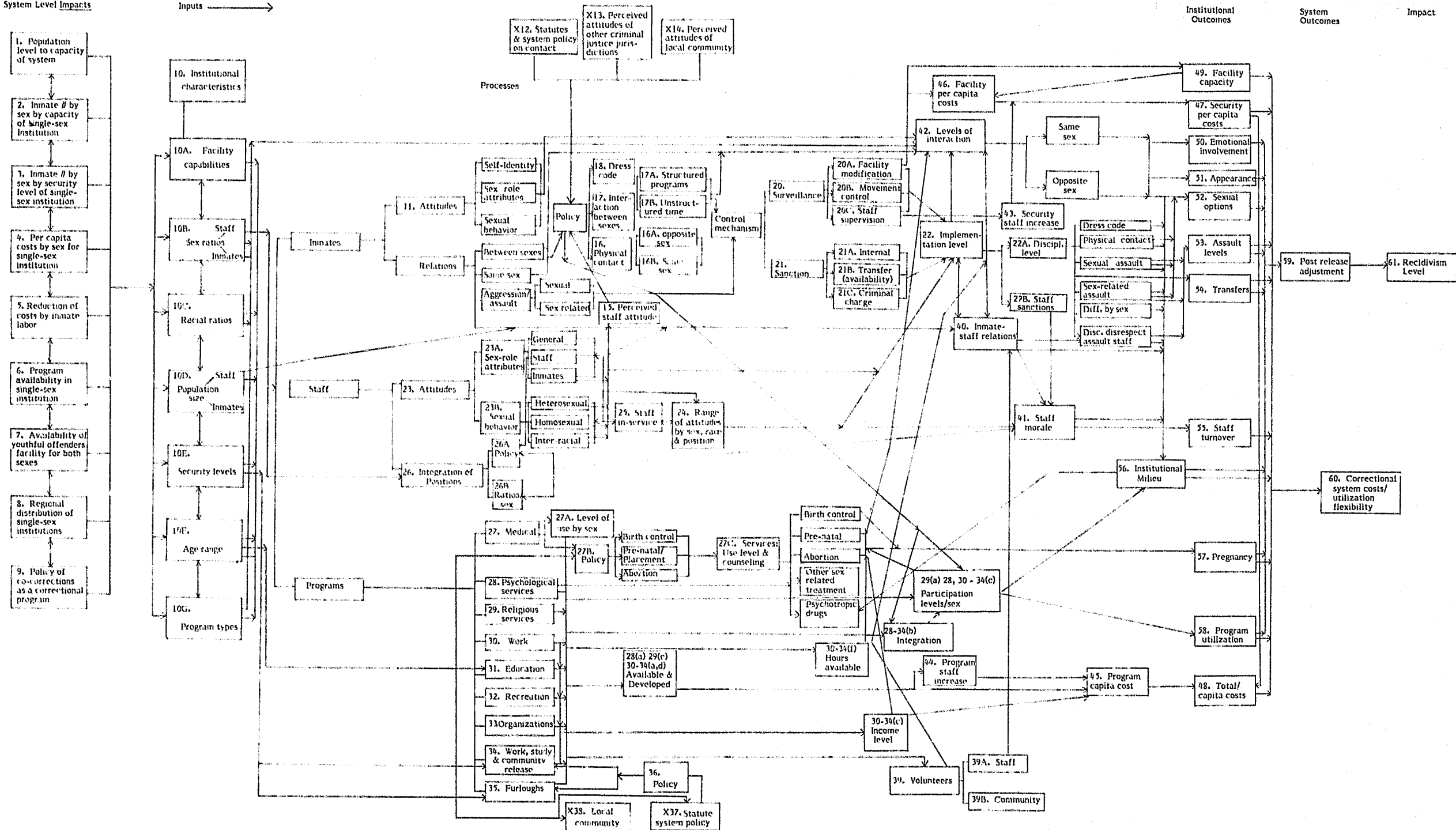


TABLE 6 SYNTHESIZED MEASUREMENT MODEL

TABLE 7
Explication of Measurement Model

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
1	Present or projected number of inmates in the system in relation to the capacity of the system's institutions (general population pressure to force change in institution use)	# of sentenced inmates, present and projected, proportionate to rated capacity of system # of sentenced inmates, present and projected, above rated capacity
2	Availability of space in presently single-sex institutions	# of spaces available in single-sex institutions
3	High number of inmates in a given security level relative to the capacity of existing single-sex institutions rated at that security level	Capacity of all institutions of a given security-status proportionate to # of inmates in that status level
4	Differences in per capita costs of single-sex institutions in equivalent security levels	Per capita costs by institution, by sex Per capita costs by security level, by sex
5	Anticipation of per capita cost reduction through the provision of work crews of the opposite sex in single-sex institutions	Estimates of cost reduction caused by inmate labor Civilian labor costs, broken out from budget, of positions replaceable with inmate labor
6	Availability of programs in single-sex institutions which are not available in institutions for the opposite sex	Enumeration of programs by institution
7	Population pressure from inmates of either or both sexes under youthful offender status	Ratio of # of youthful offenders to the capacity of institutions used for incarceration of youthful offenders, by sex

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
8	Absence of facilities for a given sex in certain regions of the jurisdiction	Geographical placement of institutions, by sex P/A of institutions by regions, by sex
9	Correctional system's adoption of co-corrections for programmatic reasons	P/A of system planning for co-corrections P/A of expected outcomes # of protection cases for co-correctional institution # of sentenced married or common-law couples
10	Co-correctional institution of given: A. Rated capacity B. Sex ratio (staff and inmate) C. Race ratio (staff & inmate) D. Population size (staff & inmate) E. Security level F. Age range G. Program types	A. # of spaces available B. # of staff and inmates, by sex C. # of staff and inmates, by race D. # of staff and inmates/capacity of institution E. # in each security level, by sex F. Age range by sex G. # of programs available, by sex
11	Inmate attitudes regarding: A. Self-identity B. Sex-role attributes C. Sexual behavior	A. Scale measuring self-esteem Scale measuring expressed opposition to institution Prisonization scale Argot role scale Scale measuring post-release expectations B. Survey of inmate concepts of sex-roles C. Survey of inmate attitudes toward sexual behavior (The above administered upon arrival and release)
12	Degree to which the contact policy reflects the state's statutes on sexual relations and system's policy on physical contact	P/A of a policy at the system level Divergence of policy from general manual Divergence of policy from statutes

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
13	Degree to which the contact policy is based on perceived "community" attitudes of other criminal justice jurisdictions	P/A, and # of court actions, communications, etc.
14	Degree to which the contact policy is based on perceived "local" community attitudes	P/A, and # of letters, newspaper comments, petitions, etc.
15	Degree to which the contact policy is based on perceived staff attitudes toward inmate self-control, morality, statutes, disciplinary control	Questionnaire for staff on contact policy (part of a general survey on attitudes)
16A	Policy on physical contact: A. With the opposite sex. Maximum allowable contact before sanctions occur: 1. No physical contact 2. Limited contact 3. No intercourse 4. Overt intercourse 5. Sexual assault	Codification of policy statements by level -- scaled Attributed caused for changes in policy See measurements for 13, 14, 15
16B	Policy on physical contact: B. With the same sex 1. Same restriction and levels as heterosexual 2. Same restrictions, but different sanction level 3. Different restrictions and sanctions	Codification of policy statements -- scaled Attributed causes for changes in policy Divergence from policy in single-sex institutions of jurisdiction: P/A
17A	Level of permitted interaction in: A. Structured activities: 1. Education 2. Work 3. Religious services 4. Recreation 5. Organizations 6. Dining 7. Medical 8. Community programs	P/A of interaction in each area Interactions in each area codified and scaled See measurements for 28-34 P/A of policy and/or screening criteria on participation of couples together in programs

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
17B	Level of permitted interaction in: B. Unstructured activities (the degree to which men and women have opportunities to "socialize")	Hours per week available for male-female social interaction outside of structured activities # of places in which this interaction may/may not occur
18	Dress codes	P/A, by sex
19	Perceived levels of aggression and assault related to sexual activities	Staff and inmate estimates, by interview or questionnaire
20A	Control mechanisms available for contact policy implementation by surveillance: A. Modification of facilities and equipment 1. Lighting 2. Communication equipment 3. Locks, barriers, etc. 4. Dual facilities	# of modifications, each category Total costs, each category Per capita cost, each category
20B	Control mechanisms available for contact policy implementation by surveillance: B. Control of movement 1. Restriction of movement by males or females, or both, by: a. time b. area 2. Passes	1. # of places from which males restricted # of places from which females restricted # of places from which both sexes restricted # of places restricted by time, by sex 2. P/A of passes, by sex
20C	Control mechanisms available for contact policy implementation by surveillance: C. Staff supervision 1. Increase in security staff size	1. # of new security staff positions Salary: dollar increase

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
	2. Distribution of supervision 3. Extension of supervisory responsibilities to non-supervisory personnel 4. Proportion of staff by sex to sex of inmates	2. Changes in non-supervisory staffing components 3. P/A 4. Security personnel per capita by sex
21A	Control mechanisms available by sanction: A. Internal sanctions <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reprimand 2. Restriction of privileges 3. Segregation 4. Good time loss 	P/A code violations with sanction Types of code violations with sanction scaled # of disciplinaries by violation and sanction levels
21B	Control mechanisms available by sanction: B. Transfer <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Availability 2. Type of institution accepting transfers from coed facility 3. Length of time before return 	Transfer policy by sex for 1,2,3
21C	Control mechanisms available by sanction: C. Additional criminal charges	Policy and # of additional criminal charges for statute violations
22	Implementation level of contact policy <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Limited 2. As other policies 3. Priority 	Proportion of disciplinaries for contact to total disciplinaries Severity of contact sanctions compared to severity of all sanctions Proportion of contact disciplinaries to each other disciplinary type
22A	Implementation of contact policy: A. Inmates <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Inmate disciplinaries 2. Differential by sex 	1. # of disciplinaries per capita by type # of sanctions by type, by sex 2. Disciplinaries by types per capita, by sex

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
		# and % of disciplinaries involving partners and couples, by type and sex Sanction levels of above, by sex
22B	Implementation of contact policy: B. Staff <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Transfers 2. Resignations 3. Time or salary loss 4. Demotion 	P/A, and number of sanctions, each category Ratio by sex, each category
23A	Staff attitudes of existing staff and newly selected staff regarding: A. Perceived sex attributes <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Males and females in general 2. Male and female staff 3. Male and female inmates 	Questionnaire regarding perception of sexual attributes regarding 1, 2, 3, administered to both existing staff and newly selected staff
23B	Staff attitudes of existing staff and newly selected staff toward: B. Sexual behavior <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Heterosexual 2. Homosexual 3. Inter-racial 	Section of questionnaire in 23A regarding views on the control of types of heterosexual and homosexual behavior, and attitudes toward inter-racial sexual behavior, administered to both existing staff and newly selected staff
24	Diversity and ambivalence on sex-role attributes, sexual normality, and desirability for control of sexual behavior, by staff sex, race and position	Score ranges on questionnaire in 23A Score average on questionnaire by sex, age, race and position
25	In-service training program for staff on: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. Control policy B. Sex attributes C. Sexual behavior D. Inmate-staff relationships concerning sex E. Staff-staff relations 	P/A of A-E # of hours of training Pre-post testing to determine retention of training material

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
26A	Integration of male and female staff: A. Policy and actual distribution of assignments within the institution by sex of staff (i.e., male residence, perimeter guards)	P/A of policy Codification of positions by availability to each sex P/A of male or female staff in given assignments Distribution of staff assignments, by sex
26B	Integration of male and female staff: B. Proportion of females to males 1. Total 2. By rank	1. Ratio of females to males 2. Ratio by rank of females to males
27A	Medical services: A. Level of use by sex	# and proportion of sick calls, by sex
27B	Medical services: B. Policy 1. Birth control 2. Pre-natal and placement procedures 3. Abortion 4. Other sex-related programs 5. Psychotropic drugs	P/A of 1,2,3 Codification and scaling of 1,2,3 P/A of counseling for 1,2,3
27C	Medical services: C. Types of services 1. Birth control 2. Pre-natal 3. Abortion 4. Other sex-related programs 5. Psychotropic drugs	1. # per capita/month 2. #/year per capita by source* 3. #/year per capita by source* 4. # and use per capita 5. # and type of prescriptions per capita by sex *Source: pre-sentence, furlough, institution, other
28	Psychological services: A. Number of groups, and types B. Integration C. Participation: male/female D. Development of new programs and types E. Counselling for pregnancy	A. Enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. Proportion, per group D. # and type, and enumeration E. P/A, and enumeration

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
29	Religious services: A. Participation B. Integration C. Development of new programs	A. Ratio, by sex of participants B. P/A C. # and enumeration
30	Work assignments: A. Number and types B. Integration C. Income D. Development of new programs E. Participation rates: male/ female F. Hours available; proportion by sex	A. P/A, and enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. P/A and level, by sex D. # and enumeration of new programs E. # of participants by sex in programs, related to sex ratio of total population F. # of hours, by sex
31	Educational programs: A. Number and types B. Integration C. Income D. Development of new programs E. Participation rates: male/ female F. Hours available; proportion by sex	A. P/A, and enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. P/A and level, by sex D. # and enumeration of new programs E. # of participants by sex in programs, related to sex ratio of total population F. # of hours, by sex
32	Recreational programs: A. Number and type B. Integration C. Income D. Development of new programs E. Participation rates: male/ female F. Hours available; proportion by sex	A. P/A, and enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. P/A and level, by sex D. # and enumeration of new programs E. # of participants by sex in programs related to sex ratio by total population F. # of hours, by sex

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
33	Organizations: A. Number and type B. Integration C. Income D. Development of new programs E. Participation rates: male/female F. Hours available; proportion by sex	A. P/A, and enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. P/A and level, by sex D. # and enumeration of new programs E. # of participants by sex in programs related to sex ratio by total population F. # of hours, by sex
34	Work-, study-, and community-release programs: A. Number and type B. Integration C. Income D. Development of new programs E. Participation rates: male/female F. Hours available; proportion by sex	A. P/A, and enumeration B. P/A, and # integrated C. P/A and level, by sex D. # and enumeration of new programs E. # of participants by sex in program related to sex ratio by total population F. # of hours, by sex
35	Furloughs: A. Presence and # B. Policy on taking furloughs by couples C. Proportion: male/female	A. P/A, and # B. P/A, and type C. # per capita, by sex
36	Jurisdictional work-, study-, community-release and furlough policies	P/A and codification
37	System influence on policy	Statutes: P/A and codification Policy statements: P/A and codification
38	Local community influence on policy	# of newspaper comments, petitions, letters, etc.

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
39	Volunteers used in programs: A. Staff B. Community	# of volunteers from staff # of volunteers from community Types of services provided by volunteers Hours worked per program Age, sex, and race of volunteers in relation to age, sex and race of inmates # of contacts with volunteers per capita
40	Staff-inmate distance and relations	Staff/inmate ratio # of staff volunteers for community release # of staff-inmate programs and description # and # per capita of disciplinaries for disrespect and/or disobeying orders Proportion of disciplinaries for disrespect and/or disobeying orders to total disciplinaries # and # per capita of disciplinaries for assault on staff
41	Staff morale	Resignations, by sex Transfer requests, by sex Morale scale, by sex # of sick leaves per capita, by sex
42	Inmate interaction levels with: A. Same sex B. Opposite sex	Prisonization questionnaire on time spent in interaction, level of interaction, number of interactions by age, by sex Structured observation
43	Security staff increase	# increase in security staff positions Break out security staff salary from budget

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
44	Program staff size: A. Increase B. Proportion of total staff	# increase in positions Ratio of program staff/total staff
45	Program cost: A. Per capita male, female and total B. Proportion of total budget	Break out of FY budget items
46	Facility per capita cost	Break out of FY budget items
47	Security per capita costs	Break out of FY budget items
48	Total per capita cost for co-corrections	Break out of FY budget items Before-after job analyses of all positions, to account for changes in custodial responsibilities of non-custodial staff, and concomitant "real" costs broken out from budget
49	Alternate space utilization available if institution were single sex	Ratio of spaces utilized by housing both sexes, to estimated use by single sex # of spaces available in housing restricted to one sex
50	Emotional environment	# of requests for marriage Perceived # of couples by staff, by inmates # of sex-related assaults per capita See 42
51	Inmate appearance change: A. Clothing B. Physical	A. See 18, 22A B. Cavior scale of physical appearance Codified descriptions by staff, by inmates

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
52	Availability of non-coercive sex options	See 18, 22A, 42 Changes in 11 from pre-post testing,
53	Assault levels	See 22A Compare to pre-co-corrections or comparable single-sex institution
54	Administrative transfers for disciplinary measures	See 22A
55	Staff turnover	# of resignations and transfers per capita, by sex See 41 (1-2)
56	Institutional milieu	CIES See 22A, 41, 42, 58
57	Pregnancy level	See 27C and comparative data on women's single-sex institutions, both correctional and other
58	A. Program availability by sex B. Program utilization by sex	A. Proportion of total programs integrated B. Proportion of participation by sex Attendance and achievement rates for each program, total and by sex
59	Post-release adjustment	Parole data # of divorces, marriages # of stable sexual relationships # of children living with parents
60	Changes in system regarding facility availability, program utilization, regional distribution, per capita costs, inmate disturbances, security levels	Use of 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58 for comparison with previous system levels

Measurement Point	Description of State	Possible Measurements
61	Recidivism	Recidivism rates by sex for releasees after two years Comparative data before and after institution conversion and/or comparable institutions

institution.

The flow diagram in Table 6 generally moves -- from left to right -- from system impacts, through institutional inputs, institutional processes, and on to institutional and system outcomes; similarly, the explication of the measurement model, in Table 7, starts with system impacts and ends with institutional and system outcomes. However, because a state which represents an outcome in one model may be regarded as an institutional process in another, and due to other variations in the applicability of the synthesized measurement model to specific logical models of co-corrections, the categories of particular states -- as inputs, system impacts, and so on -- have not been indicated in Table 7. Generally, 1 through 9 are system impacts; 10 represents institutional inputs; 12 through 14, and 36 through 38 represent exogenous variables additional to system impacts; 11 through 47, except for the exogenous variables previously mentioned, are institutional processes; 47 through 58 are institutional outcomes; 59 and 60 are system outcomes; and 61 represents impact on the criminal justice system. The discussion of the measurement model which follows is similarly divided into five sections: system impact points, institutional inputs, institutional processes, institutional outcomes, and system outcomes.

A. System Impact Points

There are a series of correctional system-level conditions which constitute major impact points in the consideration of the introduction, continuation, modification, and/or withdrawal from co-corrections. Nine major system conditions emerged from the materials gathered in site-visits and administrative descriptions of other co-correctional facility development. In any given correctional jurisdiction, one or more of these conditions may be operable in the inception and administration of a co-correctional facility, and their interaction may partially determine the input, processes and outputs of

any given or anticipated co-correctional program. The major system level impacts, given in the order of presentation in Table 6, are as follows:

- o The anticipated or actual level of inmate populations, in relation to existing distributions of population and total system capacity, is such that each institution in the jurisdiction is re-examined in view of potential alternate populations, by age, sex, and security level.
- o Existing single-sex institutions are not being used at their capacity, and space is available for inmates of the opposite sex.
- o A high proportion of inmates of one sex at a particular security level may be accommodated at an underutilized opposite-sex institution which includes the same security level.
- o The duplication of programs and services in a single-sex institution involves high per capita costs.
- o The use of labor of the opposite sex to provide services in a single-sex institution is anticipated to reduce costs.
- o Certain programs absent in single-sex institutions are available in institutions of the opposite sex, or the potential development of new programs is expected to become more feasible with a larger population.
- o A facility for youthful offenders is absent or inadequate.
- o A facility for a given sex in certain regions of the correctional system's jurisdiction is absent or inadequate.
- o For reasons of normalization, institutional control, and/or treatment outcomes, a decision is reached that co-corrections is a desired correctional program.

The basis for the decision -- upon the above system needs -- to implement a co-correctional program will determine, at least initially, the desired outcomes and the rationale for a given strategy. However, it is possible that the presence of several desired outcomes, with significantly different associated strategies, may limit the probable effectiveness with which any strategy is implemented and any one of the intended outcomes obtained. For example, population pressures within the correctional system and the availability of housing within a single-sex institution may be a major reason for the

decision to develop co-corrections. At the same time, the introduction of the opposite sex into an institution with a particular program structure may provide a wider range of choice for the inmates involved. As a result, the availability and utilization of programs may become a desired outcome of the co-correctional effort. However, if system-level population pressures result in population increases in the co-correctional institution which cause significant changes in staff-inmate ratios, over-crowding, and increased institutional tension, then further decisions may be made, for reasons of control, to restrict access to programs. Or, even if a system decision involves a desire for normalization, the inmate sex-ratios which may be considered necessary for its implementation may be difficult to maintain, if the system's population pressures are significantly higher for either male or female inmates. Moreover, if an underutilized facility ear-marked for co-corrections happens to be the jurisdiction's only institution for women, population pressures may be relieved by "going coed," but the opportunity to choose a single-sex, rather than a coed institution, which is available to men, is not provided to women -- which may, or may not, be desirable from the system perspective.

Regardless of the particular system needs, and the consequent desired outcomes, these system needs will be implemented within a particular institutional setting, and will involve other critical variables. Some of these variables are the function of the general population characteristics of a jurisdiction; others are specific to a given institution, including capacity, type of facility, and staff backgrounds.

B. Institutional Inputs

Seven critical input variables, applicable within a given institutional setting, were suggested by site-visit interviews and the literature on co-corrections. Changes in these variables may result from changes in system-level characteristics, and may occur without consideration of their potential impact on the co-correctional aspects of the institution.

At the same time, however, they may be modified as a result of the processes within the institution in the development of a co-correctional program. In this sense, they may operate as both independent and dependent variables. At any point in the analysis, however, they may be considered as "givens" or inputs.

- o Capacity of the institution. This not only refers to the total rated capacity of the facility, but also the capacity of those buildings, lounges, libraries, floors, etc., which have been at any given time designated for the use of the male or female inmates. A particular capacity will not only affect the sex ratio, but also the extent of differential treatment (single rooms, dormitories, level of under-or over-utilization).
- o Sex ratio of both inmates and staff. Sex ratios become critical in the consideration of nature and level of inmates relationships and staff-inmate interaction, staff distribution and utilization, and in the development and utilization of programs.
- o Racial (and ethnic) ratios within and between the sexes. The effect of these ratios may be a function of both staff and inmate attitudes regarding the desirability of inter-racial heterosexual relationships, and the availability of a proportionate number of each racial or ethnic group of the opposite sex.
- o Size of staff and inmate population. The actual size of both the staff and the inmate population directly affects staff-inmate ratios, and may affect the availability and utilization of programs, the range of potential inter-relationships, per capita costs, and the levels and types of control to be developed, given their association with particular staff-inmate ratios.
- o Security levels. This variable not only includes the given security levels of the institution, which will affect access to furlough and community programming, and other programs, but also the possible presence of different ranges in security levels for male and female inmates within the institution. The conversion of the only women's institution within a correctional jurisdiction to co-corrections may result in the presence of differing security levels for women and men. Consequently, the level of restrictions may change, and the nature of given security levels may be redefined.
- o Age range. The range of ages within the total population, as well as the range within the population of a given sex, may affect, not only the nature of the relationships between the sexes within the institution, but also the proportion of inmates with marital and/or family relationships outside the institution.

- o Program types. The number and types of programs available in a given institution ranges partially as a function of the above listed variables. Program availability may affect inmate relationships in terms of time use, and income source, as well as in other more manifest functions. In addition, the absence of certain programs within the institution for either both sexes, or one sex, and their availability in single-sex institutions within the jurisdiction, may also affect the effectiveness of sanction by transfer.

Within the context of these seven variables, and the system needs which determine the initial desired outcomes, the processes involved in the development and maintenance of a co-correctional institution occur.

C. Institutional Processes

For purposes of presentation, the major co-correctional processes within the institution are divided into three major areas, designated as inmate, staff and program flows. In reality, however, the critical process flow may involve the levels and nature of the inmate interactions, which in turn are affected by, and affect, program and staff. The desired outcomes will partially determine the planned level and nature of the interaction. However, the complexity and tenuous predictability of the interrelated processes present both within the institutional setting, and in outside systems impacting on the institution, may play a more critical role in the interaction patterns than any administrative decision. In any case, the major focus in co-corrections is precisely on the coed relationship, regardless of the functions, or lack of functions, this relationship is perceived to play.

The following discussion of institutional processes is divided into five sections: contact policy, control mechanisms, implementation of policy, inmate interaction, and program structure.

1. Contact policy.

In order to highlight the significant points of the measurement flow chart, it will be helpful to trace the stages and interrelation of factors directly affecting inmate

interaction. While the actual interrelations will be a function of the individual decisions of particular inmates, based on their attitudes regarding self-identification, sex-role attributes, appropriate sexual behavior, and other factors, from an administrative viewpoint these decisions will take place within the context of a specific policy in regard to physical contact and designated times and places for social interaction. The content of that policy, as already noted, will partially reflect the system outcomes desired -- for example, therapy or facility utilization -- but will also reflect three exogenous variables, as well as one critical internal input variable. Based on administrative interviews, it appears that decisions in regard to policy on both physical contact and amounts of male-female interaction are affected by these exogenous factors: perceptions of what the "local community" views as "allowable behavior" within a co-correctional institution; verbal or written comments, or court actions, by other criminal justice agencies, either within the same jurisdiction, or by colleagues from other correctional jurisdictions; and both state statutes and correctional system general policy guidelines on sexual relations. Moreover, the perceived attitudes of the staff appear to play a key role in the determination of policy, since the implementation of that policy, generally requires the support of at least a majority of the staff, particularly the correctional staff.

The actual policy in regard to physical contact may range from complete restriction of contact to prohibition of only intercourse, or of only sexual assault. Whether the restrictions placed on contact with the opposite sex apply equally to homosexual contact, and, if not, whether a rationale is provided for any divergence in the two standards, is an important consideration. The policy in regard to interaction levels generally distinguishes between contact during programs -- for example, work, education, organizations, structured recreation, and dining periods -- and contact during

unscheduled periods, with specific times and places designated for social interaction. The level of the restrictions will generally affect the degree of control which is necessary in order to enforce policy: a policy of no physical contact may require a greater use of control mechanisms for its enforcement than one which only restricts physical assault, but does not attempt to regulate other aspects of the relationship between the sexes.

2. Control mechanisms.

The use of particular control mechanisms almost immediately affects the wider institutional program, and may have direct effects on other system outcomes, such as per capita costs, or program utilization. Two major types of control mechanisms may be distinguished: surveillance and sanctions. Among the surveillance controls are those which are facility related, such as lighting, fences, communications equipment, and dual facilities; those which focus on control of movement, either by the general use of passes, or by restricting to certain times and places the movement of one or both sexes; and those which involve direct staff supervision. In the last case, the supervision may be achieved by increasing security staff, by either hiring new officers, reallocation of positions, or the extension of supervisory responsibilities to non-security personnel. The use of any of these control mechanisms may affect, among other variables, the nature and level of the inmate interaction, program development, program utilization, inmate and staff morale, and per capita costs. The use of sanctions also represents a major control factor, and the presence of a high level of sanctions for contact policy violations -- including segregation, time loss, transfer, or the pressing of criminal charges -- will similarly affect wider institutional functions. Use of such control mechanisms will not only affect inmate interaction levels, but also, among other variables, inmate and staff morale, staff-inmate relationships, and an institution's relationship with other

institutions and criminal justice agencies.

3. Implementation of policy.

Important to a discussion of levels of contact allowed, restrictions on relationships, and the intensity of control mechanisms, is the degree to which policy is actually implemented. Implementation is indicated partly by a causal chain in the flow chart involving staff. The key aspects of staff in relation to co-corrections consists of staff attitudes, and the presence or introduction of a sexually integrated staff. Staff attitudes are significant in regard to heterosexual and homosexual behavior, inter-racial relationships, the sex-role attributes of men and women in general, and perceptions of the characteristics of both male and female correctional personnel, and male and female inmates or "criminals." To the degree that significant attitudinal differences prevail among the staff, particularly either among staff serving in different correctional positions, or between the sexes or racial groups, there will be considerable ambivalence about implementing or enforcing any given policy on contact. The presence of an in-service program may partially alleviate the divergent attitudes, but a high level of implementation may only be achieved by the use of staff sanctions. The use of staff sanctions may, in turn, lead to lowered staff morale, and a possible high level of turnover.

4. Inmate interaction.

The actual level of interaction is a function of not only policy implementation, but also, as noted above, of the presence of particular attitudes among the inmate body. For example, if the inmate body contains an active group of homosexuals, for whom homosexuality represents a component of self-identity, rather than a situational adaptation, then the development of a heterosexual milieu will probably not affect their homosexual activity. However, a heterosexual milieu will

provide an option for those inmates who may have been involved only in situational homosexuality, those who have no previous prison experience, and those who avoided close relationships in single-sex institutions. The degree to which there may be more basic changes in sex-roles and self-identity may be a function of the levels of control, and the nature of the relationships explored and developed within the program structure of the institution.

5. Program structure.

The co-correctional decision, as indicated in some of the causal chains in the measurement flow diagram, is associated with certain effects on the programs of an institution. As noted in the flow chart, certain aspects of a program are directly related to co-corrections, such as the presence of integration in a program, and the level of participation of each sex in a program. The level of participation may not only be affected by direct policy decisions, but also by the degree to which the sex ratio affects the level of participation. A sharp minority position in certain areas may lead to an actual lack of integration which may not be a function of policy, but a question of the domination of an activity by one sex. Another aspect of program development is the degree to which program participation provides an alternate use of the time which might otherwise be focussed on "coeding", or supplies a source of the income which might otherwise be provided by commerce in heterosexual (or homosexual) relationships.

In addition, the presence of both staff and community members as co-participants or volunteers in programs provides alternatives to the relationships available within the inmate body. The presence of furlough and work- and study-release programs, in particular, may significantly affect the nature and extent of inmate relationships. This is particularly true when furloughs provide for a continuation of marital and familial bonds.

One area that may be particularly affected by co-corrections is medical service. It is not clear whether co-corrections itself, or the addition to a men's institution of women whose use of medical facilities is perceived as greater, is the key variable in medical use. However, implementation of policies regarding the provisions of birth control materials, the availability of abortion, and provision for pre-natal care directly affects hospital services. These policies may be externally influenced by jurisdictional guidelines, or perceived local community attitudes. The presence or absence of heavy sanctions for intercourse may affect the level of non-medical abortions, while a lower level of either sanctions or implementation may lessen the number of abortions and increase the need of the institution for child placement policies and services.

The development of new programs -- for example, in psychological services, in response to issues raised in a co-correctional program, or in the educational or work areas, as a result of either the introduction of the opposite sex, or a greater inmate population available for the programs -- may lead to additional staff positions or program costs, which will affect the per capita institutional costs.

As noted in earlier discussion of the causal flow lines, there may be feedback effects within the actual institutional processes. In using the measurement model, it is important to determine whether, for any given program, a particular point represents a dependent or independent variable, or whether it may be considered as an intervening or antecedent variable in relation to any given outcome. Such distinctions are critical in noting the "outcome" involved in a particular causal flow, since often outcomes were not the intended results of a given system "input" or need.

D. Institutional Outcomes

The outcomes indicated on the flow diagram should be related to the original system needs since, in doing so, a basic measurement point for evaluation is identified.

For example, cost reduction may be the system need which originally precipitated the introduction of co-corrections. The difference between the anticipated and actual cost reduction can provide a measurement of the "effectiveness" of co-corrections. However, in reality, the other possible "costs" -- such as staff turnover, changes in the institutional milieu, and limited program participation -- would also need to be "calculated" in determining the costs involved in the introduction of co-corrections.

The following represent key institutional outcomes:

- o Facility use in relation to capacity
- o Levels of inmate emotional involvement
- o Changes in appearance
- o Provision of sexual options
- o Changes in assault levels
- o Inmate transfer levels
- o Staff turnover
- o Institutional milieu
- o Pregnancy level
- o Program utilization
- o Per capita costs

The key institutional outcomes above need to be considered in relation to each other, as well as in terms of desired outcomes. However, before "real evaluation" can occur, some basis for comparison must be provided, either with single-sex institutions, other co-correctional institutions, or the coed institution under study in a before-after design.

E. System Outcomes

Consideration of system outcomes arises from the distinction between co-correctional facilities which were constituted substantially for programmatic reasons, and those which occurred almost exclusively due to system needs unrelated to the coed relationship. Certain outcomes are closely related to potential post-release adjustment, which is generally associated with a programmatic intent; others are more clearly related to system needs.

The outcomes which may be viewed as related to post-release adjustment are:

- o Emotional involvement
- o Appearance
- o Sexual options
- o Assault levels
- o Transfers
- o Institutional milieu
- o Pregnancies

When outcomes positively impact on post-release adjustment, it is then expected that recidivism levels will be reduced, as a final impact on the criminal justice system.

A different combination of outcomes can be considered as measurements of the effectiveness of using co-corrections as the solution of other correctional system needs. The effectiveness of co-corrections in these areas may lead, but only indirectly and secondarily, to more positive post-release adjustment and reduced recidivism, perhaps through the reduction of population pressure in certain institutions, or the channeling of resources into programming. These outcomes related to system needs are:

- o Facility use to capacity
- o Assault level change

- o Transfers
- o Staff turnover
- o Pregnancies
- o Program utilization
- o Per capita costs

The measurement of the effectiveness of co-corrections for the system is directly related to the particular system needs expected to be served by the introduction of co-corrections. However, as noted before, these must be considered in relation to other perhaps unanticipated outcomes which may also affect system functioning. Furthermore, it should also be stressed that in all appropriate key measurement points, in outcomes, and in the final recidivism impact measure, distinctions should be made between the sexes. A critical issue raised both in the literature, and in site-visit interviews, is the degree to which co-corrections has a differential effect on men and women. Unless data is systematically collected and analyzed with this comparative question in mind, the "outcomes" of co-corrections cannot be adequately evaluated.

IV. MEASUREMENT MODEL APPLICATIONS

It was earlier stressed that both programmatic and non-programmatic models of co-corrections required articulation, although each distinguishable model exists, to a degree varying over time, within each institution. A single measurement model was then presented to serve as an "envelope" for the important measurements applicable across the universe of co-correctional institutions. In the process of constructing the synthesized measurement model, it was necessary to move back and forth between the five logical models of co-corrections and the emerging structure, to determine whether the diversity present in the five models was adequately reflected in the measurement model by alternate causal lines. The resulting synthesized measurement model might subsequently be applied, if one desired, to any or all of the five logical models, and separate logical measurement models constructed; alternatively, each logical model might be traced through the synthesized measurement model with an overlay, or a narrative "walk-through." However, either of these efforts would constitute an academic exercise only, given the intended function of the synthesized measurement model -- as an "envelope" for potential measurements in the topic area -- and the presence of several models within each institution. Therefore, despite the likelihood that some institutions will operate primarily with a single model for prolonged periods, it probably would not prove useful to return to the earlier discussion of logical models of co-corrections, and either apply the synthesized model to the causal flows associated with each logical model, or trace the movement of each logical model through the synthesized measurement model.

The simultaneous effort to implement several, partially-articulated logical models in a single institution may result in the prospect, as earlier suggested, that actual out-

comes will poorly match the expected or desired outcomes of any one model. Such partial articulation and simultaneous implementation of several co-correctional models, and concomitant disparity in both intended processes and outcomes, seems to apply to all coed institutions; consequently, the application of the measurement model for the purposes of evaluation to a particular institution, or set of institutions, requires the prior development of an algorithm, or series of algorithms, to represent each institution. Such algorithms could be expected to be "degenerate" versions of one, or several, of the earlier logical models of co-corrections. If the focus of evaluation is the monitoring of activities and outcomes in a particular co-correctional institution, it is important to identify potential logical disparities in both day-to-day operations and among expected outcomes, which is facilitated by algorithm construction. However, if the focus of evaluation is on testing critical issues in the topic area, the performance of evaluation will necessarily -- given the constricted size of the co-correctional universe -- become a highly opportunistic process, and will involve carefully planned observation and data collection within institutions "in transition," and between reasonably matched coed and non-coed institutions.

END