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Correctional officers, supervisors, and organizational climate: Examining the hierarchical translation of policy into practice in maximum custody prison

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Correctional officers, supervisors, and organizational climate: Examining the hierarchical translation of policy into practice in maximum custody prison units

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Criminology, Law, and Society

by

Kelsie Yvonne Chesnut

Dissertation Committee:
Associate Professor Keramet Reiter, Chair
Distinguished Professor Val Jenness
Professor George Tita

December 2020

DEDICATION

To

Dr. Elizabeth Brown,
who encouraged me to attend graduate school,
when I had no idea what a Ph.D even was.
This is all your fault.
Thank you.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express the deepest appreciation to my committee chair, Professor Keramet Reiter, who has always trusted and empowered me as a researcher. We began our journey at UCI at the same time and I am so grateful for her unwavering support. Without her guidance and perpetual optimism, this dissertation would not have been possible.

I would like to thank my committee members, Professor Valerie Jenness and Professor George Tita, who have been supportive, insightful, and understanding. Their guidance and support have been instrumental in this dissertation.

To the "Washington Team" – Gabriela, Dallas, Justin, and Pasha - thank you so much for being committed to this work. It's been a joy working with you all. To my interviewer ride-or-dies, Natalie and Melissa, I'm so proud to have worked with you both and call you colleagues. I've learned so much from you both and I'm grateful for all of our time in the field together.

To my friends and family who have listened to me talk about Washington solitary confinement for the last five years – thank you and I love you.

A special thank you goes to Tim Thrasher, who has put his whole heart into reforming WDOC solitary confinement. Your support, attention to detail, and commitment helped make this project possible. Go Niners!

I would like to thank Secretary Steve Sinclair, and all the WDOC staff and prisoners who shared their time and story with us.

Financial support was provided by the University of California, Irvine, NSF GRFP Grant (2013169552) and the Langeloth Foundation.

VITA

KELSIE CHESNUT

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Criminal justice and policy implementation in correctional institutions; development and impact of penal reforms on correctional staff and incarcerated people; solitary confinement; translation of research to practice for system stakeholders, practitioners and community members; penal administration and authority; gun violence, crime and public health; racial and economic inequality.

EDUCATION

2021 (expected) Ph.D. in Criminology, Law and Society, University of California, Irvine
Dissertation topic: Examining the translation of policy into practice in maximum custody prison units
Dissertation committee: Chair: Dr. Keramet Reiter, Dr. Val Jenness, Dr. George Tita

2015 M.A. in Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine

2011 B.A. Sociology and Criminal Justice, San Francisco State University
Honors: Magna Cum Laude

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2018-present *Safe Prisons, Safe Communities: From Isolation to Dignity and Wellness Behind Bars,* Research Associate, Center on Sentencing and Corrections, *Vera Institute of Justice*
Develop research design and analysis for Vera's Safe Prisons, Safe Communities: From Isolation to Dignity and Wellness initiative, an internally-funded project designed to provide technical assistance to two state corrections systems looking to reduce their use of restrictive housing. Over the course of the study, have taken lead role conducting in-person surveying of incarcerated people and staff in restrictive housing units in Louisiana and Washington state prisons, resulting in nearly 2200 completed surveys across 14 prisons. Additionally, have overseen quarterly administrative data reporting and analysis.

2016-2018 *Understanding the Development and Implementation of Washington State Solitary Confinement Reduction Policies*, Lead Graduate Student Researcher (PI: Keramet Reiter, funded by the Langeloth Foundation grant)
Over the course of the study, have taken lead role in conducting and completing 225 on-site surveys and 183 in-person, semi-structured interviews of prison staff and prisoners at the five solitary confinement units (IMU's) throughout Washington. Other responsibilities included drafting interview and survey data collection instruments of both prisoner and prison staff; Drafting IRB submissions and revisions for research involving human subjects; Multiple trips to Washington as needed to meet with Washington Department of Corrections staff and administrators; Assisting in recruitment and training of graduate student interviewers; Coordinating the scheduling and planning of on-site data collection; Utilizing Atlas.ti software to qualitatively analyze 183 interview transcripts; Managing data and descriptive analysis using STATA; Generating preliminary findings for stakeholders; Recruiting, training and managing a team of undergraduate students to assist with data cleaning and coding.

2015-2016 *Gun Violence in Urban America: Examining Illegal Markets through Interviews with*

Participants in a Community-based Violence Intervention Program, Graduate Student Researcher (PI: George Tita & Keramet Reiter, funded by Bohnett Foundation grant) Developed data collection interview instrument and conducted in-person, semi-structured interviews with gang-involved community members at Los Angeles gang intervention facility. As a lead member of the research project, other responsibilities included utilizing TAMS software to qualitatively analyze 38 interview transcripts, in database managed through SQL; Managing data and conducting descriptive analysis using STATA; Drafting policy reports for funding foundations, and contributing to an application for a National Institute of Justice grant proposal focusing on firearms violence and presenting findings of research at a national conference.

2016 *Comparative Gang Ethnography Project*
Consulting Data Analyst / Graduate Student Researcher (PI: Cheryl Maxson)
Performed content analysis of gang ethnography and provided feedback on codebook for project researchers.

2015 *Data Analysis for DACA / IDS*
Graduate Student Researcher (PI: Caitlin Patler)
Merged, cleaned and managed datasets using STATA. Conducted descriptive and multivariate data analysis. Contributed to policy briefs and prepared findings of research for evaluation. Assisted on additional group tasks as needed. Engaged in weekly meetings with PI and team researchers, both in-person and via video conferencing.

2014-2015 *Gun Violence in Urban America: Understanding Illegal Gun Markets Through Interviews with Gun Offenders in Los Angeles County Jail*, Graduate Student Researcher (PI: George Tita & Keramet Reiter)
Contributed to development of interview instrument and conducted in-person interviews with current inmates of Los Angeles County jails regarding illegal gun markets and violence in urban America. Managed and conducted descriptive analysis of data using STATA. Engaged in qualitative analysis of 140 interview transcripts, through an interative coding process in TAMS, managed through SQL. Presented findings of research and policy implications at multiple national conferences and meetings with community stakeholders. Lead author on peer-reviewed publication.

PUBLICATIONS

Articles & Book Chapters

Forthcoming Lovell, D., Tublitz, R. Reiter, K., Pifer, N., and **Chesnut, K**. Opening the Black Box of Solitary Confinement through Researcher-Practitioner Collaboration: A Longitudinal Analysis of Prisoner and Solitary Populations in Washington State, 2002-17. *Justice Quarterly, Special Issue.*
December 2020 Reiter, K., Augustine, D., Barragan, M., **Chesnut, K.**, Gonzalez, G., Pifer, N., with additional reflections by Strong, J. Reflections on Team Research in Carceral Settings. *Anthology on Women Scholars' Experiences Doing Prison Research*, Jennifer Schlosser, ed, (Lexington Books).

October 2020 Strong, J., Reiter, K., Gonzalez, G., Tublitz, R., Augustine, D., Barragan, M., **Chesnut, K.**, Pifer, N., Dashtgard, P., and Blair, T. The body in isolation: The physical health impacts of

incarceration in solitary confinement. *PLoS ONE 15*(10): e0238510. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0238510

January 2020 Reiter, K., Ventura, J., Lovell, D., Augustine, D., Barragan, M., Blair, T., **Chesnut, K.**, Dashtgard, P., Gonzalez, G., Pifer, N., and Strong, J. Psychological Distress in Solitary Confinement: Symptoms, Severity, and Prevalence in the United States, 2017-2018. *American Journal of Public Health* 110, 56-62, https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2019.305375

October 2018 Reiter, K. and **Chesnut, K.** Correctional Autonomy and Authority in the Rise of Mass Incarceration. *The Annual Review of Law and Social Science* Vol. 14:49-68.

October 2017 Barragan, M., **Chesnut, K.**, Gravel, J., Pifer, N., Reiter, K., Sherman, N., and Tita, G. Prohibited Possessors and the Law: How Inmates in Los Angeles Jails Understand Firearm and Ammunition Regulations. *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 3(5), 141-163.

October 2016 **Chesnut, K.,** Barragan, M., Gravel, J., Pifer, N., Reiter, K. Sherman, N., and Tita, G. Not an "iron pipeline," but many capillaries: regulating passive transactions in Los Angeles. *Injury Prevention*. doi: 10.1136/injuryprev-2016-042088

Policy Reports

2017 **Chesnut, K.** and Reiter, K. "Study on Restrictive Housing in Washington State Prisons: MidProject Debrief and Preliminary Findings." Report and presentation made to Washington Department of Corrections leadership on December 14, 2017.

2016 **Chesnut, K.** and Barragan, M. "Community Interviews on Gun Violence in Los Angeles: Interim Report." Report submitted to the Bohnett Foundation and University of Chicago Crime Lab.

2015 **Chesnut, K.**, Reiter, K. and Tita, G. "Research Summary and Proposal for Continued Funding: Improving the Health and Wellness of Gang Interventionists, Perpetrators of Violence, and Victims of Violence through Targeted, Supportive Mental Health Interventions." Report submitted to the California Wellness Foundation.

2015 Patler, C., Cabrera, J. (**Chesnut, K.,** in collaboration with Dream Team Los Angeles). "From Undocumented to *DACAmented*: Benefits and Limitations of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Program, Three Years Following its Announcement." Executive summary published by the Institute for Research on Labor and Employment, University of California, Los Angeles.

Working Publications

Working **Chesnut, K.**, Pifer, N., Augustine, D., and Reiter, K. "Unlocking the box, but keeping the windows closed: identifying barriers to improving the restrictive housing prison environment," in preparation for *Health and Justice*.

Working **Chesnut, K**., Pitts, D., and Appleby, A. "Racially Disparate Experiences in Restrictive Housing," in preparation for Vera Institute of Justice.

Working Pitts, D., Peirce, J., and **Chesnut, K.** "Does Restrictive Housing Deter Misconduct in Prison?" in preparation for submission to *Justice Quarterly, Special Issue*.

Working **Chesnut, K.** and Pifer, N. "Missing the Mark with Deterrence: Criminal Law and Legal Consciousness in the Los Angeles County Jail," in preparation for submission to *Law and Society Review*.

Working **Chesnut, K.** "Privatization and the Carceral Net: How the Punitive Experience of Supervised Visitation Contributes to the Expansion of the Carceral Net," in preparation for submission to *Law and Society Review*.

PRESENTATIONS

Strong, J., Augustine, D., Barragan, M., **Chesnut, K.**, Gonzalez, G., and Reiter, K. *Mad, Bad, or Sad: Evaluating Mental Health in Prison*. Presentation at the Annual Meeting of Law and Society, Denver, CO, May 2020.

Sinkewicz, M. and **Chesnut, K.** *New Estimates of the Prevalence, Comorbidity and Predictors of Health and Wellbeing among Corrections Officers: Does Working in Restrictive Housing Environments Make a Difference?* Presentation at the 75th Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA, November 2019.

Augustine, D., Barragan, M., **Chesnut, K.**, and Gonzalez, G. *On Reflexivity in Carceral Spaces*. Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, Toronto, Canada, June 2018.

Augustine, D., Barragan, M., **Chesnut, K.**, Conner, E. Gonzalez, G., Reiter, K. and Strong, J. *Reflexivity During Interviewing in Solitary Confinement*. Western Society of Criminology 45th Annual Conference, Long Beach, CA, February 2018.

Chesnut, K. and Barragan, M. *A qualitative examination of (non)compliance in high-violence communities*. Law and Society Association Annual Meeting, Mexico City, June 2017.

Barragan, M., **Chesnut, K.,** Gravel, J., Pifer, N., Reiter, K., Sherman, N. and Tita, G. *The Social and Passive*
Nature of Illegal Gun Transactions in Los Angeles. 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, New Orleans, LA, November 2016

Reiter, K., Barragan, M., **Chesnut, K.**, Gravel, J., Pifer, N., Sherman, N. and Tita, G. *The Illegal Gun Market in Los Angeles: How Detainees Understand the Law*. Association for Criminal Justice Research, Irvine, CA, October 2016

Chesnut, K. *Prohibited Persons and the Law: Interrogating how felons experience the label "prohibited person," and how it impacts their perception of the efficacy and legitimacy of the Law.* Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, New Orleans, LA, June 2016.

Chesnut, K. and Pifer, N. *Pulling the Trigger: Prohibited Possessors and Deciding to Buy in Los Angeles' Underground Gun Market*. Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Washington, DC, November 2015.

Chesnut, K. *Extending the Punitive Arm of the Law: How Punishment Has Seeped into Social Welfare Services*. Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, Seattle, WA, May 2015.

Chesnut, K., Pifer, N., & Barragan, M. Multi-city, *Multi-method Underground Gun Market Study: A Qualitative Understanding of Los Angeles' Illegal Gun Market*. Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA, November 2014.

Chesnut, K. *Privatization and Punishment in Social Welfare Organizations*. Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, San Francisco, CA, August 2014.

Poster

Chesnut, K., Barragan, M. & Pifer, N. *Influential Factors on Transaction Level Gun-Involved Behavior Among Adults in Los Angeles, CA*. Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Seattle, WA, August 2016.

Chesnut, K. and Pifer, N. *Law as Sword and Shield: Conflicting Legal Consciousness in the Criminal Context*. Presentation at the UC Conference on Social Science and Law, Irvine, CA, October 2015.

GRANTS & FELLOWSHIPS

2017 Social Ecology Dean's Dissertation Writing Fellowship – Fall Quarter
2017 Law and Society Association Travel Subsidy
2013-2018 National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship, consisting of 3 years of support during a five-year fellowship period.
2016 Arnie Binder Award, in recognition of outstanding service contributions
2015-2016 UC Irvine Associated Graduate Student Travel Grant (Fall 2015, Spring 2015, Summer 2016)
2015 Kitty Calavita Award, in recognition of best thesis project
2013-2015 Summer Research Funding, UC Irvine
2013-2015 Criminology, Law and Society Commendation Award, in recognition of outstanding performance
2013 Social Ecology Stipend and Fee Fellowship, UC Irvine
2012 Social Ecology Tuition Fellowship, UC Irvine

HONORS & AWARDS

2011 Criminal Justice Department Award, SFSU

TEACHING EXPERIENCE & PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Teaching Assistant - *Assist in the delivery of instruction under supervision of faculty. Responsibilities include grading assignments or examinations, providing input into the development of assignments or exams, holding office hours, and conducting discussion or lab sections that supplement faculty lectures.* *Required Lab Instruction/Discussion Section

Spring 2014 Graduate course - C215: Applied Statistics (online course)
Winter 2014 Undergraduate course - SE 194W: Naturalistic Field Research Methods*
Fall 2013 Graduate course - SE 264A: Data Analysis I (Introductory)*
Spring 2013 Undergraduate course - C7: Introduction to Criminology, Law and Society*
Spring 2010 Undergraduate course - Field Research Methods, SFSU

Course Reader - *Responsibilities include grading assignments or examinations and holding office hours to respond to students' inquiries.*

Spring 2018	Master's course – P242: Legal Reasoning and Jurisprudence
Fall 2017	Master's course - C238: White-Collar Crime (online course)
Spring 2017	Undergraduate course - C7: Introduction to Criminology, Law and Society
Winter 2017	Undergraduate course - C10: Foundations of Criminology, Law and Society
Fall 2016	Undergraduate course - C103: U.S. Legal Thought
Spring 2016	Undergraduate course - C156: Cross-cultural Research on Urban Gangs
Spring 2015	Undergraduate course - C7: Introduction to Criminology, Law and Society
Winter 2013	Undergraduate course - SE10: Research Design

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Aug 2010 – May 2012 Peninsula Family Service Agency, San Mateo, CA
Case Manager

Supervised visits between non-custodial parents and their children; Provided written reports to family court judges and mediators; Maintained communication with clients; Processed new client registration; Supported accounting department; Input digital record of activity and communication with clients.

SERVICE & PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Departmental & School Service

2014-2016	Chair, Social and Event Planning Committee
2014-2016	Chair, Graduate Peer Mentor Committee
2014-2016	Graduate Service Committee
2014-2016	Graduate Recruitment Coordinator
2014-2016	Graduate Peer Mentor Coordinator
2014-2020	Center in Law, Society and Culture, Graduate Student Affiliate
2012-2014	Social and Event Planning Committee

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2015-Present	American Sociological Association
2014-Present	American Society of Criminology
2013-Present	Law and Society Association
2012-2018	Western Society of Criminology
2012-2018	Society for the Study of Social Problems

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Correctional officers, supervisors, and organizational climate:
Examining the hierarchical translation of policy into practice in maximum custody prison

by

Kelsie Yvonne Chesnut

Doctor of Philosophy in Criminology, Law, and Society

University of California, Irvine, 2020

Professor Keramet Reiter, Chair

This dissertation examines the process of translating policy reform into practice in the most restrictive prison setting, solitary confinement units, in order to identify mechanisms and barriers to reform. This work utilizes survey data (n=60) and qualitative interview data (n=45) from front-line custody staff working in maximum-custody solitary confinement units in five different Washington State prisons. Findings from this study suggest that 1) while maximum custody solitary confinement units are stressful work environments, they are also desirable to correctional officers; 2) the interpersonal relationship between supervisory personnel and correctional officers' plays an important role in shaping correctional officers' perceptions of policy reform; and 3) the heightened adversarial work climate of the IMU shapes the lens through which correctional officers viewed reforms and these perceptions filtered beyond, contributing to correctional officers' perceptions of reforms as inherent safety risks. These findings lay the groundwork to better understand how policy reform plays out in correctional spaces, via policy introduction, implementation, and sustainability.

Chapter 1. Introduction, Background, Methodology, and Dissertation Plan

"What's the endgame? What's the endgame of this therapeutic mumbo jumbo?"
– Correctional officer working in the IMU at Monroe Correctional Complex

Introduction

In 2016, I began working on a research project that focused on understanding the impact of solitary confinement reforms in Washington State prisons. Led by my advisor, Dr. Keramet Reiter, the project was focused on Washington State Department of Corrections specifically, due to its history of solitary confinement reform efforts, cooperative partnerships with outside research partners, and recent successes in reducing the use of restrictive housing across the state (Reiter, et al., 2020; Brinkley-Rubinstein, et al., 2019; Kaeble & Cowhig, 2018; Phipps & Gagliardi, 2003) The use of solitary confinement, also known as restrictive housing, isolation, or segregation, in U.S. jails and prisons has come under increased scrutiny from policymakers, researchers, and advocates due to the growing evidence of the negative effects it can have on incarcerated people, staff, and communities (Haney, 2018; Massoglia & Pridemore, 2015). In restrictive housing, a person is held in a cell typically 22 to 24 hours a day, with minimal human interaction or sensory stimuli (Beck, 2015). Intended as a response to violence in jails and prisons, restrictive housing has become a common tool for responding to all levels of rule violations, managing challenging populations, and housing vulnerable people (ASCA-Liman, 2016).

Excited to work with such a progressive prison system, and appreciative of the unprecedented access our research team was given, from the outset I anticipated carving out my own piece from this project for my dissertation. I planned on examining how Washington State Department of Corrections (WDOC) was able to effectively translate policy into practice to

successfully reduce their restrictive housing use, in order to gain insights useful to other correctional systems and other areas of corrections reform. As WDOC was sought out as a partner to collaborate with on solitary confinement research based on their progressive track record, and their successes in the area of solitary confinement reform, one of the areas I was particularly interested in examining was how the WDOC was able to successfully gain support from staff. Line staff are the primary agents responsible for carrying out prison reform in action, their buy-in is essential to successful change in practice. However, during my first tours around facilities where I began to meet and informally chat with correctional officers in restrictive housing units, I was surprised by their open hostility and negativity towards recent reforms. In a system that was supposed to be one of the better examples of progressive, successful, solitary confinement reform, I expected the line staff to be generally supportive of these efforts; as the "boots on the ground" responsible for actually enacting policy change. As the correctional officers described examples of resistance and widespread undercutting occurring, I began to wonder if the reforms were being implemented as successfully as previously thought. More specifically, even if the newly implemented policy changes were reducing the segregation population and recidivism rates, as intended, they also seemed to be possibly resulting in steep unanticipated costs among line staff, threatening the future sustainability of reforms.

Following these preliminary observations, the focus of my research shifted from the reforms themselves, to considering how custody staff's, or correctional officers (COs), responses to policy changes contributed to and/or undermined the successful introduction, implementation, and ongoing sustainability of penal reforms. Correctional officers in WDOC restrictive housing described elevated stress levels, due to hypervigilance and bureaucratic concerns. Among the COs in restrictive housing units, feelings of resentment and neglect directed towards higher-level

administration often surfaced when discussing recent policy changes, like the increased programming in the Washington's maximum custody restrictive housing units, also known as Intensive Management Units, or IMUs. Further, COs regularly misinterpreted and/or expressed confusion about the goals of recent policy changes, and in doing so would then falsely characterize them as ineffective by illusory criteria. Thus, many were hesitant in fully adopting new policies, believing them to be ineffectual alternatives that left staff vulnerable at the cost of rewarding prisoners[1].

In contrast to line staff, correctional administrators, both at the facility and executive levels, expressed more balanced appraisals of the recent policy reforms (Reiter and Chesnut, 2018). One of the primary institutional roles of correctional administrators is to provide oversight and facilitate rehabilitation of offenders that result in a deterrent effect on the future commission of a crime (Molleman & Leeuw, 2012; Molleman & van der Broek, 2014). Unsurprisingly, given the broader scope of their positions, correctional administrators discussed the origins and purposes of new policies with more accurate information than line staff. While often vilified by COs as the driving force behind the solitary confinement reforms, correctional administrators are not responsible for initiating all restrictive housing reforms. In fact, nearly all of the recent changes were either mandated by state legislation, budgetary deficits, or made in response to pressure from external groups. As a result, correctional administrators experienced stress from both above, through legislative and budgetary mandates, and below, as the target of line staff's misplaced blame and frustration surrounding issues outside administrators' control. This study examines both theoretical and practical insights regarding the relationship between correctional leadership, correctional staff orientation, and prison social climate.

[1] Incarcerated participants in this study self-identified as "prisoners" rather than other terminology, such as "offenders" or "incarcerated individuals."

Quantifiable outcomes, such as population counts and time out-of-cell, are important metrics in evaluating the success of policy reforms aimed at reducing the use of restrictive housing, However, it is also important to remember changes are not implemented in a vacuum, and they can result in unintended negative consequences (Lovell, Tublitz, Reiter, Pifer, & Chesnut, Forthcoming). While there may have been a reduction in the use of restrictive housing in WDOC, unintended negative impacts of these policies on staff call into question the overall success of reforms. That is, COs interpreted policy through their own perceptions and experiences, which can be shaped by external factors, such as individual attitudes, staff culture, organizational climate, and the broader historical context, For example, in the midst of the worst financial crisis in modern history, early restrictive housing reforms in WDOC were aimed at reducing the restrictive housing population, in part, as a cost-saving measure, since restrictive housing units are much more expensive to operate than lower custody units (Mears & Reisig, 2006). However, COs perceived these changes as benefits awarded to prisoners in restrictive housing, coming at economic and safety costs to staff. In this example, COs predominantly interpreted these changes through a filter of economic uncertainty and deservedness, resulting in an overall lack of staff buy-in, mounting resentment towards WDOC administration, and, at times, even sabotage or disregard of policy reforms. Further, while these solitary housing unit policy changes were considered to have been fully implemented, they were continually being updated and evolving, further confusing staff and influencing their practices. Even in a highly controlled, para-militaristic carceral setting, policy changes are not seamlessly accepted mandates that result in unidirectional "progress," but are often met with subtle resistance and circumvention as impacts of policy reform reverberate throughout the correctional system in unforeseen ways.

Researchers have long interrogated the field of prison reform, in an effort to answer the question, "what works?" (Martinson, 1974). That is, how can reformative policies be translated into practice successfully? In the field of law and society, this is recognized as a "gap" between the law-on-the-books and the law-in-action (Calavita 2010; Seron & Silbey, 2004; Ewick & Silbey, 1998). This dissertation contributes to this rich field of literature by interrogating the process of translating policy reform into practice in the most restrictive prison setting, which, for line staff, is a pluralistic administrative setting in which the "laws" of their workplace are often contradictory to the "laws" of navigating an adversarial site. While it might be expected that the para-militaristic structure of prisons would contribute to an environment in which correctional officers obediently comply with orders via chain of command, correctional officers in this study regularly questioned the purpose and validity of policy reforms aimed at restrictive housing, "What's the endgame? What's the endgame of all this therapeutic mumbo jumbo?" In this dissertation, I will discuss the ways in which correctional officers interpreted, responded to, and often resisted, policy reforms in restrictive housing. In the remainder of this chapter, I will first provide background on WDOC solitary confinement and reforms enacted over the past decade. Following this, I will detail the overall study methodology and data collected, in order to contextualize the subset of data this dissertation draws upon. Finally, I will preview the following chapters, including research focus, literature reviewed, and overall findings.

Background on WDOC Solitary Confinement Reforms

WDOC is a mid-sized state prison system with the 39th highest rate of incarceration in the United States (Strong, et al., 2020). In the Washington state prison system, there are two kinds of

restrictive housing: administrative segregation[2] and maximum (MAX) custody[3]. Prisoners on MAX are housed in the most restrictive housing units, known as intensive management units (IMUs)[4]. Across Washington state, there are five male prison facilities with IMUs (See Figure 1). When these units are at maximum capacity, they comprise approximately 5 to 6 percent of the total Washington state prisoner population.[5] Since 2008 WDOC has implemented a number of policies directly affecting the MAX population, in terms of size, length of stay and conditions of confinement. In particular, WDOC has instituted reforms in several key areas: 1) preventative policies aimed at safely reducing the number of individuals in long-term restrictive housing, by revising the criteria of correctional policies to make entry into segregation harder; 2) policies aimed at improving living conditions for those in segregation, with additional congregate programming (consisting of security chairs installed in IMU classrooms that enabled up to eight offenders at a time to interact with other offenders and staff facilitators while participating in program); 3) policies aimed at behavior modification, such as cognitive behavioral therapy courses; 4) policies aimed at supporting those with severe mental illness in restrictive housing, such as the elimination of infractions for self-harm behavior; and 5) policies aimed at organizational restructuring (See Table 1) Organized by type of reform, Table 1 represents a

[2] The purpose of administrative segregation is to temporarily remove an incarcerated individual from the general population until a timely and informed decision can be made about appropriate housing based on behavior. An individual may be assigned to administrative segregation when the individual: poses a significant risk to the safety and security of employees, contract staff, volunteers, and/or other individuals; requests protection or is deemed by employees/contract staff to require protection; is pending transfer or in transit to a more secure facility; poses a serious escape risk; or is pending investigation for behavior that represents a significant threat. (WDOC Policy 320.200)

[3] Maximum custody is the Department's most restrictive custody level. Individuals can be placed on MAX custody when they: pose a significant risk to the safety and security of employees, contract staff, volunteers, or other individuals; have validated protection needs; are designated with a serious mental illness. (WDOC Policy 320.250)

[4] Individuals with serious mental illness on MAX custody are housed in Intensive Treatment Units (ITUs), which have been established at the Monroe Correctional Complex (MCC) in the Special Offender Unit and the Washington Corrections Center for Women (WCCW).

[5] The maximum capacity of all five IMUs is 941 beds, while the average daily population of prisoners in WDOC is between 16,000 and 18,000 (WDOC Restrictive Housing Fact Sheet, October 2020; WDOC Average Daily Population of Incarcerated Individuals Fiscal Years 2010-2020)

synthesis of document review[6] and observation[7]. For this reason, this study focused on male prisoners on MAX, and staff who worked with or oversaw prisoners on MAX in the IMU.

Table 1. Type of WDOC Restrictive Housing Reform

Conditions of Confinement	**Behavior Modification**	**Mental Health**	**Preventative**	**Organizational Restructuring**
Congregate Programming	Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (in-cell)	Elimination of self-harm infractions	Alternative sanctions	Mission-based housing units
Level System	Individual Behavior Management Program (IBMP)	Disruptive Hygiene protocol	Alternative Specialized Housing Units (TRU, WRU)	Indeterminate sentencing
Elective programming (GED, Redemption, Book Club)	Chemical dependency class			Facility Risk Management Teams
Nature Immersion Room/Blue Room	Transition/Step-down Unit			Mission Housing Teams

Methodological Approach

Beginning in May 2016, Washington Department of Corrections entered into a two-year collaboration led by Dr. Keramet Reiter, a recognized expert in the field of solitary confinement research, to conduct in-depth, multi-method longitudinal research focusing primarily on the agency's efforts to reduce their reliance on segregation, and how these reforms impacted both

[6] See Appendix A for WDOC Policy 320.250 Maximum Custody Placement/Transfer/Release; WDOC Policy 320.255 Restrictive Housing Conditions of Confinement, Disruptive Hygiene Protocol (WDOC Policy 320.255 Attachment 1), Restrictive Housing Level System Grid (WDOC Policy 320.255 Attachment 2); WDOC Restrictive Housing Fact Sheet; WDOC Policy 540.150 Nature Imagery Program.
[7] Observation field notes on file with the author.

prisoners and staff in long term segregation units. This larger research study consisted of four dimensions of participant data: 1) surveys of prisoners and staff in restrictive housing; 2) in-depth interviews with a random sample of prisoners in solitary confinement, as well as interviews with a strategic sample of staff working in solitary confinement; 3) reviews of the mental and physical health files, as well as the disciplinary records, for the subset of prisoners interviewed; and 4) administrative data provided by the WDOC on the entire incarcerated population at snapshot intervals. This dissertation draws on data collected during this larger study in order to answer my own, more narrow research questions that arose during the course of my work. Using observation, staff survey and interview data collected during 2017, the first year of the larger project, this dissertation drills down on the osmotic relationship between policy reform and correctional staff; examining not just how policy changes impact staff, but the ways in which the mechanisms of policy change itself influence staff, how staff interpret policy, and, consequently, shape policy in practice.

Research Sites

This study was conducted across five of the twelve state prison facilities in Washington: Monroe Correctional Complex (MCC), Washington Corrections Center (WCC), Clallam Bay Corrections Center (CBCC), Stafford Creek Corrections Center (SCCC), and Washington State Penitentiary (WSP). These facilities were chosen based on security level, as these facilities each house one of WDOC's five IMUs and together comprise the entire MAX custody population. These physical spaces are often split with administrative segregation, or short-term restrictive housing. These housing units range in physical layout, ranging from traditional, linear cellblocks to modern, circular pods. In all IMUs, prisoner movement requires a two-man escort and shackling, highly restricted access to commissary, phones, radios, televisions, visitors, and

roughly 10 hours per week out-of-cell. Geographically, these sites are across all of Washington, from the northeastern most facility at one end of the state, to the southwestern-most facility at the other (See Figure 1). Characteristics of these institutions, such as population capacity and custody levels, can be found in Table 2.

Figure 1. Map of Washington State Prisons

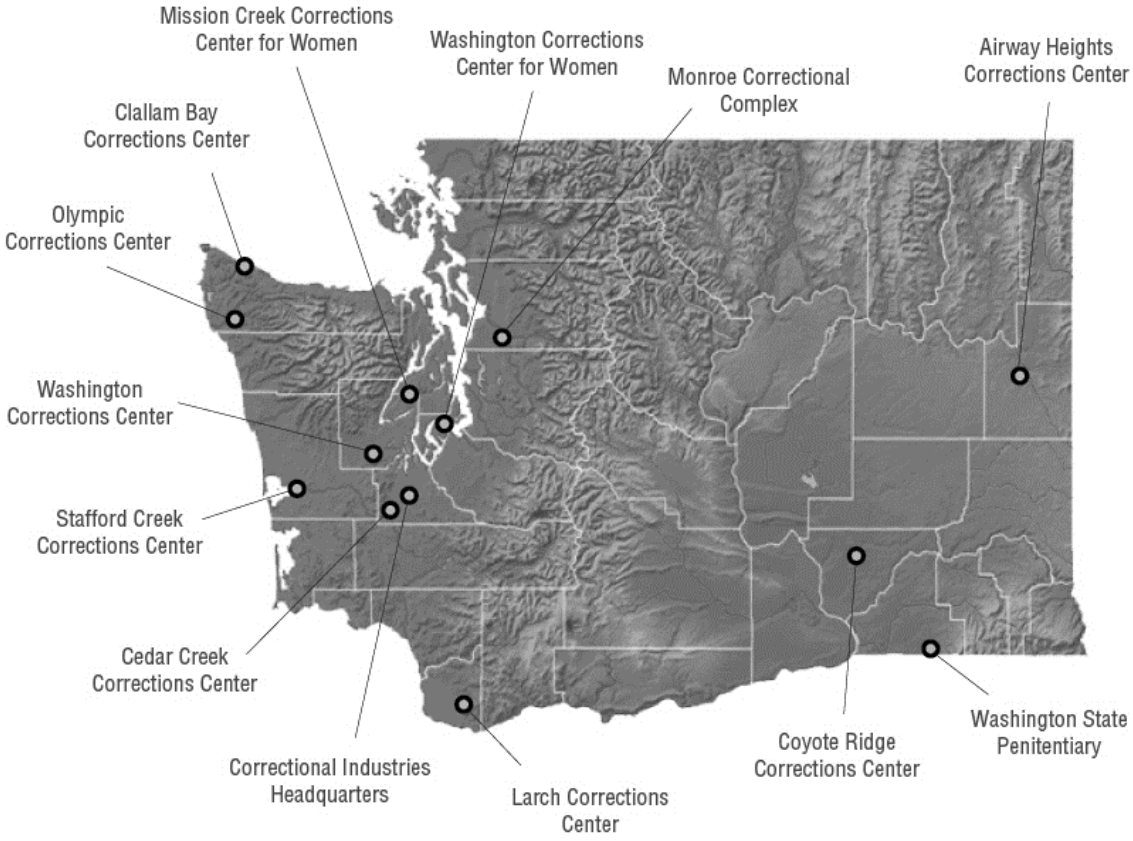


Photo credit: Washington State Correctional Industries

Table 2. Characteristics of Research Site Facilities			
	Year Opened	Living Units within Facility[8]	Facility Capacity
Clallam Bay Corrections Center	1985	Medium, Close, & MAX	858
Monroe Correctional Complex	1910	Minimum, Medium, Close, & MAX	2400
Stafford Creek Corrections Center	2000	Minimum, Medium, & MAX	1936
Washington Corrections Center	1964	Medium, Close, & MAX	1268
Washington State Penitentiary	1886	Minimum, Medium, Close, & MAX	2439

After the September 2016 kickoff meeting with the Washington Department of Corrections leadership, Dr. Reiter and I toured the maximum custody unit at Monroe Correctional Complex. During this initial tour, I recorded observation notes on the physical layout of the unit, the interactions amongst prisoners and staff, the programming being facilitated, the honor tier program being piloted at the facility, and engaged in informal conversations with prisoners and staff about their experiences living and working in the unit. Observation notes generally followed a guideline sheet that I had created prior to my visit and were immediately audio recorded upon leaving the facility. Based on the relatively manageable size of WDOC MAX custody population, geographic feasibility, and to increase the representativeness of the sample, all five of the IMUs were included as research sites. Because there was no MAX custody population at either of Washington's women's prisons at the time of the study, only prisoners and staff who lived or worked in the IMUs at the male prisons were included in the larger study.

[8] Facility security level designation refers to the security level requirements that apply to living units, facility perimeter, and movement controls within the facility. Living units with different custody levels may exist within the same perimeter, however, no living unit may be used for a custody level higher than the facility's perimeter. Security level designations are: Security Level 1 – Community Based, Partial Confinement; Security Level 2 – Minimum Custody; Security Level 3 – Medium Custody; Security Level 4 – Close Custody; Security Level 5 – Maximum Custody (MAX).

Though prisoner data is not included in the following substantive chapters of this dissertation, this section details the methodological approach used to sample, survey, and interview prisoners and staff in WDOC IMUs. As the project manager of the larger research project, I was involved in all aspects of planning, data collection, logistics, and data analysis. Furthermore, I was responsible for organizing and maintaining the security of all collected data. Because of this, I can speak directly to the amount of work this project required, and I was directly involved in all aspects of data collection. This dissertation focuses on the subset of observation, survey and interview data collected from custody staff between March and September 2017, including all male and female staff working in at least one of five IMUs within WDOC. This contextualization will ground the subset of data used, and provide important information needed in order to understand how the data was collected. In each of the following chapters, I provide additional detailed information on the subset of data used, as well as the method of data analysis.

Surveying Prisoners and Staff in the IMU

Between February and April 2017, Dr. Reiter and I returned to Washington on two separate trips to collect survey data from prisons and staff across all of the IMUs in WDOC. Surveys were piloted at MCC in February 2017, resulting in minor revisions to the instrument. Surveys were distributed to prisoners and staff in IMUs at the remaining four facilities (CBCC, SCCC, WCC, and WSP) in at the end of March/beginning of April 2017.

Because of WDOC security concerns, only paper and pen surveys were made available to the MAX custody prisoner population. Accompanied by the WDOC Mission Housing

Administrator[9], we spent one full day at each facility for surveying. We began each day by going directly out on the tiers in the IMU and distributing a survey at every prisoners' cell front.[10] During this interaction we identified ourselves as researchers unaffiliated with WDOC, explained the goals and purpose of the survey, and emphasized that participation was entirely optional. To increase the response rate, we explained that we would be returning at the end of the day to collect the survey if they chose to complete it. We also provided stamped self-addressed envelopes upon request for those participants who wanted additional time. This method of survey distribution and collection was chosen for multiple, intentional reasons. In addition to increasing the response rate, this individualized approach allowed us to answer prisoners' question on the spot, follow up with those prisoners who refused the survey, observe living conditions within each individuals' cell and overall well-being, and prime prisoners to be on the lookout for our return that summer to conduct interviews. Surveys were made up of 37 majority multiple-choice questions and included sections on prior history in an IMU, placement in IMU, conditions of confinement, health and wellbeing, and demographic information. [11] Over the course of our five-day trip, Dr. Reiter and I visited roughly 500 maximum custody cell fronts, often providing the only external contact many prisoners had encountered in several months. We distributed surveys to those prisoners on MAX custody – 363 in total. We collected 225 surveys from prisoners on MAX custody across five facilities (See Table 3), for a response rate of approximately 62%. This data will not be used in the following dissertation chapters, but provides important context in understanding the overall process of data collection in this project.

[9] The WDOC Mission Housing Administrator is responsible for, among other duties, finalizing MAX custody decisions each week and works primarily out of the WDOC Headquarters located in Olympia, WA. This individual became the main point of contact for this study, and their support was essential in completing this research.
[10] The protocol for consent and survey procedures was approved by the University of California, Irvine Institutional Review Board and the Washington Department of Corrections Research and Data Analytics.
[11] This survey instrument can be found in Appendix B.

After distributing surveys to MAX prisoners in the morning, we then distributed surveys to custody and non-custody staff working in the unit. Paper surveys were also distributed to staff and collected on site if possible. We also provided staff with self-addressed stamped envelopes upon request in order to return surveys after we left. Additionally, digital copies of the survey were made available through email to staff after our visit. At each site, we began the survey process by holding an informal question-and-answer session with custody staff to introduce ourselves and the goals of the survey. This also gave us the opportunity to address anxieties expressed by staff and debunk any incorrect assumptions about why we were there. Staff was informed that the survey was optional, anonymized, and only aggregated results would be shared with WDOC. We also made a special effort to seek out non-custody staff working in the IMU, such as medical staff, mental health workers, classification counselors, and programming facilitators. In order to be as inclusive as possible, we repeated this process again in the afternoon following shift change and left copies of the surveys with self-addressed stamped envelopes for the graveyard shift.[12] This process also afforded us the opportunity to remain in the unit throughout the day observing operations and engaging in informal conversations directly with staff.[13] Surveys were made up of 70 majority multiple choice questions long, and included questions on corrections employment history, job responsibilities, experience working in the IMU, beliefs regarding restrictive housing, attitudes towards coworkers and supervisors, opinions regarding restrictive housing reforms, feelings of safety, health and well-being, and demographic information.[14] We collected 90 surveys from custody and non-custody staff across

[12] In the WDOC custody staffing model, custody staff are divided into three shifts: First Shift/Graveyard 10pm to 6am; Second Shift/Day Shift, 6am to 2pm; Third Shift/Swing Shift, 2pm to 10pm.
[13] The protocol for consent and survey procedures was approved by the University of California, Irvine Institutional Review Board and the Washington Department of Corrections Research and Data Analytics.
[14] This survey instrument can be found in Appendix C.

five facilities (See Table 3). Though this sample is smaller in absolute size, it is drawn exclusively from staff currently working in the IMU. While there were over 8,000 WDOC employees located in approximately 120 locations across the state[15], the available universe of custody and non-custody staff working in segregation units was substantially smaller. For example, only 24 total correctional staff worked in the IMU at CBCC, with only two or three COs scheduled for each shift on a given day. At the largest IMU at WSP, which is divided into two North and South complexes, the custody model was similarly structured, with approximately nine officers working in each complex at one time (approximately 18 total COs in the WSP IMU on a typical shift). In addition, there would typically only be one medical staff and one mental health staff per unit available each day, during Day Shift. Despite these limitations, we strategically sampled staff, making efforts to include custody and non-custody staff across different shifts at each facility. Exact counts or complete rosters of staff within IMUS were not available, because so many staff work across different units within the facility.

Table 3. Prisoner and Staff Survey Responses, by facility

	Prisoner Survey Responses	Staff Survey Responses
Clallam Bay Corrections Center	42	13
Monroe Correctional Complex	28	22
Stafford Creek Corrections Center	29	22
Washington Corrections Center	24	10
Washington State Penitentiary	102	23
Total	225	90

[15] According to the Washington State Employees Salary index, available at < http://fiscal.wa.gov/salaries.aspx>

As the project manager, I was responsible for the organization and secured storage of the survey data from prisoners and staff. To this end, I created a coding schema that anonymized and organized survey responses by facility and type of respondent (prisoner or staff). As prisoner surveys were not allowed to be stapled, each page needed to be hand coded immediately upon return[16]. Dr. Reiter and I traveled by air from California to conduct surveys in Washington, so, in order to maintain data security, once paper surveys were collected we maintained physical possession of them at all times, including carrying hundreds of surveys through airports and onto flights. Once returned to UCI, I scanned each survey in its entirety and uploaded it to a secure Dropbox. The original paper surveys were stored in a locked cabinet, in a locked UCI office.

In Chapter 2 of this dissertation, I focus on survey data from custody staff, including correctional officers and shift sergeants, to examine patterns of stress, attitudes, and perceptions of restrictive housing reform by their individual level characteristics. In Chapter 2, more detailed information will be provided on this sample subset.

Research Team Training for Interviewing

In preparation for conducting interviews in the summer of 2017, all interviewers underwent extensive training, including more than 20 hours of meetings to learn about conditions in WDOC IMUs and develop the interview instrument. Interviewers completed an additional 16 hours of standardized training protocol for administering the Brief Psychiatric Rating Scale[17] (BPRS) in clinical settings, consisting of in-person symptom assessment training sessions with a leading expert in BPRS research, Dr. Joe Ventura, as this scale was incorporated into the prisoner interview instrument. Dr. Ventura conducted an interrater reliability analysis

[16] Staff surveys were also hand coded once received, though they were stapled and therefore mixing responses from different respondents was less of a concern.

[17] The Brief Psychiatric Rating Scale (BPRS) provides a highly efficient, rapid evaluation procedure for assessing symptom change in psychiatric patients. It yields a comprehensive description of major symptom characteristics.

confirming trained raters met the minimum standard of an ICC=.80 or greater for the BPRS. This extensive training sought to ensure that the 13 team members (9 women and 4 men; 9 white and 4 non-white), all faculty (4) or doctoral students (9) with prior interview experience in secure confinement settings, identified and addressed any pre-existing assumptions about the population being studied and minimized possible bias as a result of inconsistent interpretation or application of questions and assessments.

Interviewing Prisoners and Staff in the IMU

Between July and September 2017, Dr. Reiter, a team of UCI graduate students, and I traveled to Washington on three separate week-long trips to conduct in-depth, in-person interviews with both staff and prisoners in all five IMUs. The prisoner and staff interview instruments were piloted during the first trip, and then modified for clarity and minor revisions for the remaining interview trips. On the first trip, we spent two days interviewing at Monroe Correctional Complex (MCC) and two days interviewing at Shelton Corrections Center (WCC). On the second trip, we repeated this schedule at Clallam Bay Corrections Center (CBCC) and Stafford Creek Corrections Center (SCCC). On the third trip of the summer, the final set of year one interviews were conducted at Washington State Penitentiary, housing Washington's largest MAX custody population, over three days. In total, the research team completed 183 prisoner and staff interviews – a total of 308 hours, 55 minutes, 48 seconds of recorded audio.[18] Interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed. The participation rate for the study was high and both the prisoner and staff interview targets were surpassed. Interviews generally lasted one hour and forty minutes, ranging from the shortest interview of forty minutes to the longest at three hours. The variability in interview length was a product of the semi-structured nature of the

[18] 12 days 20 hours 55 minutes 48 seconds of total recorded interview audio.

interview, as well as variation among individual respondents' experiences and willingness to share personal information. Overall, the variability across interviewers was minimal, as the average interview length across facilities and respondents was consistent (See Table 4).

Table 4. Total and Average Interview Audio Recording Time, by facility and respondent type

	Total Audio Recording Time (hh:mm:ss)	Average Interview Length (hh:mm:ss)
CBCC Prisoner Interviews	31:26:23	1:44:48
CBCC Staff Interviews	24:07:32	1:36:30
MCC Prisoner Interviews	21:22:37	1:31:37
MCC Staff Interviews	23:02:17	1:38:44
SCCC Prisoner Interviews	29:03:01	1:48:56
SCCC Staff Interviews	20:38:32	1:35:16
WCC Prisoner Interviews	30:26:31	1:41:28
WCC Staff Interviews	25:20:41	1:41:23
WSP Prisoner Interviews	68:58:02	1:43:27
WSP Staff Interviews	32:53:30	1:56:05

Because of the physical layout and unequal power dynamics between prisoners and staff in prison, we were constantly mindful of the optics while conducting research, particularly when conducting interviews. At each facility, we began by interviewing prisoners, as the consent and movement process within the unit required additional time. Further, prisoners were interviewed before staff in order to encourage participation. With alternative ordering, such as conducting prisoner and staff interviews simultaneously or staff interviews first, we considered that

prisoners might observe researchers closely associating with custody staff while in the unit, possibly resulting in distrust and increased refusal to participate.

With an overall goal of completing at least 100 total prisoner interviews (20% of the total MAX custody population at that time), the target sample for each facility was proportionate to the size of the MAX custody population, or approximately 20% of the MAX population in each of the five IMUs. Complete rosters of prisoners on MAX custody in each IMU was provided to me by the WDOC the week prior to interview trip. Randomly selecting the sample from each roster required creative problem solving, as the security constraints in the IMU prevented efficient movement of prisoners for interviewing. In the IMU, moving prisoners from their cells to interviewing areas required a two-person escort, heavily burdening custody staff and potentially limiting their capacity to perform routine movements, such as yards and showers.[19] So, rather than randomly selecting the appropriate sample of prisoners from each roster prior to the visit and seeking them for interviewing in particular, the complete roster was randomized and used to dictate interview order after every MAX custody prisoner in the IMU had indicated an initial willingness to participate at cell front. This process created a thorough consent procedure that limited the additional burden on staff, while also providing the added benefit of not singling any prisoners out for participation.[20] After being announced by staff as "females on their tier" in the all-male units, Dr. Reiter and I walked the unit and engaged every prisoner at their cell front. We identified ourselves as researchers and explained we were there to conduct interviews about their experiences in the IMU. We emphasized participation was voluntary and would provide no

[19] In support of this research, WDOC scheduled additional escort staff to work during our interview trips. While helpful in some instances, this additional staff was often inexperienced working in the IMU and custody staff working in the IMU were hesitant to trust operations would continue safely. As a result, the additional escort staff provided by WDOC did not relieve the additional movement burden on custody staff on its own and the two-part consent process was also needed.

[20] The protocol for consent and interview procedures was approved by the University of California, Irvine Institutional Review Board and the Washington Department of Corrections Research and Data Analytics.

benefit or penalty related to their sentence. Because of our prior visit conducting surveys, much of the population recognized us and were already familiar with the purpose of our visit. At cell front, we asked each prisoner if they would be interested in possibly participating in an interview during our visit. We recorded every prisoners' initial willingness to participate and matched that to our pre-determined randomly ordered list. Starting at the top of the list, we conducted interviews with each prisoner who had expressed their willingness to participate cell front until the target goal for the facility was reached.

Interviews with prisoners on MAX custody were conducted in secure visiting areas, hearing rooms, in-unit classrooms, counseling staff's offices, and holding cells. For most of these interviews, respondents were secured in a locked room, unshackled, and communicated with the interviewer through secure glass. For the small number of interviews that occurred in less secure spaces, such as in-unit classrooms and staff offices, prisoners were secured in existing anchored seating and remained shackled throughout the interview. In some facilities, interviews occurred in spaces outside of the segregation unit, which then, according to existing institutional protocol, required participating prisoners to be strip-searched before exiting and upon reentry.

Once interviewers and respondents were alone in the interviewing space, each interviewer provided a detailed consent sheet and explained it fully to the participant, emphasizing optional participation, advising the respondent to not answer any questions that made them uncomfortable, and to end the interview at any time if they wanted. During the consent process, interviewers explicitly described their mandatory reporting requirements to prisoners, including both intentions to harm (self or others) and plans to escape or threaten the safety and security of the institution. Interviewers obtained verbal consent to audio record, and upon completion of the interview obtained verbal consent to follow-up in one year, along with written consent to review respondents' health records. Respondents were informed that consent for each component was

autonomous, and they could choose to participate in any, all, or none of the study components. In total, we completed 106 prisoner interviews across all five included facilities (See Table 5). Interview audio recordings were later transcribed, and paper interview instruments were stored at UCI under double-lock protocol. Interviews were semi-structured, comprised of 96 questions, including embedded BPRS questions. Interviews covered a range of topics, including introductory icebreakers, conditions of confinement, problems in the IMU, health, perceptions of staff, safety in the IMU, perceptions of segregation reforms, and demographic information.[21] As in other studies of solitarily confined prisoners (Beck, 2015), our interview sample was generally younger, more violent (in terms of criminal history), and serving longer sentences than general population prisoners. Latino/Hispanic prisoners and gang affiliates are both over-represented in our IMU sample, likely because of targeting Latino/Hispanic Security Threat Group (or gang-affiliated) prisoners for solitary confinement in WDOC. While our IMU subject participants differed from the general prison population, there were no significant differences in either demographic variables or criminal history characteristics between our random sample and the overall IMU population, except that our subject pool was slightly older than the average IMU prisoner (Reiter, et al., 2020).

Staff were interviewed following prisoner interviews, at the end of the first day, or during subsequent days, after prisoner interviews had been completed. In addition to consideration of prisoner participation, this strategy allowed us to build rapport with staff over the course of the first day, as there was often down time between prisoner movements. Unlike prisoners, staff were not randomly selected, but rather a strategic, convenience sample of custody and non-custody staff was employed. Efforts were made to interview custody staff from all three shifts,

[21] This interview instrument can be found in Appendix D.

non-custody staff (medical and programming), and supervisory staff at all five facilities. Staff at each facility were informed ahead of time about scheduled interview trips and encouraged WDOC administrative leadership to participate if they felt comfortable.

Once a staff member had initially agreed to participate in an interview, we moved to a private location within the facility. Most staff interviews were conducted in offices, break rooms, or at tables in cafeteria-style visiting rooms; the location varied depending on the facility. Interviews were confidential, conducted in spaces that ensured privacy, and commenced only after participants had provided informed consent.[22] Nearly all interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed.[23] Upon completion, paper interview instruments were stored at UCI under double-lock protocol. The target sample for the research was 50 participants, representative of job role (custody or non-custody), level of authority (line staff or supervisory personnel), shift, and facility. Targeted efforts were made to include participants varying along gender and racial/ethnic factors as well. In total, we interviewed a sample of 77 staff across all five maximum security units (See Table 5). Interviews were semi-structured, made up of 87 questions on various topics, including introductory icebreakers, IMU policy, job responsibilities, personal safety, health, relationships with coworkers and supervisors, segregation reforms, and demographic information.[24]

[22] The protocol for consent and interview procedures was approved by the University of California, Irvine Institutional Review Board and the Washington Department of Corrections Research and Data Analytics.
[23] In two cases, staff respondents declined to be audio recorded. In those instances, the interviewer completed the paper interview instrument and recorded audio notes immediately following the interview. These notes were later transcribed.
[24] This interview instrument can be found in Appendix E.

Table 5. Interview Totals, by facility and respondent type		
	Prisoner Interviews	Staff Interviews
CBCC	18	15
MCC	14	16
SCCC	16	13
WCC	18	15
WSP	40	17
WDOC Headquarters	--	1
Total	106	77

Despite the relatively small sample size, the goal of obtaining a representative sample from each of the five facilities and positions described was largely achieved. After reviewing shift lists of scheduled staff provided by WDOC, we created approximate target interview goals for staff at each site. Due to restrictions on the number of maximum custody housing units from which the sample could be drawn and the inability to reach all staff within those units, the sample obtained may be skewed in various ways. One of the largest contributors to this bias is the extent to which staff in maximum security housing units may systemically differ from those in lower-custody units. Because we did not include staff from lower custody units in the study or collect any data on staff outside of the IMU, this data is limited in its generalizability to all staff working within WDOC. This was a foreseen limitation that was deemed reasonable in achieving the purpose of the study.

With multiple interviewers involved with the research, maintaining data integrity and organization was especially important. As the project manager, I oversaw the organization,

secure transfer and storage of interview data throughout the course of the project. Each interviewer was assigned their own audio recorder to be used during interviews. At the end of each day I collected all the audio recorders and reviewed them for recording quality. Afterwards, I uploaded interview recordings to a secure Dropbox, and backed them up on a secured, password protected external hard drive that traveled exclusively in my or Dr. Reiter's possession. I created a coding schema to organize and anonymize the recording data, based on the facility, type of respondent (prisoner or staff), and interviewer.

In this dissertation, Chapters 3 and 4 utilize interview data from staff, specifically correctional officers and shift sergeants, in order to interrogate how policy translation is shaped by hierarchical relationships and organizational climate. In each chapter, further details on this sample subset and the analytic plan will be provided.

Dissertation Plan

This dissertation proceeds by examining: 1) custody staff's individual level stress levels and attitudes towards solitary confinement, 2) how the relationship between supervisory personnel and custody staff can contribute to staff undermining or supporting the implementation of solitary confinement reforms, and 3) how organizational climate impacts custody staffs' perceptions of reforms and reform sustainability longer term. These chapters engage with the policy reform process at three social levels: the individual level, the interpersonal level, and the organizational level.

In Chapter 2, I examine custody staffs' perceptions of restrictive housing reforms, level of stress, and punitiveness. This chapter engages with previous criminological literature examining correctional officers' role in prison reform. Particularly, previous literature interrogates the importance of individual correctional officers' attributes and attitudes towards prisoners to identify specific mechanisms used to advance reformative policy and facilitate

prisoners' access to rehabilitative services (Brosens, De Donder, Vanwing, Dury, & Verte 2014). In addition, previous research has found a high prevalence of various stress reactions among correctional officers (Armstrong & Griffin, 2004; Shaufeli & Peeters, 2000; Black, 1982). In this chapter, I present findings from individual level survey data and interviews with custody staff in IMUs, who work exclusively with MAX custody prisoners, in order interrogate whether custody staff in the most restrictive prison environments report similar degrees of punitiveness and stress as correctional officers more broadly.

In Chapter 3, I examine policy introduction and implementation in the context of the interpersonal relationship between line staff and supervisory personnel, examining the ways in which hierarchical distance influences COs' level of receptiveness towards policy reform, separate entirely from the actual policy change being suggested. This chapter utilizes insights from organizational theory literature, which emphasizes the role of structural, environmental and social components in shaping practices within correctional institutions (Lambert, Hogan, Barton-Bellessa, & Jiang, 2012; Bazemore & Dicker 1994; Slate, 1992; Schneider & Rentsch 1988; Whitehead and Lindquist 1989). Additionally, this chapter draws upon research of militaristic institutions, in order to examine how para-militaristic correctional institutions mirror and depart from similarly strict hierarchical organizations (Moon & Maxwell 2004; Morgan, Van Haveren, & Pearson, 2002). Drawing upon interviews with IMU custody staff, in this chapter I demonstrate how custody staff begin to resist or support penal reforms at this early stage, based upon their experiences along three primary factors: 1) *how,* and 2) *why* a policy is being introduced, as well as 3) *who* is communicating it. In Washington, COs largely reported feelings of resentment towards the ongoing solitary confinement reforms. Though, when discussing recent changes in the IMUs, COs typically did not connect their feelings to the reforms

themselves, but to other organizational and structural factors. For example, CO's expressed an inconsistent understanding of the purpose of segregation unit reforms, leaving them confused about the overall goal. Further, they did not connect recent changes as beneficial to themselves. After initial policy introduction, data revealed that COs' behavior reflected the negative emotional responses and perceptions generated at the policy introduction stage, undermining successful policy implementation in various ways, such as overriding safety protocols and denying out-of-cell time in the name of efficient time management.

In Chapter 4, I situate policy reform in the larger organizational and community context to examine *policy sustainability.* Findings from previous studies implied the organizational context to be ultimately most determinate in influencing correctional officers' attitudes rather than individual level recruitment efforts (Bowers, Carr-Walker, Allan, Callaghan, Nijman, & Paton, 2006; Bowers, Carr-Walker, Paton, Nijman, Callaghan, & Allan, 2005). According to previous studies, organizational factors such as work climate and organizational structure strongly impact correctional officers' stress, level of burnout, and punitiveness (Finney, Stergiopoulos, Hensel, Bonato, & Dewa, 2013; Lambert, Hogan, Griffin, 2008) This work contributes to this body of scholarship by examining how organizational climate and policy reform interact and influence one another in an ongoing process. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how the existing antagonistic "us versus them" organizational climate influenced COs interpretation of WDOC policy reforms in restrictive housing units. COs pointed to these policy reforms as evidence of WDOC prioritizing prisoners' needs above their own. COs did not simply resent reforms for unfairly rewarding prisoners, but rather they perceived reforms as threats to their own safety and livelihood. If left unaddressed, these stressors may wear away at

CO's and lead to the undercutting of newly changed policy, threatening the sustainability of reforms over time.

Taken together, the findings presented in Chapters 2 through 4 demonstrate the complex relationship between custody staff, administrative staff, and prison reform, particularly in the most restrictive setting of solitary confinement. By understanding the various experiences and perspectives of custody staff working in these units, we can gain a better understanding of how to effectively engage correctional institutions in prison reform.

Chapter 2. Correctional Officer Stress and Solitary Confinement Reform

I place a strong importance on social justice. If Washington is so progressive, I would hate to see what other states are like. Our staff here in IMU absolutely contribute to systemic racism; mostly unknowingly but some I would go as far to say intentionally. Most don't believe in the efficacy of evidence-based programming and say as much to the inmates. They call it "drinking the kool-aid" and attack those, like me, who volunteer for programs in the hopes of improving chances of rehabilitation. We have a tremendous amount of negativity in this facility at the level of officers and sergeants. – Female CO, CBCC

Introduction

In this chapter, I build on previous research in the field of corrections by examining the dimensions of stress among correctional officers (COs) working in restrictive housing units, mitigating factors of that stress, and how that stress impacts COs' punitiveness, and orientation towards reforms. This chapter lays the foundation for Chapters 3 and 4, as findings from this chapter suggest that organizational factors and interpersonal relationships across institutional hierarchies influence COs' stress levels (and subsequent punitive orientation). These findings bring new focus to how these dynamics play out in restrictive housing, specifically, as the most restrictive units housing the allegedly "most dangerous" prisoners.

Literature Review

As modern correctional institutions have gradually integrated more rehabilitative objectives, so, too, has the job role of the correctional officer evolved (Liebling, 2006). Most notably, there has been increasing professionalization of the correctional officer's role within prisons. Not only having changed in name, as demonstrated by the replacement of the outdated title "prison guard" with the modern "correctional officer," but so too have the responsibilities of the job transformed. More specifically, the most significant changes include: (1) increasing size and changing composition of the prisoner population (i.e. growing number of mentally ill prisoners); (2) institution of new rehabilitative programs; (3) entry of specialized treatment professionals (i.e. counselors, addiction specialists); (4) growth of mid-level supervisory

positions, providing both more opportunities for career advancement as well as increased stress-inducing bureaucratization; (5) increased culture of professionalism through increased training in legal matters and prisoners' rights and firmer observance of formal policies and procedures (Schaulfeli & Peeters, 2000; Kommer, 1993; Jacobs & Crotty, 1983; Stalgaitis, Meyers, & Krisak, 1982). As a result, today's correctional officer is typically expected to successively, or concurrently, ensure security, facilitate the rehabilitative process, and promote services to prisoners (Bourbonnais, Jauvin, Dussault, & Vezina, 2007). These responsibilities are often contradictory and in tension with one another, creating an environment in which correctional officers are unable to satisfy all the demands placed upon them with the limited resources available. Consequently, correctional officers often experience high levels of stress, relative to other professions. In a review of 43 investigations from nine different countries, Schaufeli and Peeters (2000) reported a high prevalence of various stress reactions among correctional officers, particularly: turnover and absenteeism rates (Cheek & Miller, 1983; Greuter & Castelijns, 1992; Jurik & Winn, 1987; Wright, 1993), psychosomatic diseases (Cheek & Miller, 1983; Dollard & Winefield, 1998; Härenstam, Palm, & Theorell, 1988; Slate & Vogel, 1997), job dissatisfaction (Cullen, Link, Cullen, & Wolfe, 1990; Grossi & Berg, 1991; Toch & Klofas, 1982; Tripplett, Mullings, & Scarborough, 1996; Whitehead, Lindquist, & Klofas, 1997), and burnout (Dollard & Winefield, 1994; Lindquist & Whitehead, 1986; Schaufeli, Van den Eijnde, & Brouwers, 1994). Recent studies further support these findings, highlighting more specific contributors to correctional staff work stress such as: organizational or administrative issues (i.e. poor communication, lack of participation in decision-making, training and managerial styles of organizational leaders) (Armstrong & Griffin, 2004; Black, 2001; Lambert, Hogan, & Tucker, 2009), role ambiguity, or correctional staff lacking clarity regarding how to satisfactorily fulfill

the obligations of their job without provision of proper resources/training (Black, 2001; Conover, 2000; Griffin, 2006; Lambert, Hogan, & Griffin, 2008; Tripplett, Mullins, & Scarborough, 1999), and safety concerns stemming from understaffing (Gibbons & Katzenbach, 2006) and perceived or actual prisoner violence (Wells, Minor, Angel, Matz, & Amato, 2008; Morgan, Van Haveren, & Pearson, 2002; Whiteacre, 2006).

Due to the abundance of studies documenting high levels of stress among correctional staff and officers, it is critical to understand the potential resulting harmful effects (for both employees and prisoners), and how to mediate them. As research has demonstrated, correctional workers who are unable to effectively cope with high levels of stress often "burnout" over time. This long-term stress reaction is commonly characterized by emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, or the negative and/or excessively detached response to those who are the recipients of one's care (Maslach, 1993; Schaufeli & Peeters, 2000). In the case of correctional workers, this process is characterized by the emotionally demanding relationships with prisoners that end up depleting one's emotional resources, followed by the development of negative attitudes and behaviors towards prisoners. In order to reduce emotional exhaustion, the burned-out correctional officer creates psychological distance between themselves and the stressful environment through the use of depersonalization strategies, such as treating prisoners in an overly detached and callous way.

If negative attitudes and behavior influence their pattern of interaction with prisoners, positive attitudes and behavior, both overall and specifically towards prisoners, are a pre-requisite for effectively achieving custodial goals within a prison setting (Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989:22). As the primary agents typically having the most interaction with prisoners, front-line correctional officers are heavily relied upon to implement reformative policy and

facilitate prisoners' access to rehabilitative services. Correctional officers' levels of work stress and available coping resources can hinder or support effectual implementation of prison reform. Research has shown that correctional officers who express a positive attitude towards prisoners can advance reformative policy and support prisoner rehabilitation efforts. For example, in a recent Belgian study, Brosens' et al (2014) found that correctional officers could provide both instrumental and emotional support to prisoners, encouraging participation in available educational and vocational programming. However, correctional officers can also impede reformative and rehabilitative policy implementation in various ways. For example, in units with higher custody levels (such as maximum-security solitary confinement units), correctional officers have reported higher perceptions of dangerousness, and therefore may perceive prisoners as less deserving of resources and rehabilitative services (Lambert, Minor, Gordon, Wells, & Hogan, 2018; Cullen, Link, Wolfe, & Frank, 1985; Lombardo, 1981). In addition, previous research has indicated that prisoners were reluctant to participate in offered programming due to their dependence on correctional officers to facilitate the activities (Brosens, et al., 2014:521). Prisoners mainly emphasized correctional officers' negative influence, while some others reported that they did not want to burden staff (Brosens, et al., 2014:521).

One strategy of prison reform implementation has been to encourage the initial recruitment and hiring of correctional officers who will have a less punitive, more tolerant, and more positive attitude towards prisoners (Jurik, 1985). With the hope of discovering predictive factor(s) of a more positive orientation towards prisoners, some of the existing literature regarding prison reform has focused on frontline correctional officers' individual-level demographic characteristics, and their related work experiences, like levels of job satisfaction, stress management, and safety concerns (Cullen, Gilbert, & Cullen, 1983; Melvin, Gramling &

Gardner, 1985). Several studies have found individual characteristics, such as race (Cullen, 1989; Jurik, 1985), education level (Cullen et al., 1985; Poole & Regoli, 1980), age (Irwin, 1980), and gender (Cullen, 1989; Jurik, 1985), to be somewhat related to correctional officers' professional orientation towards prisoners, though overall findings have been varied.

In the following sections, I draw upon survey data collected from a sample of correctional officers and sergeants[25] working in WDOC segregation units to describe aspects of stress, mediating factors, punitiveness, and attitudes towards policy reform among front line correctional workers.

Sample and Analysis Plan

This chapter draws upon a subset of survey data collected from staff in WDOC in February and March 2017. While the larger sample (N=90) includes non-custody and custody staff, findings presented here draw exclusively on surveys from facility custody staff, correctional officers and sergeants (N=60 surveys; See Table 1 for sample demographics). In addition to multiple choice responses, surveys included open-ended questions to provide the opportunity for respondents to share additional details and feedback. Where appropriate, this qualitative data is included in the findings to provide illustrative examples. Additionally, this chapter draws upon my fieldnotes, including "thick description" of interactions I had with respondents during my numerous facility visits prior to and during the course of surveying staff and prisoners in restrictive housing (Geertz, 1973). These fieldnotes helped me identify emerging themes during and following the surveying process.

Analysis of the survey data was conducted using Stata 13 for Mac and Stata 15.1 for Windows. Because of the small sample size, Fischer's exact tests were used to examine the

[25] In WDOC facilities, the job roles of correctional officers and sergeants are operationally very similar, as both work directly with prisoners and are subject to the same conditions, i.e. working within restrictive housing units.

significance of the association between variables included in the survey. The sample may have been limited by selection effects: survey completion was voluntary, and excluded custody staff members not on duty during the days and times we visited WDOC restrictive housing units. (WDOC did not provide overall data about the exact number of people working in IMUs, about the demographics of staff in IMUs, or throughout the system, so we cannot calculate either the response rate or representativeness of our sample.) Despite the limitations, the sample of custody staff surveyed included staff working in all five IMUs across the WDOC and is not obviously skewed from what we would expect to see.

The sample of custody staff surveyed was predominantly male (85%), white (77%), and married (73%). Most of the respondents were in their 30's (32%) or 40's (25%), had some college experience, but no degree (45%), and earned between $40k and $60k annually (52%). For a complete review of representativeness, see Chapter 1. Preliminary survey data was reviewed between April and June 2017, and findings informed the development of the interview instrument for subsequent staff interviews (the subject of analysis in subsequent chapters).

Table 1. Survey respondent demographics, n=60 (correctional officers and sergeants)

	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	51	85%
Female	6	10%
No response	3	5%
Age		
20-29	10	17%
30-39	19	32%
40-49	15	25%
50-59	12	20%
60+	1	2%
No response	3	5%
Marital Status		
Married	44	73%
In a relationship	2	3%
Single	2	3%
Divorced	8	13%
No response	4	7%
Race/Ethnicity		
White	46	77%

Native-American & White	3	5%
Asian	3	5%
Hispanic/Latinx	2	3%
Other	2	3%
No response	4	7%
Education level		
High school diploma/GED	12	20%
Some college, no degree	27	45%
Associate's degree	14	23%
Bachelor's degree	5	8%
No response	2	3%
Income over last 12 months		
$30k-$39,999	4	7%
$40k-$49,999	16	27%
$50k-$59,999	15	25%
$60k-$69,999	9	15%
$70k-$79,999	4	7%
$80k or more	5	8%
No response	7	12%
Other		
Has a friend or family member that has been arrested	40	67%
Has a friend or family member that has been incarcerated	22	37%

The purpose of the survey was exploratory, in order to build a foundational understanding of dynamics among staff in WDOC maximum custody units, to be explored in depth during in-depth interviews following. The surveys provided an opportunity for us to ask about known stressors among correctional officers, as well as for respondents to reveal additional unknown factors. Findings from the data presented in this chapter provide insights to better understanding how correctional officers in restrictive housing experience stress and their work environment, as well as provide the foundation for more in-depth, qualitative analysis in future chapters. Though the sample size is too small for statistical analyses and generalizability, it was still valuable as a tool for designing later interviews. In addition, the process of surveying provided me (and Dr. Reiter) with additional opportunities to build rapport and trust with respondents.

Findings

In line with previous research, most respondents in this sample reported moderate (52%) to high (30%) stress levels. While stress levels were consistently high, stress is multidimensional

and can stem from different sources all at once. In the next section, I examine stress around three main areas: 1) safety and hypervigilance, 2) prisoners with serious mental illness, and 3) workplace stressors. Then, I will present findings stress mitigating factors, or positive aspects of working in the IMU, centered around job satisfaction and expectations, officer peer culture, and perceptions of immediate supervisors. Finally, I will discuss how these factors are related to correctional officers' orientation towards reform.

Safety and Hypervigilance

One source of stress all custody staff may experience is threats to their safety, either real or perceived, while at work. This can lead to a state of hypervigilance, or being abnormally alert to potential dangers or threats, while working. Hypervigilance has been associated with anxiety disorders, post-traumatic stress, and may contribute to or maintain a forward feedback loop in which anxiety is increased (Kimble, et al., 2014). When asked about their feelings of safety, most of those sampled responded somewhat contradictorily, reporting that they needed to maintain extreme hypervigilance, despite never actually feeling unsafe working in segregation. Survey responses indicated that most of the custody staff felt secure working in restrictive housing units. When asked, "Do you *ever* feel unsafe working in the IMU?", the majority of staff (63%) responded "No". However, when asked about their perceptions of risk while at work, security staff indicated a strong need for hypervigilance at all times. For example, a respondent from WCC explained, "We all have to understand that when we take a job like this anything can happen at any time. That is the risk that we all take. This job is not for everybody." In other words, respondents were prepared for danger all the time, despite feeling relatively safe in the unit. Respondents were asked about perceptions of risk while at work across three different questions (see Table 2).

Table 2. Hypervigilance among custody staff (n=60)				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
In this job, you always have to keep it in mind that trouble could happen at any time	88%*	10%	0%	0%
I work in a dangerous job	65%	28%	3%	0%
In this job, I go from one crisis to the next	10%	38%	52%	0%

**Totals may not sum to 100% due to missing responses*

The vast majority of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that their job was dangerous (93%), and that they needed to be prepared for trouble at any time (98%). This level of hypervigilance and perceived dangerousness might indicate that staff expected to respond to crises, or unexpected, serious threats to their (or prisoners') safety, with some regularity. However, responses to the question using the language of "crisis" were less robust, as about only half of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that they go from one crisis to the next in their job. There may have been differences in the interpretation of "crisis" among respondents, as no examples were provided to respondents. Alternatively, staff may have been referencing other kinds of "trouble" making their job dangerous and driving the need to remain hypervigilant.

To tease out these stressors further, respondents were asked to rate their level of worry about specific risks associated with working as a correctional officer. This was to gain a more nuanced understanding of what kinds of risks custody staff may be worried about most, contributing to their stress and hypervigilance. In this section, respondents were asked to consider 13 different kinds of risks posed by prisoners[26] and rate their level of worry about each

[26] Incidents included: 1) feces, urine, or other substance being thrown on you; 2) being spit on; 3) being attacked with a weapon; 4) being hit or punched; 5) being raped or sexually assaulted; 6) being pushed or shoved; 7) being taken hostage; 8) being bitten; 9) being murdered while at work; 10) having an object thrown at you; 11) getting injured while overpowering a disruptive offender; 12) getting injured intervening in a fight between offenders; 13) contracting a transmittable disease.

occurring on a five-point scale.[27] Table 3 below lists the three types of risks respondents were most concerned about, along with the three types of risks respondents were the least concerned about.

Table 3. How concerned are you about risks in the IMU? (n=60)	
Top 3 Very Concerned	Top 3 Not Concerned At All
52% - contracting a transmittable disease	55% - being raped or sexually assaulted
38% - being spit on	38% - being taken hostage
37% - feces, urine, or other substance thrown on you	33% - being murdered while at work

Though they worked in the highest custody units and reported an extreme level of hypervigilance, security staff in this sample were the least concerned with some of the most life threatening, permanent risks, like being murdered or taken hostage by a prisoner. Respondents were largely not concerned about the risk of rape or sexual assault, but this is not surprising given respondents were predominantly male. On the other end of the spectrum, most respondents expressed the highest level of concern about the risk of contracting a transmittable disease. Over a third of respondents were also "very concerned" with the risk of being spit on or having feces, urine, or other substance thrown on them. These risks are not imminent threats to custody staff's physical safety but may be of more concern than more serious safety risks, such as murder, due to higher likelihood of occurrence, or potential long-term impact on health.

Custody staff were also asked about their level of concern about various risks of physical injury from prisoners. These kinds of risks are not as serious and permanent as murder, but,

[27] 1= Not concerned at all, 3=Neutral, 5=Very concerned

while not as frequent as less injurious risks like being spit on, they are immediate threats to custody staff's physical safety. In Table 4 below, I present the range of responses to each of the risks of physical injury from prisoners.

Table 4. Custody staff's concern about risk of physical injury from prisoner(s) (n=60)					
	5 = Very concerned	4	3 = Neutral	2	1 = Not concerned at all
Being attacked with a weapon	22%	10%	35%	30%	3%
Being hit or punched	18%*	27%	28%	22%	3%
Being pushed or shoved	22%	17%	25%	20%	5%
Being bitten	27%	23%	25%	20%	5%
Having an object thrown at you	28%	23%	32%	12%	5%
Getting injured while having to overpower a disruptive prisoner	32%	30%	28%	7%	3%
Getting injured intervening in a fight between prisoner	17%	10%	28%	22%	22%

**Totals may not sum to 100% due to missing responses*

These responses reflect varied levels of concern across respondents reflective of the unique environment of the IMU. For example, respondents were least worried about "getting injured intervening in a fight between offenders," but the most worried about "getting injured while having to overpower a disruptive offender." In WDOC maximum custody units, prisoners do not congregate unrestrained and cannot move through the unit without a two-person staff escort. These restrictions eliminate nearly all of the opportunity for two prisoners to get involved in a fight, thereby limiting the risk of custody staff having to intervene. On the other hand, cell extractions are used in maximum custody units when a prisoner refuses to comply with a directive, such as returning a food tray, or is being disruptive somehow, like banging on their door or flooding their cell. In lower custody units, prisoners have more freedom of movement and cell extractions are not as frequently used. The restriction and structure of maximum custody

units increase the likelihood of a cell extraction response, as both prisoners and custody staff are limited in alternative responses. Therefore, it makes sense that respondents would be more worried about possible injury during a cell extraction, rather than a fight between prisoners. Following this line of reasoning, it also makes sense that respondents would be less worried about being hit or punched by a prisoner, compared to being bitten or having an object thrown at them. Again, maximum custody means that prisoners are restrained any time they leave their cell, with their arms secured behind their backs. While not impossible, this severely limits their opportunity to punch or hit. However, the close proximity of correctional officers and prisoners during escorts provides an opportunity for assault via biting. In another example of maximum custody restrictions dictating opportunity, correctional officers are responsible for bringing nearly everything a prisoner needs to their cell, and are vulnerable to having an object thrown at them any time they open a prisoner's cuff port, whether for meals or any other items. These responses provide a more nuanced understanding of the specific kinds of risks custody staff worry about most frequently and point to the kinds of risks driving their hypervigilance.

Custody staff were also asked about their actual experiences with the aforementioned risks (aside from murder and contracting disease)[28], in order to examine how they compared to their level of concern. In other words, were they worried about incidents that actually happened? In Table 5, I present the frequency of respondents who reported experiencing each risk incident one or more times in the prior six months. This time period was selected in order to frame respondents' memory, and limit experiences to those in the IMU, rather than in other lower custody units.

[28] Murder was excluded for the obvious reason that a deceased staff member would not be able to respond to the survey, and contracting a transmissible disease was excluded to protect the privacy of respondents.

Table 5. Proportion of custody staff who experienced incident one or more times in the last six months (n=60)	
Object thrown at you by prisoner	25%
Feces, urine, or other substance thrown on you	18.3%
Being spit on	18.3%
Being pushed or shoved by prisoner	15%
Being hit or punched by prisoner	10%
Injured while overpowering disruptive prisoner	8.3%
Injured while intervening in a fight between prisoners	3.3%
Being bitten by prisoner	3.3%
Being attacked with a weapon	1.7%
Taken hostage	0%
Raped or sexually assaulted	0%

The risks that respondents experienced most frequently over the prior six months strongly aligned with the risks they reported being most worried about. For example, being spit on or having feces, urine, or other substance thrown on them were two risks more worried about, and 18.3% of respondents had also experienced those incidents at least once in the last six months. Similarly, no custody staff reported being raped or sexually assaulted or taken hostage by prisoners in the prior six months, in alignment with the lower levels of concern about these risks. Overall, the reported occurrence of these risk incidents indicates that these are generally rare events. The most frequently reported risk incident "having an object thrown at you" occurred 29 times in total over six months, or roughly two and a half times a month on average. This provides some insight into understanding how respondents feel generally safe working in the IMU, but also are hypervigilant. Custody staff in this sample were not as worried about immediate threats to physical safety such as murder, serious injury, or rape, but rather more frequently occurring less injurious incidents, such as being spit on. Still, these types of risks are only one kind of stressor custody staff experience.

Prisoners with Serious Mental Illness

Another kind of stressor correctional officers experience is prisoner behavior that may not be directly threatening their safety but can be mentally and emotionally taxing. In particular, prisoners with serious mental illness may express behaviors that are difficult to manage in a prison setting, and these prisoners are increasingly likely to be housed in restrictive housing units in response (Arrigo & Bullock, 2006; Smith, 2006). In WDOC, most of these prisoners were housed together in the Special Offender Unit at MCC, so mental health resources could be efficiently concentrated in one place. However, some prisoners with serious mental illness were still housed in regular IMUs, without specially trained staff. Custody staff in maximum custody were asked about working with prisoners with serious mental illness, in order to understand how they managed that population within their units.

Custody staff in this sample reported witnessing a variety of behaviors associated with serious mental illness in prisoners and the majority did not feel prepared to properly handle those prisoners. For example, 58.3% of custody staff responded that they did not have the appropriate training necessary to handle seriously mentally ill prisoners in the IMU. However, nearly all respondents had witnessed disruptive or disturbing behavior associated with serious mental illness (see Table 6).

Table 6. Proportion of custody staff that witnessed SMI behaviors in the IMU (n=60)	
Smearing cells with excrement	94.9%
Refusing to wash or bathe	96.6%
Speaking or acting in a disorganized fashion	98.3%
Clinging to bizarre, grandiose, or delusional beliefs	98.3%
Hallucinating	83.1%
Repeatedly threatening suicide	96.6%
Harming themselves	98.3%
Shunning all human interaction	96.6%
Shouting and screaming for no evident reason	93.2%

While not directly threatening their safety, these types of behaviors can take a heavy toll on correctional officers, especially when they do not feel like they know how to properly respond. Nearly every respondent reported witnessing all of the prisoner behaviors asked about, with the exception of prisoners hallucinating – even that behavior was witnessed 83.1% of the time, despite hallucinations themselves being non-visible to custody staff. These high frequencies across the entire sample indicate that responding to the behavior or seriously mentally ill prisoners may be a significant stress factor for custody staff in the IMU. As one custody staff member from CBCC explained in their survey response:

> Washington State government and DOC do a poor job in dealing with the mentally ill. Most problems we have are related to the mentally ill offenders. They keep trying to house them with regular population when they need a facility just for them where they are better train[ed] to deal with them.

Like this respondent argued, properly managing and treating prisoners with serious mental illness emerged as a significant challenge facing custody staff in the IMUs across all facilities. People with serious mental illness often do not receive the treatment they need in prison, and this problem is only worsened if they end up in segregation, where the isolation and conditions exacerbate their illness and symptoms. As a result, custody staff in the IMU experience stress from responding to more extreme behaviors associated with untreated serious mental illness, without appropriate training.

Work Stressors

Correctional officers also experience stress stemming from organizational issues in the workplace. Respondents were asked their opinions regarding a variety of workplace issues, including their perceptions of policy, resource management, and administrative leadership. These factors have been associated with burnout among correctional staff and are important stressors to examine in trying to understand the full scope of stress affecting custody staff.

Table 7. Custody staff's perceptions of policy (n=60)				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Often, I find it difficult to agree with this department's policies on important matters relating to its employees	27%*	28%	40%	3%
Often, I find it difficult to agree with this department's policies on important matters relating to the prisoners	32%	37%	27%	3%
I have to do things at my job, that I believe should be done differently	33%	50%	15%	2%

**Totals may not sum to 100% due to missing responses*

In Table 7, I present the responses from staff regarding their overall perceptions of WDOC policy. First, the majority of respondents (83%) strongly agreed or agreed that they have to do things at their job that should be done differently. Even for a para-militaristic organization that operates on a strict chain of command, that is a troubling proportion of critical front-line workers. Of course, the question is broad and the "things" that should be done differently may be referring to a wide range of tasks, for example, from a benign critique of the filing system to a belief that prisoners in the IMU shouldn't receive additional services. Further insight may be inferred from the responses to the other two questions, asking about policies relating to employees or prisoners. Regarding their opinion on WDOC policies relating to employees, respondents were approximately split in their support, with 55% strongly agreeing or agreeing that they often find it difficult to agree with policies relating to employees. Disagreement with the WDOC's policies relating to prisoners was higher among respondents, as 69% strongly agreed or agreed that they found it difficult to support policies related to prisoners. Whether relating to employees or prisoners, this suggests respondents were not bought in to the WDOC's policy goals or aspects of their job role.

One specific area of policy that respondents talked about causing stress was resource management and allocation within the department. Custody staff pointed to issues such as staff shortages, workload, and compensation as causes of ongoing stress and conflict for them. Table 8 presents custody staff's responses to two questions regarding staffing in the IMU.

Table 8. Custody staff's perceptions of staffing in IMU (n=60)				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Staff shortages at my facility are a problem	60%*	30%	7%	2%
I receive assignments without the manpower to complete them	25%	35%	37%	3%

**Totals may not sum to 100% due to missing responses*

The overwhelming majority of respondents were in agreement that staff shortages were a problem at their facility, with 60% strongly agreeing. Staff shortages can be a concern for workload, shift coverage, or maintaining security through a low staff-to-prisoner ratio in the IMU (compared to lower custody units). For example, when asked the second question regarding manpower to complete assignments, 60% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed manpower was an issue, implying their workload demands may be too great without additional staff. This heavy workload and perceived staff shortage can contribute to increased stress among custody staff, which can lead to negative health impacts. Despite the majority of respondents reporting good health overall[29], qualitative responses from the survey data were illustrative of how COs' health could be impacted by stress in restrictive housing. For example, another custody staff respondent from WSP explained:

> Staff are consistently overworked in the IMUs. They are required to do a job that requires twice the work of a correctional officer working elsewhere. Staff deal with a lot of stress but are still reprimanded for calling in sick.

[29] On a scale from 1 to 5, 1=Poor and 5=Excellent, 37% 3=Good, 30% 4=Very Good, and 12% 5=Excellent; 79% reported Good to Excellent health

This respondent characterized the workload of COs in restrictive housing as excessive, particularly when compared to COs working in lower custody units. They went on to make an explicit connection between stress, workload, and health, stating that, even though working in the IMU requires enduring high levels of stress, COs are "still reprimanded for calling in sick." In relation to stress level and overall health, respondents were also asked about services offered by WDOC to support mental and physical well-being and mitigate stress among staff. Approximately one third of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that adequate services were provided by the WDOC to meet staff's mental (33%) or physical (38%) health needs. Respondents also identified unfair compensation as a source of stress. This was illustrated by a CO from WSP who wrote, "IMU staff do twice as many duties as regular staff. They never get compensated for all the extra work and stress." This respondent explained that the extra workload required in restrictive housing places additional stress on COs, compared to those who work in lower custody units. This complaint was seconded by another CO from WSP who claimed, "My work duties have more than doubled, (but) compensation has gone down and instead of getting more staff to help [administration] demands and gives ultimatums." As these respondents illustrated, custody staff in this sample experienced stress stemming from their perception of unfair compensation, and at times targeted administrative leadership for blame.

Administrative leadership were identified as a source of stress for respondents for multiple reasons, not just unfair compensation. More often, custody staff indicated frustration with administrative leadership because of their disagreement with policies administrators introduced. Table 9 presents custody staff responses to two questions regarding perceptions of administrative leadership.

Table 9. Custody staff's perception of administrative leadership (n=60)				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Does the administration at your facility ask your opinion when a problem comes up that involves your work?	3%	12%	33%	52%
The administration often encourages us to do the job in a way that we can be really proud of	3%*	33%	40%	22%

**Totals may not sum to 100% due to missing responses*

Here, the majority of respondents (62%) indicate that they do not believe that administration encourages them to do their job in a way they can be proud of. There are many possible explanations for this, from COs disagreement with how they do things at their job, to an overall lack of communication with administration. It may be that administrative leadership does not have the opportunity to interact with most line staff, so they aren't able to offer encouragement. Respondents also critiqued administrative leadership for not seeking their input. For example, 85% of custody staff indicated that administration did not ask their opinion when a problem comes up that involves their own work. The qualitative responses to the surveys illustrated custody staff's lack of trust in administrative leadership, both at the facility as well as at Headquarters, as far their experience and decision making, while highlighting the value of their own expertise. As one CO explained:

> I think that the people in HQ's that sit behind a desk, that have never worked in a prison, should have no say in how the system works or how to do things because they don't know the first thing that is going on in a facility. If you don't have any experience on the ground, you should keep your mouth shut.

This example reflects a common, but largely false, criticism heard from respondents, that administrative leaders' decisions are less respectable because they aren't rooted in custody staff's experiences. However, the majority of administrative leadership in WDOC had worked as

correctional officers during their careers and had worked their way up to their high-level position. Rather than gaining respect from staff as one of their own "making it", the hierarchical distance gained as a member of administration actually made them less authentic.

Mitigating Factors – Positive Aspects of the IMU

While custody staff reported high levels of stress from a variety of sources, they also reported several positive aspects of working in maximum custody security segregation units. Examining these factors is an important piece in understanding the whole picture of correctional officers' stress, as they may help mitigate stress and provide benefits to them. For example, the majority of respondents (75%) strongly agreed or agreed that they were satisfied with their jobs. In a follow up question, 68% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that if they had to decide, they would choose to take their same job again. This high level of job satisfaction provides preliminary support that custody staff in the IMU like their jobs, despite their high stress levels. As another measure of job satisfaction, respondents were asked if they would recommend their current job to a good friend, and 45% strongly agreed or agreed that they would. While not the majority, it still represents a substantial portion of respondents who hold their job in high enough regard to recommend it to someone they care about.

Another positive aspect highlighted by respondents was lack of job ambiguity, or clear job expectations. Respondents were asked a series of questions about their job expectations and the majority consistently responded positively across all measures. Table 10 presents responses from custody staff regarding their job roles and expectations.

Table 10. Custody staff's perceptions of job expectations (n=60)				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I know exactly what is expected of me	33%*	57%	7%	2%
There are clear, planned goals and expectations for my job	22%	57%	15%	3%
I feel certain about how much authority I have	10%	48%	28%	12%
I work on unnecessary things	13%	28%	52%	5%

**Totals may not sum to 100% due to missing responses*

Regarding job ambiguity, the majority of respondents indicated a clear understanding of their job role and responsibilities. For example, 90% of respondents indicated knowing "exactly what is expected of me," and 79% affirmed having "clear, planned goals and expectations." This suggests job ambiguity was not a stressor for most respondents, and they were secure in their job roles. Further, when asked about their level of authority, most respondents (58%) were certain about those boundaries. This is an important factor especially for correctional officers, as their primary job duty is to supervise others. Despite 83% of respondents indicating that they "have to do things at their job that they think should be done differently," most respondents (57%) also indicated that they did not work on unnecessary things. For the most part, respondents indicated having clear expectations, goals, and important duties while at work.

Secondly, custody staff described a strong, supportive culture amongst themselves, as a positive factor of working in the IMU. Respondents were asked a series of questions related to correctional officer peer culture and the responses are presented in Table 11.

Table 11. Custody staff's perceptions of correctional officer peer culture (n=60)				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
My fellow officers often encourage each other to do the job in a way that we can really be proud of	33%	45%	20%	2%
My fellow officers often blame each other when things go wrong	2%	18%	53%	27%
I am proud to tell others that I am part of this department	20%*	52%	15%	10%
I feel very loyal to this unit	47%	45%	3%	3%

**Totals may not sum to 100% due to missing responses*

The majority of respondents indicated a sense of pride working for WDOC (72%) and loyalty to working in the maximum custody unit in particular (92%). This suggests respondents may have found a positive sense of identity in their role as a WDOC correctional officer, and an officer in the IMU specifically. In addition, respondents indicated a positive bond among custody staff regarding daily operations on the job. For example, 80% of respondents indicated that they do not blame each other when things go wrong, suggesting they have one another's back and come together when problems arise. This kind of support may effectively mitigate other stressors, by providing support when they arise. A custody staff member at WSP illustrated this further in their written survey comments, "Our work group has great comraderies and we get along with most inmates, joking and making the time pass by." While segregation units have been long documented as damaging environments for prisoners, custody staff may experience them as positive workspaces (at least in part). This is important to consider when examining correctional officer stress and how that contributes to their overall orientation towards policy reform.

Lastly, respondents highlighted support from their immediate supervisors as a positive factor associated with working in their unit. In contrast to their critiques of higher-up administrative level leadership, custody staff indicated their immediate supervisors were supportive and inclusive. In Table 12, I present the responses from this sample of custody staff regarding their perceptions of their immediate supervisors.

Table 12. Custody staff's perceptions of immediate supervisors in facility (n=60)				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Does your immediate supervisor ask your opinion when a problem comes up at work?	33%*	43%	10%	12%
My immediate supervisor encourages staff thinking of better ways of getting the work done	37%	32%	25%	3%
The people I work with often have the importance of their jobs stressed to them by their immediate supervisors	12%	63%	20%	5%

**Totals may not sum to 100% due to missing responses*

While respondents criticized administrative leadership for not considering staff input, the majority of respondents in this survey indicated that their immediate supervisor, the head of the IMU, valued their input and expertise. For example, 76% of respondents affirmed that their supervisor asked their opinion when a problem arose at work. Further, 69% of respondents said that their immediate supervisor encouraged staff to think of better ways to complete their work. This indicates not only welcoming input but goes a step further and empowers staff with responsibility and trust, recognizing them as employees with valuable knowledge and expertise to contribute. Additionally, the majority of respondents indicate that their immediate supervisor lets them know how important their job is. This may be a function of working in the IMU, which carries a kind of honor amongst correctional officers, or it might be due to proximity, as staff

working in the IMU are in more regular contact with one another than staff in lower custody units.

Custody staff working in segregation units have highly stressful jobs, caused by a wide range of factors. In addition, custody staff also report positive aspects to working in those same units. Understanding this complicated reality is important in order to better understand how stress is related to custody staff's orientation towards rehabilitative reform. While high levels of stress may be related to burnout and increased punitiveness among correctional officers, that stress may be mitigated by other organizational aspects, or unwavering loyalty to fellow officers might perpetuate high levels of punitiveness. In the following sections, I discuss how stressors might be related to punitiveness and rehabilitative orientation among correctional officers.

Punitiveness

As the female correctional officer in the opening excerpt of this chapter noted, punitiveness and receptiveness towards reform varied across custody staff, even within the IMU. As one of the few female correctional officers working in restrictive housing, this respondent highlighted the resistance from other staff to supporting rehabilitation efforts, or "drinking the kool-aid." Though, in the years immediately prior to and during this study, the WDOC had emphasized restrictive housing reforms explicitly incorporating more rehabilitative aims, custody staff expressed a primarily punitive understanding of the role of restrictive housing. In fact, one CO from WCC wrote in their open-ended survey response, "Offenders get too much stuff in IMU. Offenders get treated better than staff." This response illustrates the resistance to reforms, perceived as lessening punishment for prisoners, expressed by staff.

As a proxy for punitiveness, a series of questions regarding perceptions of the IMU and beliefs about prisoners were included in the survey. Survey responses from custody staff revealed negative attitudes towards prisoners in the IMU. When asked about prisoners in the

IMU, 73% of custody staff surveyed agreed that "most *need* to be in the IMU for personal or institutional safety". As one CO from WCC reinforced in their survey response, "I feel that most inmates that are in the IMU need to be here. They are disciplinary problems." Moreover, 80% of custody staff surveyed agreed that "most *deserve* to be in the IMU for something they did". While need implies instrumental use of the IMU to maintain safety, deservedness gets at the underlying retributive and punitive use of segregation. Given the damaging effects of segregation that have been documented, this prevailing belief among staff indicates a mindset that prisoners are deserving of conditions as they are, without significant reform.

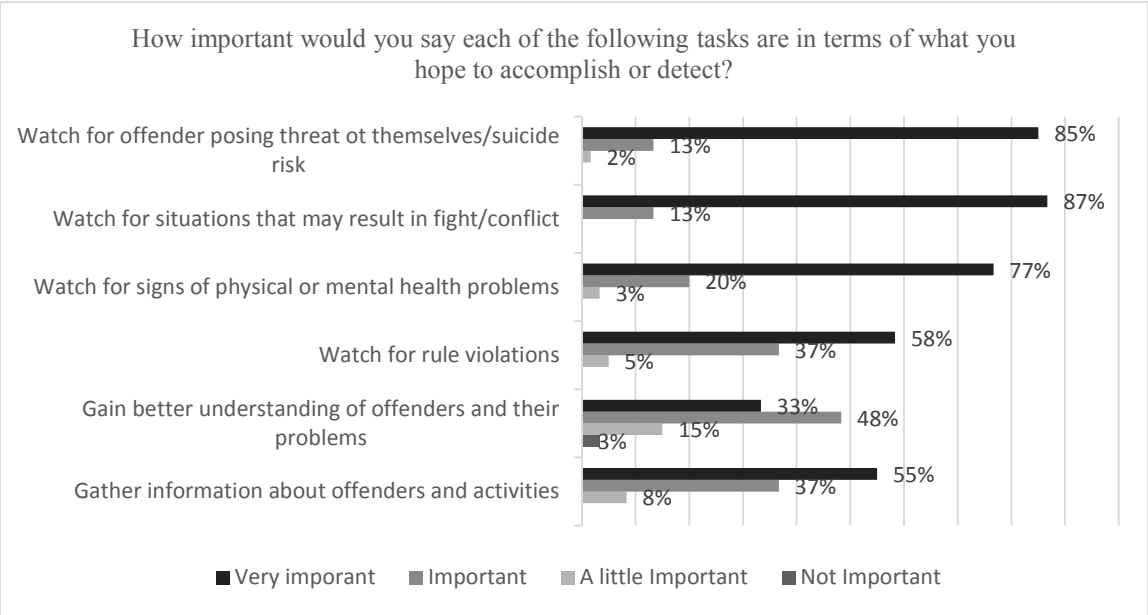
Though only exploratory, data from these survey responses showed that respondents who were more hypervigilant were more punitive. For example, respondent who more strongly agreed with the statement, "in this job, trouble could happen at any time" were also more likely to agree that prisoners *needed* and *deserved* to be in segregation. These findings suggest that that COs who expressed stronger feelings of hypervigilance were more likely to believe the IMU was needed, which may be indicative of increased perceptions of threat or danger overall. For example, a survey respondent from SCCC shared, "My loved ones tell me I need to get out of the IMU because my perspective on humanity has changed. I'm more cynical. I lack the tolerance I once had. I'm impatient and suspect everybody is lying when they talk." As illustrated by this example, the constant state of hypervigilance maintained by COs in restrictive housing may have a wearing effect and, as described, runs the risk of seeping beyond the IMU.

Attitudes towards Reform

Survey responses indicated custody staff prioritized tasks and duties related to safety and security above other kinds of duties, such as communication with prisoners (See Figure 1). This

has implications for willingness of staff to participate in policy reforms that prioritize duties which depart from traditional safety and security concerns.

Figure 1. Task importance on the job (n=60)



Custody staff prioritize observation of potential violence, whether self-inflicted or between prisoners, and signs of physical or mental health problems to maintain safety. Watching for institutional rule violations and gathering intel are secondary priorities. In contrast, "gaining a better understanding of offenders and their problems" was categorized as "Very Important" the least often and was the only task to receive "Not Important" responses. Because many of the recent (and planned) reforms in WA rely on custody staff interacting differently with prisoners and performing different kinds of duties related to rehabilitation, rather than strictly maintaining security, they will require realigning custody staff's stated and perceived priorities while on the job.

Custody staff were asked specifically about their attitudes towards reforms in segregation aimed at: 1) improving their work conditions, 2) positively impacting seriously mentally ill prisoners, and 3) positively impacting prisoners in segregation for violence, gang affiliation, or

other disciplinary reasons. Overall, while most custody staff did report observed positive impacts from reforms on prisoners in segregation for violence or disciplinary infractions, the majority did not perceive any improvements to their working conditions from those same changes. See Table 13 below.

Table 13. Custody staff attitudes towards segregation reforms (n=60)		
	Yes	No
Have changes in this segregation unit improved your work conditions?	16* (26.7%)	41 (68.3%)
Have you seen positive changes in seriously mentally ill or disturbed offenders as a result of treatment programs?	19 (31.7%)	40 (66.7%)
Have you seen positive changes as a result of treatment programs among offenders who are in solitary for typical reasons: rackets, threats of violence, security threat group activities, etc.?	30 (50%)	29 (48.3%)

**Totals may not sum to 100% due to missing responses*

When asked if recent changes to the segregation unit they worked in improved their work conditions, only 26.7% answered affirmatively. In response to the question, "Have you seen positive changes in seriously mentally ill or disturbed offenders as a result of treatment programs?" only 31.7% of custody staff agreed. However, when asked, "Have you seen positive changes as a result of treatment programs among offenders who are in solitary for typical reasons: rackets, threats of violence, security threat group activities, etc.?", 50% of custody staff agreed that they had seen positive impacts. In fact, this is the only category in which affirmative responses were higher than negative, though only by a small margin.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the dimensions of stress that custody staff in maximum custody segregation units experience, as well as mitigating factors. According to respondents in this survey, stressors stem from three main areas: feelings of hypervigilance, managing prisoners with serious mental illness, and organizational issues. Previous studies point to stress as a major

factor contributing to correctional officers' level of punitiveness and willingness to buy-in to rehabilitative reforms. This chapter offers additional knowledge in trying to answer the questions of what are the dimensions of stress custody staff experience, and what kind of stress impact their orientation towards reform?

Along with these stressors, custody staff also reported positive aspects of working in the IMU. That is, working in the IMU may be highly stressful and damaging to custody staff in various ways, but it is also a work environment that many custody staff choose to work in specifically. In sum, this chapter presents findings that suggest both realities exist at same time – COs in the IMU have a stressful job that they also enjoy.

Findings in this chapter are limited in several ways. First, the sample surveyed is too small for statistical analysis and is not generalizable beyond the sample. While valuable to this project as exploratory, surveying a larger, more representative sample would be beneficial to future studies. Secondly, while generally representative of the staff working in WDOC, the sample was largely homogenous, being predominantly male and white. In future studies of correctional officer stressors, efforts should be made to include more female and POC custody staff, as their perceptions of risk and officer peer culture may differ significantly.

Surveying revealed areas for further inquiry, such as custody staff's hypervigilance beyond the prison. This was eluded to in surveys and was asked about explicitly in interviews. In future research on correctional officer stress, risk to safety outside of prison would be important to explore, as correctional officers often live in the same communities where they work and prisoners are paroled to upon release. Additionally, survey responses indicated the need for further research related to the health and well-being of staff, as findings suggests threats to their long-term health and mental well-being are of primary concern, not crisis level violent events

such as murders. Lastly, this survey did not ask about correctional officers' experiences with verbal harassment from prisoners. This aspect of stress is important to include in future research on correctional officer stress.

Taken together, findings presented in this chapter provide the road map for subsequent chapters based on in-depth qualitative interviews with custody staff. These findings reveal that stress is multidimensional and comes from various sources for correctional officers. Further, they also suggest that correctional officers experience positive aspects in their work, which may be important in understanding their motivations behind supporting or undermining rehabilitative reforms.

Chapter 3. Supervisory Personnel's Role in Reformative Policy

If there's something that's really been on my mind, like especially like, dude, when I know the administration doesn't have my back, and I'm working for a place that's treating me like a fool and putting me into a dangerous position, I take that home with me. When this guy's threatening me through the cell all day, and I could give a fuck what he's saying, as soon as I go home, I forget about him. It's all good. But, unfortunately, the strife that I take home with me is the simple fact of like, why am I doing this for people that don't even fuckin' support what I'm doing? That stresses me out bad. – "Alexander," WCC Correctional Officer

Introduction

In Chapter 3, I examine how the relationship between supervisory personnel and custody staff can contribute to staff undermining or supporting the implementation of solitary confinement reforms. To do this, I focus first on *policy introduction*, or the initial communication of a policy reform to staff and typically delivered via an interpersonal interaction with administrative leadership, as the first stage in the policy reform process in which correctional officers' individual and collective perceptions and responses become salient. Then, I discuss how this initial process influences *policy implementation* among correctional officers. While administrators, or supervisory personnel, may influence correctional officers in a number of ways, this specific point of interaction was revealed to be particularly meaningful for correctional officers interviewed. Findings showed that custody staff began to resist or support penal reforms at this early stage, based upon their experiences along three primary factors: 1) *how,* and 2) *why* a policy reform was introduced, as well as 3) *who* communicated it. In this chapter, I examine policy introduction as a varied, subjective experience that sets the tone for the level of receptiveness towards policy reform among correctional officers, separate entirely from the substantive policy change.

In the next section, I will provide a literature review on prison reform and the role of supervisors from organizational theory. Then, I will present the sample and analysis plan used for

this chapter. Following that, I will present findings from my analysis, and end with a discussion of implications.

Literature Review

Supervisory correctional personnel form the primary channels through which policy content is transmitted to lower-level staff and translated into actions, procedures, operations, and services. This makes understanding their role critical particularly when studying institutional policy reform. While existing research on workplace attitudes among correctional workers has focused almost entirely on front-line staff and has largely ignored higher-level supervisory personnel, in the few studies that have focused on supervisory personnel in corrections, researchers found that different managerial approaches significantly impacted the attitudes and beliefs of lower-level prison personnel (Reisig & Lovrich 1998).

While the prison reform literature on individual-level correctional officers' characteristics and their attitudes towards prisoners is mixed (Brosens, De Donder, Vanwing, Dury, & Verte 2014), evidence from studies conducted within the organizational theory field suggests that supervisory custodial personnel play a vital, yet under-researched, role in overseeing operative policy implementation (Society for Human Resource Management, 2016; Jacobs & Olitsky, 2014). Effective leadership is an essential component in any successful institution, including corrections agencies. Previous research has indicated that quality leadership in the correctional environment may be more important than in any other organization (Wilson, 2013). However, research on leadership practices in correctional settings is limited, and, studies that do exist, have focused on high-level administrators, such as wardens or state secretaries, rather than mid-level supervisory personnel (Schofield, 2018). But prison policy reforms, enacted primarily by executive administration, are then passed to mid-level supervisory personnel at the facility-level

to be translated into practice among frontline correctional officers. Thus, these mid-level supervisors significantly influence how policy reform will be received and carried out by staff. However, little research has examined the specific management strategies used by mid-level supervisory personnel in correctional facilities, how these agents are trained across different facilities, or how they navigate situations where staff may be resistant to proposed policy reform (Reiter & Chesnut, 2018). Thus, this timely research helps fill this gap through a careful analysis of the role supervisory personnel play in enacting policy in correctional institutions.

While policy reforms mandated by top-level leadership carry authoritative weight, it is important to consider specifically how and through whom that "weight" is communicated. While correctional officers translate the goals and polices of prison administration into practice, mid-level supervisory personnel are central to institutional functioning, through their influence over correctional officers' attitudes towards correctional goals, administration, and prisoners. Comparing correctional officers' beliefs in treatment and custodial facilities, Jurik (1985) found that officers conformed "to the goals of management" (Jurik 1985), suggesting that supervisory personnel set the tone for operations in correctional institutions. Likewise, findings from Ulmer's (1992) study of approximately 200 frontline correctional officers indicated staff's cynicism towards administration was related to officers' perception of having little influence among their superiors. Likewise, Ulmer's (1992) study also found that correctional officers with lower levels of cynicism were more likely to endorse rehabilitative goals. This suggests that line officer-supervisor relations could be strengthened through increased communication between line officers and superiors, inclusion of line officers' input in workplace decision-making, fostering rehabilitative orientations among officers, and providing officers with more opportunity and support for enacting rehabilitative goals in their everyday work (Ulmer 1992).

Further, there is evidence to suggest that managerial quality determines organizational performance and function in correctional facilities (Dias & Vaughn 2006) and that transformational leadership is significant for supporting both functional employee attitudes and a facilitative climate toward organizational change (DeCelles, Tesluk & Taxman 2013). In a study of 132 Australian correctional officers, supervisor support was found to moderate the relationship between job demands and job satisfaction (Brough & Williams 2007), whereas social support from fellow line officers was not strongly related to either job satisfaction or work-related psychological well-being (Brough & Pears 2004). While a significant body of research in the corrections field has focused on job satisfaction, stress levels, and turnover rates among correctional officers (Armour, 2014; Armstrong, AtkinPlunk, & Wells, 2015; Freudenberg, & Heller, 2016; Graham, 2011; Lambert, Minor, Wells, & Hogan, 2015; Peterson, 2014; Tewksbury, Richard, & Collins, 2006), inadequate research has attended to the role of effective leadership, mid-level supervisors, and communication tone in mediating or exacerbating job satisfaction, stress, and turnover, as this chapter does.

In this chapter, I draw upon interviews with correctional officers in restrictive housing to first discuss the impact of leadership style at the point of policy introduction. I conceptualize two different kinds of leadership approaches used by supervisory personnel at the point of policy introduction: 1) Authoritarian, and 2) Coach/Mentor. In the Authoritarian Approach, In the authoritarian approach, new policy was introduced by a high-level administrator, (or someone else distanced far above staff in the organizational hierarchy), and was rigidly communicated with little to no opportunity for input from staff. Concerns raised by staff were shut down and often met with a dismissive ultimatum. In contrast, in the Coach/Mentor approach, new policy was communicated by a mid-level supervisor, (closely situated to staff in the organizational

hierarchy), using a collaborative communication style. Staff were encouraged to provide input and ultimatums were used as a last resort. These findings have important implications, as more research is needed focusing on the role of mid-level supervisory personnel in order to understand different mechanisms of policy introduction.

Sample and Analysis Plan

In order to better understand how reformative policy has been implemented in WDOC, I draw upon interview data collected from 45 front-line custody staff (correctional officers and sergeants) to provide new knowledge about the hierarchical translation of policy into practice. This sample of correctional staff is a subset of the total sample interviewed (See Chapter 1 for in-depth methodological explanation).

Table 1. Interview respondent demographics, n=45 (correctional officers and sergeants)

	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	39	87%
Female	6	13%
Age		
20-29	6	13%
30-39	20	44%
40-49	10	22%
50-59	6	13%
60+	2	4%
No response	1	2%
Marital Status		
Married or in a relationship	24	53%
Single/divorced	19	42%
No response	2	4%
Race/Ethnicity		
White	38	84%
Native-American & White	2	4%
Multiracial: Hispanic/Latinx & Asian	1	2%
No response	4	9%
Education level		
11^{th} grade or less	2	4%
High school diploma/GED	9	20%
Some college, no degree	19	42%
Associates's degree	6	13%
Bachelor's degree	6	13%

No response	3	7%
Other		
Has children	30	67%
Has military background	12	27%
Has a friend or family member that has been arrested	37	82%
Has a friend or family member that has been incarcerated	29	64%

Analysis of interview data followed the iterative process that characterizes grounded theory (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). After data collection was complete and all interviews were transcribed, a subset of interviews were open coded to identify themes.[30]The initial line-by-line open coding process drew upon themes that emerged during data collection, but were not limited to those that arose during observations or outlined in the interview instrument. The initial open coding process yielded hundreds of codes, which were then collapsed into more general codes. Once initial open coding was finished, I returned to the full body of data – including all staff interviews - to begin the process of focused coding. These codes were collapsed even further during the focused coding process, and organized into ten categories: 1) IMU Relations, 2) Use of force, 3) Safety, 4) Health, 5) Prison work issues, 6) IMU culture, 7) IMU policy, 8) IMU conditions, 9) Enduring the IMU, 10) Miscellaneous. Examples of specific codes from this stage include: discretion, trust, mistreatment, verbal harassment, unsafe, strategies, mental health, physical health, suicidality, overworked, staff buy-in, politics, unit norms, bureaucracy, purpose of IMU, communications, attitude/mindset, coping, stigma, recommendations, and final thought. Focused coding followed a similar line-by-line process to that of open coding, and through that process I paid particular attention to custody staff interviews and emergent themes. For each theme that emerged as prominent during the focused stage of coding, I wrote a memo

[30] The larger research team participated in the coding process of prisoner and staff interviews, including developing the code themes and codebook, pilot coding, and reaching consensus on code application. As the basis for my dissertation research, I was particularly interested in the staff interviews and coded the entire sample.

outlining the theme and its relation to the data. During memo drafting, multiple themes emerged and were later solidified into three areas: 1) the distrust and resentment of prison administration; 2) the ways in which policy reforms were actively undermined, and 3) the perception of restrictive housing policy reform as not only undeserved benefits to prisoners, but also threats to staff safety.

Memo writing continued throughout the focused coding process, with themes evolving as the data revealed nuance. Through this process, the complex and often contradictory perceptions of penal reform held by custody staff emerged. In this chapter,[31] I focus on two experiences of policy introduction identified through this coding process, as shaping perceptions of and responses to reform.

Findings

From the outset of this study, correctional officers expressed resentment and disapproval of the recent policy changes in the IMUs they worked in. This theme emerged time and again across all phases of data collection during the study, as well as in informal conversations and meetings with staff. The correctional staff interviewed for this study described an array of experiences with and perceptions of policy reform introduction. While policy introduction experiences described by correctional officers included references to objective components, such as concrete policy substance, officers focused on subjective experiences shaped by extraneous factors, such as interpersonal and situational dynamics. Analysis of officers' descriptions of policy introduction ultimately revealed that correctional officer's initial perception of a new policy depended not on the substance of the policy, but on their subjective understanding of the policy introduction experience.

[31] Chapter 4 also utilizes this data analysis.

When surveyed about their input and perceptions of policies, most correctional officers across all facilities (63%) agreed or strongly agreed they "often find it difficult to agree with this Department's policies on important issues."[32] During interviews, when asked their opinions about recent restrictive housing reforms, correctional officers often grounded their perceptions in their personal policy introduction experiences, rather than responding to the substantive change. For example, 36 of 45 (80%) interviews were coded for both "conflict with IMU policy" and "tension", denoting the interviewee described their conflict with policy reforms being related to an experience with disrespect or negative interpersonal relationship. Rather than discussing the merits of a particular policy, more often correctional officers contextualized their opinions by describing the dynamics of the initial interpersonal interaction in which a supervisor communicated the policy change, specifically citing the supervisor's communication style and language used as influential factors. I characterize these initial interactions as two different approaches to policy introduction: authoritarian, in which the supervisor uses a unilateral communication-style and ultimatum language, and coach/mentor, where the supervisor uses a collaborative communication-style and input-seeking language. In the following sections, I discuss each of these different policy introduction approaches in-depth, examining how they shape correctional officers' policy perceptions, and, ultimately, their behavior.

[32] See Table 2.1 for survey respondent demographics.

Approaches to Policy Introduction: Authoritarian

Table 2. Authoritarian Policy Introduction and Implementation	
Policy Introduction	
Who introduces policy	WDOC Administration from Headquarters with far hierarchical distance
How policy is introduced	• Unilateral communication-style • Ultimatum language
Reasoning for policy	Little to no reason provided
Policy Implementation	
Emotional response from staff	• Rejection, undervaluing of their expertise and experience • Animosity towards HQ • Futility/Ineffectuality: No say in policy / No one cares about their opinion • Resentment among correctional officers
Behavior response from staff	Undermining policy implementation

In the authoritarian approach to policy introduction, policy change was introduced by a high-level administrator, distanced far above staff in the organizational hierarchy, and was rigidly communicated without opportunity for discussion or input from staff. Further, resistance or concerns raised by staff were shut down and met with a dismissive ultimatum. This method of policy introduction failed to adequately address staff concerns, instead directing apprehensive staff to work in a different unit as their only remedy. For example, when asked about available opportunities to express concerns about new policies, correctional officers felt that their input fell on deaf ears and their only available option was to leave their position:

Interviewer: Is there space for you to discuss? To share your thoughts on the workload? The policy changes?

Robert[33]: **We already have. Nothing. "You don't like it? Bid out.**"

Correctional officers described experiencing this type of authoritarian policy introduction most commonly, and this authoritarian policy introduction engendered lasting, negative emotional responses, such as feelings of animosity, rejection, futility, and resentment. These negative emotional responses heavily influenced correctional officers' perception of policies, resulting in restrictive housing policy reforms being viewed as demanded favors to benefit administration. Consequently, correctional officers often described immediate resistance to implementing "their (administration's). program".

For example, when discussing their opposition to the recent implementation of congregate education programming in segregation, one correctional officer recounted how the delivery of the policy, not the proposed changes, actually generated immediate resistance:

> Well, it's like I said earlier, [administration] make decisions that affect us without consulting us. They want us to do all these changes and stuff without - they don't know what we do. When they were proposing this new education over here, **we had some issues and some concerns, and we brought them up, and [MHA Administrator][34] basically - he stood right there and says, 'If you guys don't like it, bid out.' Well, you want us to promote your program and sell it, and when we don't agree with some of it, that's your answer? Bid out?** Instead of saying, 'Okay, guys ...' **So, there's a rift there between all of his staff, because, like I said, if he's not willing to kind of pull us in and work with us, why should we go out of our way to make it work for him?** … **But if you want us all to buy in, I think you should bring us all in, and let's talk this over instead of saying, 'Bid out if you don't like it.' That's no way to run a unit.**
>
> **-** *Garrett*

In this example, the correctional officer initially became upset at the messaging used by the administrator during policy introduction, not the policy change itself. Because their concerns were dismissed and met with a strict ultimatum, the correctional officer bristled and felt insulted.

[33] Respondents were assigned a random numeric ID number, and fictional names are used.
[34] Anonymized; reference to Mission Housing Administrator based out of WDOC Headquarters in Olympia, WA.

As a result, they rebuffed the policy reform as an act of defiance against administration ("why should we go out of our way to make it work for him?"), characterizing compliance with the policy change as "promote [administration's] program and sell it." This sentiment was echoed by another correctional officer, who described a similar policy introduction experience with administration:

> [MHA Administrator] came up here with somebody, and they were talking about programming in IMUs, **but the way they presented it was, 'hey, this is where we're going. You either get on board or leave, get out.' And so, right off the bat, he's talking to 20 year vets, you know, and he's coming out, like, disrespecting. So, how are you going to get those guys to buy in now when you've built up this barrier right off the bat?"** - *Tom*

Similar to the previous example, this correctional officer highlights the administrator's language and communication-style, rather than the new programming itself, as the basis for their opposition. Specifically, they point out that "the way [administration] presented it" felt disrespectful and dismissive of staff's experience. Consequently, correctional officers again spurned the policy reform being introduced in order to defy administration, not because of the substantive policy.

In addition to being unresponsive to staff's policy concerns, authoritarian policy introduction limited opportunities for correctional officers to have for meaningful input or feedback. Authoritarian policy introduction negatively influenced correctional officers' perceptions of all levels of policy changes in segregation, not just programming. For example, the department's recent move from individual disposable razors to communal electric razors in restrictive housing was a source of contention among custody staff during interviews. While staff were also unhappy about the policy development process, they largely based their disapproval of

the policy change not on the substantive policy itself, but instead on *how* the policy was communicated:

> We went from the orange razors to electric razors. **Well, we didn't get to vote on that. We didn't get to give our two cents of what we thought about it. Just one day, 'This is the plan. This is what it is. You're going to make it work.' It was forced down our throats**. It's a horrible program. It's a waste of money. That's one example of a shot that somebody got to make out of headquarters. - *Quentin*

Because they felt that administration pushed the policy upon them without consultation, this correctional officer was resentful and not bought in to its successful implementation. They were not informed about the policy prior to its introduction, but instead felt that the new policy appeared suddenly. Further, when they attempted to voice their concerns about the policy change, they were shut down and ordered to implement it anyway. As a result of how the policy was communicated, the correctional officer perceived the policy as unwarranted interference intended primarily as an outward show for administration without actual operational benefit.

Further, policy introduced in an authoritarian style with no advance notice or opportunity for staff input was perceived by staff as an extra burden thoughtlessly added to correctional officers' already demanding job roles. Correctional officers interpreted policy introduced as a strict mandate, with no explanation or opportunity for staff to express concerns (besides job relocation), as piling onto their existing heavy workloads:

> Well, if there was any type of leadership, they would know what their troops had or their staff had to do or endure; you know what I'm saying? I mean, without implementing [policy], (they) would ask, 'what are your thoughts on this?' **Not that I have to take it or leave it or anything like that, but just, like, 'what are your thoughts on this?' You know, [instead] it's like, 'well, this is what it is. Here you go.' And throw another brick on the pile.** – *Steve*

Again, correctional officers perceived the method of authoritarian policy introduction as disregarding their input and demanding blind compliance. As such, correctional officers felt

disrespected and devalued, since administration did not prioritize communicating explanatory information to or soliciting input from them. For example, another respondent "Keith" expressed that it would be valuable for them to know the reasoning behind classification modifications of prisoners, though in practice he might never be satisfied with the reasoning provided:

> I mean, sometimes I would like to know why, you know, the rationale behind certain decisions that are made, like, you know, **I would really like to hear justification** for, you know, reducing that guy's mod, you know, modification levels after he had been so bad; you know? – *Keith*

Despite this lack of information and input, correctional officers were still expected to support and enact policy changes on the ground. Consequently, correctional officers resented the new policies and perceived them as additional work heaped on an already stressful job. Of course, even if correctional officers were provided the input requested, it is likely that many would still disapprove of new reforms. But, as discussed in the next section, it would be one less barrier to overcome and achieve buy-in from custody staff.

In addition to discussing how the interpersonal dynamics of authoritarian policy introduction negatively shaped their responses to reforms, correctional officers repeatedly brought up their desire for increased input and communication with leadership about policy changes in restrictive housing. Often, correctional officers described a "disconnect between the top and the bottom" of the institution, characterizing administrative leadership as the "top" and line staff as "unfortunately, the bottom." As such, correctional officers perceived administration as too removed from unit operations to develop informed policy:

> Policy is weird because it's **all dictated from people who either have done this job 14 or 20 years ago or have never done this job**. But yet, none of them ask from input from the people who actually do it. – *Aaron*

Due to their institutional distance from the unit level, staff questioned administration's familiarity with the current demands of working in restrictive housing. Correctional officers regularly pointed to this perceived disconnect between administration and the operational realities of restrictive housing units as an ongoing workplace frustration. Rather, correctional officers believed that their own experience working directly in restrictive housing units would be more valuable for new policy development than administration's:

> [Administration] kind of get removed from it…You get the people that start promoting up, and now, you're dealing more with the paperwork and you're not dealing with the stuff. **But if you're making decisions, you're not dealing with this down here. You really should at least come get input from people.** Before you start implementing something, you should really talk to the actual line staff, people who deal with them… **There are people out here that do, that would have a lot of valuable information, I think, if someone would actually listen to them.** - *Sara*

Staff regularly identified themselves as the most valuable and knowledgeable sources of information relevant to safely developing policy reforms, though overlooked and not consulted by administrative decision makers. Thus, corrections staff were wary of policy reforms developed without their input, viewing them as potential safety and security threats due to their basis on inaccurate information.

Correctional officers not only criticized their lack of policy input, but often discussed their perceptions of administration's motives for not seeking their input; these perceptions further reveal mechanisms thwarting policy reform implementation. Typically, correctional officers characterized the lack of communication between themselves and administration as either *administrative negligence* or *betrayal*. The former reason indicated administrators' passive neglect of correctional officers' input, which, though still perceived as thoughtless and devaluing, was seen as an unfortunate consequence of hierarchical distance. However, the latter

reasoning, administrative betrayal, implied administrators' active distancing of themselves from the lower-level unit staff position for their professional gain.

These various characterizations of administration were often discussed together in interviews, as correctional officers tried to rationalize their perceived lack of input. As captured in the following excerpt, a correctional officer criticized an unpopular recent policy reform based upon their perceptions of administration as lacking important information themselves, failing to gather that information from appropriate sources, and their possible reasoning for doing so:

> We can voice our disagreement, but it really doesn't go anywhere. There's really no avenue for us to say 'Well, we don't think this should be done.' **One, they don't consult the people that deal with them day-in and day-out. They just make the decision and once that's been made, we down in the unit could grouse about it all we want, but we really don't have any say or influence how those kinds of decision are made.** They're made by administrators that haven't been unit staff in a long, long time. **That don't remember, or they forgot where they came from**, in a lot of cases. – *Ted*

In this example, the correctional officer describes their lack of input and meaningful communication with administration during policy development. As reasoning for why they failed to consider correctional officer input, administrative decision makers are perceived as either out of touch with the reality of current operations ("don't remember"), or "forgetting where they came from" as unit staff early on in their careers. These rationales are described as distinct; the former is administration's banal, passive omission of correctional officers' input, while the latter implies active exclusion of correctional officer's input. In using the idiom, "forgot where they came from", this respondent characterizes some administrators as becoming vain and disloyal, forgetting past struggles as unit staff, now having gained success. In fact, this phrasing was frequently used by respondents.

Along with feelings of resentment, these negative perceptions of administration's betrayal and disloyalty heavily influenced correctional officers' responses to policy reforms. In the following excerpt, a correctional officer elaborates on this sentiment:

> And, you know, coming down from on high and making decisions without, you know, asking input…just thinking that you know better doesn't mean you know better, and I think that's the general perception a lot of people on my level have. **Like, 'why are they having us do this? Don't they understand that this is a bad idea; you know?' You know, the option is either they do understand it's a bad idea and they don't care, or they don't know and they're you know, can't be bothered to ask.** – *Keith*

Similar to the previous respondent, this correctional officer felt that their input was ignored by administrators for either of two reasons; administrators are negligent and it does not occur to them to ask staff for their input, or they are uninterested in correctional officers' input and addressing their concerns. To correctional officers, charged with prioritizing safety and security, policies described as "bad ideas" are not just inconvenient or ill conceived; to these officers, "bad ideas" are perceived as safety threats. By extension, an administration perceived as "not caring" about staff input is one that is also unconcerned about correctional officers' safety. This perception further erodes the underlying relationship between administration and corrections staff, when staff believe administration is undermining their interests and putting them in harm's way.

Corrections staff not only distrusted administration; they also felt distrusted by administrators, who failed to seek their input. As this interview excerpt shows, corrections staff expressed their desire to be empowered by leadership, trusted with responsibility, and be included in the decision-making process:

> **[Administration] would have to be willing to understand us and relinquish some control and let us make some decisions.** But I don't see that ever happening…It's just

> that it seems like when something comes down from above, its 'this is what you're doing; this is my way; you're going to do it.' And there's no buy-in from staff. -*Natalie*

Again, administration was criticized for not soliciting correctional officer input or buy-in before making policy reform decisions. As was common among respondents, this correctional officer refers to hierarchical distance as an obstacle to effective communication – "[policy] comes down from above, its 'this is my way; you're going to do it.'" Further, this correctional officer equated decision-making input with administration's level of understanding of correctional officers' job duties and perspectives. In sum, in the common authoritarian-style of policy introduction, unit staff interpreted their lack of opportunity for meaningful input as, at best, administrative apathy towards them. With regards to implications on policy, this leads to correctional officers liking their jobs less, feeling unsafe, and resisting reform, all of which can motivate staff to undermine successful policy implementation.

Conversely, if administrator's sought input from correctional staff and included them in policy decision-making process, as in the coach-style approach to policy introduction, correctional officers were more likely to perceive themselves as valued by administrators.

Approaches to Policy Introduction: Coach/Mentor

Table 3. Coach/Mentor Policy Introduction and Implementation	
Policy Introduction	
Who introduces policy	Facility-level supervisor with short hierarchical distance
How policy is introduced	• Collaborative communication-style, input seeking, and explanation provided • Notice of potential policy changes beforehand • Input on implementation plan
Reasoning for policy	Rationale provided to staff
Policy Implementation	
Emotional response from staff	• Validation • Ownership • Trust
Behavior response from staff	Staff understanding of and increased buy in for compliance with policy

As discussed in the introduction, all correctional officers in this study contextualized their perceptions of recent policy reforms in terms of their subjective policy introduction experiences. As most correctional officers described experiences with authoritarian-style policy introduction and limited communication with administration, staff often called for improved communication with administrative decision-makers:

> You have a fair amount of people writing policies [that are] disconnected from the actual task and not doing the job. And so, I think that **open line of communication with people, telling people how to do the job and the people actually doing the job should**

> **be more open.** I don't know how I would implement that, but that would be - **I think that's important to be successful.** -*Isaiah*

In fact, some correctional officers described policy introduction experiences that included this kind of improved, meaningful communication with administration. In contrast to an authoritarian approach, these correctional officers experienced coach/mentor style policy introduction, where a supervisor communicated with them directly using collaborative, input-seeking language and provided explanations. These kinds of policy introduction experiences were less common among correctional officers, and typically, though not always, involved facility-level supervisors instead of administrators from headquarters. In these interactions, supervisors communicated new information to correctional officers, often before policies were finalized, while also listening to their input and addressing concerns. Correctional officers did not describe feelings of resentment resulting from these policy introduction experiences, nor did they describe the consequent defiance of leadership in practice (described by those experiencing authoritarian introduction).

While all correctional officers in the interview sample drew on their subjective, policy introduction experiences to contextualize their perceptions of new policies, only nine interviewees described experiencing a coach/mentor-style policy introduction. But the majority of these expressed less negative perceptions of recent policy reforms; roughly 77% of those respondents were also coded with "trust" when describing policy introduction.

In the coach/mentor approach to policy introduction, correctional officers were able to express their concerns regarding new policy reforms to supervisors and receive satisfactory explanations in response. Markedly different from the authoritarian approach to policy introduction, supervisors addressed these correctional officers' concerns with *explanation*, rather than *ultimatum*. As these officers also largely based their perceptions of recent policy reforms on

the context of policy introduction, rather than the substantive policy, this difference in policy introduction style engendered fewer negative responses from correctional officers. Further, even when their expressed concerns or suggested changes were not implemented, correctional officers discussed responding positively to at least receiving an explanation from administration. For example, one correctional officer explained their experience suggesting an alternate shower/yard schedule that they believed would be easier for staff to accommodate:

> Suggestions have already been made to administration. For example, I suggested that the facility go back to running yards/showers concurrently with programming. **Explained to administration that this was easier for (staff), but then they explained why they had to separate the days. It was nice to at least be given an explanation from the administration**. – *Jesse*

Here, the administration chose to respond to the correctional officer's suggestion with an explanation of the current policy, rather than dismissing and shutting them down. Although their suggestion was ultimately rejected, this respondent characterized this experience with administration positively. The correctional officer responded appreciatively to administration's communication choice in providing *an explanation*, not the explanation's substance. Again, as was also true in authoritarian-style interactions, the correctional officer is responding to their subjective experience during the interaction, rather than the outcome or substance of policy itself. While administration did not grant the correctional officer's request (which they understandably will often not be able to do), their communication strategy did not provoke extraneous negativity. Even more so, this response from administration actually positively impacted the correctional officer. To the correctional officer, the administration demonstrated respect by acknowledging their suggestions and providing an explanation that satisfied their understanding.

Explanations providing greater understanding of policy decisions not only demonstrated respect, but they also improved correctional officers' perceptions of administrators. When

administrators provided an explanation in response to raised concerns, their demonstration of knowledge ratified their authority and policymaking capacity among correctional officers. For example, correctional officers described how new information from leadership filled in their own knowledge gaps. In one example, the respondent describes their informative experiences raising policy concerns around individualized treatment for prisoners with their shift sergeant:

> Edward: I often talk to my sergeant, and he can - when I say, "why are we doing [that] with this guy?" **Sometimes they know the reason why we're doing it, and I'm, like, "Ooh, I'm stupid. I didn't know we were doing it that way because of this**."
> Interviewer: **But then it's good to know**.
> Edward: **Yes. If I didn't do it, I would just think, "Oh, the sergeant doesn't know what he's doing**."

Because of the significant differences between administrators' and correctional officers' job roles and scopes of responsibility, correctional officers were often, understandably, lacking complete knowledge around policy decisions and the rationale behind them. As seen in this example, the respondent was only able to recognize their own unawareness of policy rationale after discussing their concerns with their shift sergeant. Not only that, the respondent points that out that if they had not inquired about the policy directly, they likely would have made assumptions about the sergeant's incompetence and, consequently, would have developed a negative perception of the sergeant– "Oh, the sergeant doesn't know what he's doing." That is, the sergeant's coach/mentor communication approach of providing explanation both bolstered trust with correctional officers and avoided causing resentment or hostility. In yet another interview, the respondent endorsed their superior's coach/mentor style approach when addressing correctional officers' concerns:

> (quoting their sergeant) **If you disagree with something I do, then we'll talk about it. I may not, you know, agree with your recommendation, and I'm going to say this - nor am I going to be like my way or the highway.** I mean, it needs to be open dialogue.
> *– Blair*

In this example, the responding correctional officer emphasized the importance of their sergeant's willingness to discuss staff's concerns directly, rather than dismissing them with an ultimatum. Again, the correctional officer characterizes these interactions positively based upon *how* leadership communicates, not on the actual decision outcome or substantive policy.

Along with more open communication with administrators, correctional officers spoke appreciatively of situations in which they had been afforded the opportunity for input on policy decisions. Though the correctional officers in this study agreed such opportunities were uncommon, they welcomed occasions to weigh in on policy decisions at any level; from practices on the unit to institutional reform. For example, in one facility, when the policy changed to allow porters on third shift in restrictive housing, administration consulted correctional officers in that unit directly about how to implement the change:

> So, what they did is, the sergeant and the CUS came and talked to the staff and said, **"Who would you guys recommend?** They have to be IMS program. They have to be level four. And they have to infraction-free." **Fine. So, we all picked, as a group**, (REDACTED). He was super polite, model inmate. - *Valentin*

While the correctional staff were not involved in the formal policy decision to install porters on third shift, administrators made room for correctional officers' input and involvement by allowing them to choose who that person would be. By involving correctional officers in that process, they increased staff support for the policy change and their level of buy-in. However, as this correctional officer goes on to explain, when administration changed later on, correctional officers were no longer included in porter selection:

> Valentin: And then, he ended up training out or leaving or whatever, and **then we had a new CUS and a new sergeant, and they just picked probably one of our quietest, dangerous guys we have in our IMU.** And not a lot of people know that about him, so he's a very high-ranking individual for a certain group, and he probably shouldn't get extra duties. I mean, he's

polite, but he's kind of the silent, "I'll stab you in the throat" kind of thing."

Interviewer: **And they didn't ask you guys?**

Valentin: **Nope**.

In this case, the new administration picked the replacement porter themselves, without consulting the unit corrections staff. According to this respondent, that oversight resulted in the mistakenly granting a privileged role to of "one of (the) quietest, dangerous guys", who, though also described as "polite", would "stab you in the throat". Regardless of the actual dangerousness of the new porter the new administrator chose, Valentin perceived the new porter as dangerous, and, more importantly, believed the administrator created a real threat to the safety and security of staff with their authoritarian decision. Where the previous administration built trust with staff by asking for their input, the new administrator, intentionally or not, weakened trust by not doing so. These dissimilar approaches to corrections staff input contributed to correctional officers' negative or positive perceptions of a policy from the outset of its introduction.

In another interview, a respondent described the contrast between different policy introduction methods used by their facility supervisors versus centralized administration:

> [Facility supervisors] try to send us emails and keep us most up to date as possible. Most of the time, they're pretty good about like sitting us down and talking to us, trying to tell us what their expectations are and what the changes are and this and that. Unfortunately, when it's the administration making the changes, then shit rolls downhill onto us. We're told about what we got to do all of a sudden. And you're just like, what the fuck? You know what I mean? -*Alexander*

In this respondent's experience, facility supervisors made an effort to speak with staff and prepare them for coming policy changes. Again, this coach/mentor approach to introduce policy provided an opportunity for staff input and was noted as a credit to facility supervisors – "they're pretty good about talking to us". The respondent then contrasts how policy reforms coming from

administration are introduced; appearing "all of a sudden" and without consideration of their full impact. As commonly expressed by other correctional officers in this study and discussed previously, the authoritarian approach used by administration triggered hostility in this respondent – "And you're just like, what the fuck?"

While authoritarian-style of communication negatively impacted trust between administration and correctional officers, the strategies used in the coach/mentor-style, such as providing explanations and actively seeking unit staff input, fostered ongoing trust building. As the following respondent articulates, when correctional officers felt that supervisors listened to their input, they interpreted that action as trust:

> **[He] just listened to us**, too, because the sergeant, all he has to go off of is what we tell him. So**, he trusts us to bring him the concise, only the pertinent information and not all this other BS. So, he takes our word, and he trusts 100 percent**. -*Valentin*

By listening to correctional officers, the shift sergeant was validating the importance of their expertise. Moreover, by entrusting the correctional officers to determine the "pertinent information and not other BS" to communicate to him, the shift sergeant showed trust in their judgement and empowered corrections staff to exercise discretion. In contrast to the more common authoritarian-style used, this approach included unit staff's meaningful input. Consequently, correctional officers feel valued and trusted by administrators, while also trusting that administrators are basing policy decisions on the "right" information necessary to ensure safety and security.

<u>Strategies for Undermining Policy Implementation</u>

Interviewees who described feeling disrespected, rather than valued or trusted, by their policy introduction experiences went on to describe various strategies they employed to undermine policy implementation: such as burning prisoners on out-of-cell time, breaking rules,

adhering to the letter rather than the spirit of a policy, and encouraging grievances against leadership. Often, correctional officers justified non-compliance or undermining policies as the only way to compensate for a lack of resources, such as staff shortages and time limitations, during a shift. When describing this kind of undermining of policies, interviewees contextualized these strategies as a coping strategy needed to mitigate resource issues, explaining that additional programming and movement required more time and careful planning to try and complete all required movements during a single shift.

For example, one respondent Robert, a middle-aged, male correctional officer from Monroe Correctional Complex, described cutting corners on safety protocols, in order to try and complete an "impossible" amount of movement in the IMU:

> Robert: I mean, in order to maintain the program and have it running according to the times, we have to do things like override doors because we're taking out four guys at once or six guys at once or three guys at once with two escort officers, each. There's only - y**ou can't take on one guy, walk him all the way out the pod, and then walk him all the way out the unit and then have one other guy come off the unit and so on and so on, and then maintain doing everything else that we do and then maintain safety and security; it's impossible.**
>
> Interviewer: So, how do you do it if it's impossible?
>
> Robert: **We break the rules.**

Here, Robert explains how the additional movement required by newly mandated congregate programming is incompatible with existing security protocols. That is, in order to keep the programming running on time and move each of the prisoners required for class, custody staff must cut safety corners, like "override doors." According to this respondent, it is impossible to adhere to safety procedures completely, while also fully implementing the additional movement required by the programming policy reform. In fact, as Robert explains, the only way to reconcile this impossibility is to "break the rules" – or undermine the implementation of policy

as it was written by Headquarters. Because headquarters officials introduced the policy without the input of custody staff on how to successfully implement it, custody staff place the blame for the undermining of policy on administration, rather than taking responsibility on themselves.

In similar examples, respondents pointed to other strategies they used to work around the perceived (or actual) lack of time and staff available in the IMU. For example, one way to successfully complete all required movements for programming during a shift was to reduce other "voluntary" movement, like showers or yards. While prisoners in restrictive housing must be offered a minimum amount of yards and showers each week, they have the option to decline. Further, when offered their yard or shower time at the beginning of each shift, prisoners must answer affirmatively in order to receive it. This process provides custody staff with a loophole to take advantage of, in order to reduce their workload and limit movement. For example, the respondent Keith described how they purposefully tried to reduce movement during their shift, by asking about yards and showers as early as possible:

> So if I can get here a few minutes early, I can run, you know, grab my gear, run down, and go ask the guys in my pod if they want yards or showers, and then I can hand that sheet off to the booth and I've got that out of the way so that I, you know, **I can ask guys if they want yard or shower when they're still kind of sleepy, you're lucky they might say no.** -*Keith*

Here, Keith describes arriving to the dayshift early, in order to ask prisoners about yards and showers as early as possible. While still technically adhering to policy and offering the required out-of-cell time, they are exploiting the fact that people will most likely still be sleeping and won't be able to affirm their desire for shower or yard. However, this strategy, while effective during dayshift, was not useful to those working third shift, or the afternoon shift. Because most prisoners are awake by afternoon, they are alert and able to affirm their shower and/or yard.

Therefore, third shift custody staff described having to flat out refuse out-of-cell time for prisoners when needed, even though it might contradict policy minimums:

> Some of the officers on day shift will purposely refuse someone yard or shower because they can't afford to take that person to yard and shower, because they don't have the time, because they're being asked to do so much other stuff. It don't happen too much on third shift, but we do have to take significantly more individuals to yard and shower, because they're all up. At day shift, they get asked in the morning at like 6:00a if they want to go to yard or shower. Everybody is still sleeping. They might have three or four guys. So, that's the only thing that saved them. – *Valentin*

When a prisoner is "burned," or doesn't receive their yard or shower for the day due to being refused or sidestepped, it often results in the prisoner filing a grievance with the institution. However, custody staff are aware of this and encourage these kinds of grievances, as they provide evidence for their argument that administration are making unrealistic demands on them with the introduction of new policies and programs in restrictive housing units. Like here, where the interviewee Alexander explains how prisoners are advised to direct their grievances:

> It's like our job's hard enough on a eight-hour day to try to figure out how we're going to get all these things done for these guys, all this catering done to these guys, and then to have to stop every half an hour and do these funky tier checks, which means that half of these guys that go on a yard and shower day aren't going to make it because we won't have time. **And then they're going to start filing grievances against [the CUS], because that's who we're going to tell them to grieve because he's the one that's trying to implement that, that they're not getting yard and shower is the reason because you're absorbing so much of our time for useless crap**. – *Alexander*

As Alexander explains, when prisoners are burned on their yards and showers, they ultimately are directed to file a grievance against leadership, as the party responsible. According to custody staff, leadership is to blame for the new demands on staff time and capacity. In turn, staff argue that these new demands cause prisoners to lose out on their out-of-cell time, at the expense of frivolous policies, or "useless crap."

This example of new policies in restrictive housing as "useless crap" leads to the rationale used in the second kind of strategies interviewees described. In these second kind of examples, respondents explained instances of policies being undermined due to the common perception of their uselessness. In this first example, a female correctional officer, Michelle, explains how staff ridicule and rebuke policy collectively:

> Well, the suggestions come from Headquarters and everyone - most people who actually work here hate all the ideas**. So, they print out little internet memes or whatever and post them up about prison stuff.** I mean, I don't know if you saw the sergeant's office. That whole board has got all the - I think they took down all the Kool-Aid stuff. **There was a lot of Kool-Aid jokes about drinking the Kool-Aid. We're all going to get on board with hug-a-thug stuff**. – *Michelle*

Here, Michelle explains how custody staff collectively reject reformative policy in restrictive housing units and bond over undermining them. New policies, such as nature immersion rooms or congregate programming, are perceived as "hug-a-thug stuff," and custody staff undermine their potential successful implementation through symbolic resistance. This type of collective culture pressures all staff within the unit to not buy in to the new policies, or else be ostracized as an outsider. In another example, Natalie, a female correctional officer, explains that policy is often met with immediate resistance and lack of buy in:

> There have been times where a draft would come out - and people would look at it and go 'No, this isn't going to work'. And maybe some feedbacks have been taken; maybe it hasn't, I don't know. **There's always kneejerk reactions that come about after a situation, and we're really good as a group - but whining and complaining about stuff - but we still - at least this group that I work with - we suck it up and we do it, anyway, until we either prove that it's broken or we feel it's been long enough and then we stop doing it.** (laughs) And then we get in trouble later on. (laughs) It's like "Wait, we told you to do this!"" - *Natalie*

As explained in this example, custody staff start out by characterizing a policy as untenable and not worthwhile. Then, they proceed to undermine it, thereby "proving that it's broken" or that they have gone through the motions long enough. This results in a self-fulfilling prophecy, in

which staff prove a new policy is impossible to implement successfully, by refusing to implement it as intended. This initial resistance comes from correctional officers, as well as shift sergeants, who also work directly with prisoners in restrictive housing units on a daily basis. For example, in the following example a female correctional officer describes how the shift sergeant twists the meaning of reform for the rest of the staff:

> It's like a game of telephone. [Administration] try to communicate the goals to the ground troops. **And, as it goes through the chain of command, it gets changed, it gets twisted. And, then it gets to our particular sergeant, and when he delivers that information to the troops, he makes it sound just as terrible as possible and how it's just a waste of taxpayer money…** He just has a really poor attitude about it. He doesn't think these people are worth - well, he doesn't see them as human beings, I think. They're just warehouse meat. There's no compassion. There's no sympathy. There's no - I don't think there's any belief - I don't think he believes people can change. **And so, he thinks, why are we wasting our time?** – *Michelle*

Here, Michelle describes how the sergeant undermines new policies by portraying the policy negatively to the line officers. While Michelle was made aware that new policy was being passed from high-level administration, they pointed out how they attitude of the shift sergeant – another front-line custody staff member – shaped the reforms negatively; that is, the new policy was undermined as a "waste of taxpayer money." While the sergeant characterizes the reforms as wasteful and uses that justification for their resistance, this respondent points to an alternative rationale for their negativity – the undeservedness of prisoners – which will be explored further in the following chapter.

Conclusion

Resentment was widespread among correctional officers, regarding the recent policy changes. Data revealed that those feelings of resentment were tied to two components on the front-end of policy change in WDOC that adversely impacted correctional officers' support for reforms: authoritarian-style policy introduction and a lack of messaging of reform purpose.

Custody staff often tied their support to policy reform to their perceptions of how it was introduced to them. Often, custody staff claimed to desire input on policy development. However, data revealed they actually seemed to desire input on policy implementation, rather than development.

Additionally, correctional officers typically knew little information about the development or purpose of the ongoing solitary confinement reforms. More often, their attitudes and perceptions regarding the segregation policy changes were informed by external factors and experiences, such as who introduced policy to them. Correctional officers described their experiences with policy introduction in terms of both concrete policy introduction event, and their accompanying emotional responses and subsequent actions.

With regards to policy implementation, custody staff often framed their frustration with reforms, in the absence of their own voices in those reforms, as a safety and security concern. Officers described feeling threatened by new policies, and actively wielded the concept of safety and security as a tool of resistance.

Of course, it is possible that correctional officers, particularly in the segregation unit environment, may have entrenched cultures and might find any excuse to undermine reforms, no matter how they might be introduced. While many respondents expressed their desire to have input on policy development ahead of time, when presented with the opportunity to make policy recommendations, most deferred. Findings suggested rather than substantive input, correctional officers were really asking to be heard and for transparency in the process, alluding to not just the messaging surrounding policy reform, but the concept of procedural justice (Tyler, 1984, 1994, 2003; Jenness & Calavita, 2015). These findings provide a better understanding of how a more coach/mentor model might be integral to culture change

Chapter 4. Organizational Climate in Segregation Units and Policy Reform

"Offenders get too much stuff in IMU. Offenders get treated better than staff."
– Correctional officer from Washington Corrections Center

Introduction

Conducting research in prison often comes with lots of idle time, as the time schedule and access are outside of your control. Whether waiting for staff to clear at shift change before entering a facility or waiting for your next interviewee to be escorted down from their cell, much of the time spent in the field consists of waiting. It was during one of these downtime opportunities that I found myself in a side conversation with a WCC IMU correctional officer, where they began to lament about how "soft" the system had gotten over recent years. They argued that recent policy changes provided prisoners with too many rewards ("too much stuff") and did not enact strict enough punishments for behavior. After several minutes, they concluded their rant by exclaiming rhetorically, "Who are prisons built for, anyway?" The timing and tone of this final question implied an obvious answer – prisons are not *for* prisoners. This question stuck with me long after that conversation, as we all know *what* prisons are built for. Prisons are built to punish; depriving people of their liberty for a determined period of time as a consequence of a criminal conviction. In recent decades, prisons are also meant to rehabilitate, if only an aspirational purpose. But, thinking about *who* prisons are built *for* is a different question altogether. Reflecting on my own after leaving the prison that day, my initial answer was that prisons were obviously built for prisoners, as they are the ones incarcerated. However, upon further reflection, I reconsidered the question and what the CO was really asking, or implying; who do prisons serve? Who is the priority in prison? Based on nearly three years of data collection, including conversations, observations, surveys, and interviews, it seemed to me that correctional officers believed prisons should be built *for them*. Put differently, prisons should

serve, or prioritize, correctional officers, not prisoners. This distinction bleeds into attitudes towards policy reform, such as increased programming, as they are perceived as threats to COs' safety and security - is the programming more important than security operations?

In Chapter 4, I examine how the prison organizational climate, or the system of shared goals, structure and practices, influences policy implementation among correctional officers. Specifically, I ask what role does the organizational climate(s) play in shaping perceptions of segregation reform among correctional officers working in solitary confinement? Findings show that custody staff operate with an antagonistic "Us versus Them" organizational climate in prison, that transcends any specific custody unit. This antagonistic work climate shapes the lens through which correctional officers viewed reforms, characterizing them as either "pro-inmate" or "pro-staff" with little overlap. These perceptions filtered out beyond reforms, contributing to the antagonistic relationship between correctional officers and prisoners, as well hostility towards high-level administrators, and the Department overall. Further, this antagonistic climate was even more heightened within the IMU, resulting in correctional officers resenting and being suspicious of reforms, most of which they perceived as "pro-inmate." Lastly, I discuss how the organizational climate contextualized reforms and contributed to correctional officers' perceptions of reforms as weaponized against staff, tools of manipulation, and safety risks.

Washington DOC and Economic Background

In 2008, Washington Department of Corrections faced an unexpected crisis with no easy solution; the state prison system was at capacity and forecasts indicated the need for the costly construction of multiple new prisons over the next several decades, while at the same time the country was hit by the Great Recession, a period of economic downturn marked by some of the highest recorded rates of unemployment and home foreclosures in the United States since the Great Depression (Fligstein & Goldstein, 2014). It is against this backdrop that WDOC began

reforming their most restrictive, solitary confinement units. Though staff preservation and system wide cost-savings was (and remains) a primary driver for correctional administrators in working to reduce their maximum custody population, correctional line staff, unaware of the macro-level causes (somewhat understandably), largely interpreted the resulting changes through their own micro-level, economic shortage-colored lenses.

Though Washington State has historically had one of the lowest incarceration rates in the nation, incarceration rates of males in Washington state prisons had more than doubled in the 30 years between 1978 and 2008, increasing from 220 per 100,000 male U.S. residents to 504 per 100,000 male U.S. residents (The Department of Justice, 2018). In 2006, long-term forecasts from the Washington State Caseload Forecast Council indicated that Washington faced the need to construct several new prisons in the following two decades; about 4,500 new prison beds by 2020 and 7,000 beds by 2030 (Washington State Caseload Forecast Council, 2007). Approximating a new WA prison houses roughly 2,000 offenders, the Washington DOC estimated needing two new prisons by 2020 and three and a half by 2030. With a building cost of $250 million and $45 million per year in operating costs, this presented significant fiscal implications to be considered by the Washington legislative body (Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006). Along with the rising incarceration rate, currently Washington State's Department of Corrections was also struggling to manage Security Threat group (STG) offenders. In March 2008, the West complex at the Washington State Penitentiary (WSP) opened. Shortly after opening the new facility, WDOC decided to house most STG offenders at WSP (Bowman, 2016). Prior to this time, WDOC housed STG offenders at separate facilities. Moving large numbers of STG offenders to WSP created many challenges with the main one being separating

Sureno offenders from Norteno offenders due to a long history of violence when the two STG's come together.

With Washington's incarceration rate booming and volatile prisoner groups being thrust together for the first time and consequently filling the state's largest IMU, WDOC was economically vulnerable and hit hard by the Great Recession. Across the country, nearly every state experienced extreme budgetary shortfalls and governors ordered state agencies, including corrections, to drastically cut spending to meet reduction needs (Mitchell, Leachman, & Masterson, 2017). In Washington, then-Governor Chris Gregoire took significant steps to cut the projected $3.2 billion dollar deficit, including across-the-board cuts to state agencies by 6.3%, or $53 million dollars, (Washington State Governor, Governor's Communications Office, 2008, 2010), consolidating state agencies and integrating correctional services, enacting a three percent pay reduction for state employees through unpaid leave, and eliminating programs such as the Basic Health Plan and Disability Lifeline (Washington State Governor, Governor's Communications Office, 2010). For the WDOC, this resulted in employee furloughs, the elimination of 299 jobs, and the closure of three prisons over two years: Ahtanum View Corrections Center, McNeil Island Corrections Center, and Pine Lodge Corrections Center for Women (Ward, 2010; Washington State Labor Council, 2010).

Despite budget cuts leading to the elimination of many prison programs, including the staffing positions accompanying those programs, over the last decade, WDOC introduced an assortment of policy changes that significantly impacted the operations and population levels within their restrictive housing units. Rather than a proactive comprehensive transformation of solitary confinement units, these policies were piecemeal solutions in response to greater economic and violence problems. However, while policy reforms were enacted to promote safety and provide economic benefits, staff perceived them as threats to both safety and economic well-

being. For example, when discussing their WDOC careers, veteran correctional officers would regularly bring up the recently closed McNeil Island prison facility, as an example of their favorite place to have worked that was taken away; as if wistfully recalling the "good old days." Moreover, these recollections were disconnected from the larger context of economic precarity that forced the closure of the beloved institution. In theory, the reduction in prisons and incarcerated population benefit custody staff long-term as both citizens, by decreasing the prison population, and correctional employees, since limiting the construction budget helps preserve jobs in an economic crisis. However, correctional officers responded to the short-term impact of the programming changes, citing the increased workload of daily operation changes and increased rewards for undeserving prisoners, and the long-term threat to overall job security. This chapter explores how, particularly against the backdrop of economic scarcity brought about by the Great Recession, the exaggerated antagonistic work climate in segregation units shaped custody staff's understanding, and rejection of, policy reforms.

Literature Review

Much like any other hierarchical workplace, policy changes in prison - especially those that call for dramatic shifts in behavior - require broad employee buy-in and strong organizational commitment. In correctional institutions where officers are exposed to multiple job stressors, the resulting stress not only affects individuals' attitudes and outcomes, but it also contributes to an overall uncooperative and antagonistic work climate. Moving beyond the individual correctional officer, this line of inquiry focuses on the role of organizational structures and practices in creating and maintaining a more positive work environment, such that reformative policy can be effectively implemented.

While there is much research on the role of individual-level characteristics and experiences in prisons, an existing body of research utilizing organization theory suggests that the overall environment of an institution may considerably influence how correctional officers experience stress, view supervisory personnel and administrative policy, and, ultimately, treat prisoners in their custody. The concept of organizational climate has a well-established history in industrial and organizational psychology (Joyce & Slocum 1984; Schneider & Rentsch 1988). Frequently defined as the shared perception of the "way things are done around here" specifically with regard to formal and informal agency policies, practices, and procedures (Schneider & Rentsch 1988), organizational climate is believed to be directly indicative of agency goals and defines appropriate means to goal attainment (Bazemore & Dicker 1994; Schneider & Rentsch 1988). More specific to the correctional context, Whitehead and Lindquist (1989:83) held that "organizational structure, goals, and climate" may have substantial impact on the professional orientation of correctional officers and highlighted the importance of including structural and agency-level variables in future research (Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989). Further, findings from a study of correctional officers in a juvenile detention facility suggested that changes in the organizational environment of facilities (e.g. reformative policies and procedures) may more effectively limit a punitive orientation among staff than other strategies (e.g. focused recruitment efforts) (Bazemore & Dicker 1994). Similarly, in their UK study of 73 correctional officers working in a newly designed maximum-security unit for prisoners diagnosed with serious personality-disorders, Bowers, et al. (2006) found a constant negative changeability in workers' attitudes over the long term which could not be regarded as a property of individual officers (Bowers, et al. 2006). Rather, their findings implied the organizational context to be ultimately most determinate in influencing correctional officers' attitudes and suggested focusing

on management, education, supervision, and support of staff, to create a positively functioning unit (Bowers, et al. 2005; Bowers, et al. 2006).

To this end, recent studies have begun to explore the relationship between specific stress-inducing work characteristics in prisons and overall organizational climate. For example, studies have found that the militaristic structure of correctional institutions, the use of shift-based working hours, and the tension created by incompatible demands between administration and prisoners contribute to the experiences of occupational stress for correctional officers (Moon & Maxwell 2004; Morgan et al. 2002). Similar to findings in the psychological stress police literature, occupational stress has been strongly linked to higher levels of anxiety and depression among correctional workers, even more than their actual experiences of stressful work encounters (i.e. negative interactions with prisoners) (Brough 2004; Gehrke 2004; Hart, Wearing, & Heady 1993).

Sample and Analysis Plan

In this chapter, I draw upon interview data collected from 45 front-line custody staff (correctional officers and sergeants) to provide a deeper understanding of the role of organizational climate in restrictive housing units and how the overly exaggerated "IMU mindset" shapes correctional officers' perceptions and critiques of policy reform. This sample of correctional staff is a subset of the total sample interviewed and is presented in Table 1 below. (See Chapter 1 for in-depth methodological explanation; See Chapter 3 for in-depth description of coding process).

Table 1. Interview respondent demographics, n=45 (correctional officers and sergeants)

	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	39	87%
Female	6	13%

Age		
20-29	6	13%
30-39	20	44%
40-49	10	22%
50-59	6	13%
60+	2	4%
No response	1	2%
Marital Status		
Married or in a relationship	24	53%
Single/divorced	19	42%
No response	2	4%
Race/Ethnicity		
White	38	84%
Native-American & White	2	4%
Multiracial: Hispanic/Latinx & Asian	1	2%
No response	4	9%
Education level		
11^{th} grade or less	2	4%
High school diploma/GED	9	20%
Some college, no degree	19	42%
Associates's degree	6	13%
Bachelor's degree	6	13%
No response	3	7%
Other		
Has children	30	67%
Has military background	12	27%
Has a friend or family member that has been arrested	37	82%
Has a friend or family member that has been incarcerated	29	64%

For each theme that emerged as prominent during the focused stage of coding, I wrote a memo outlining the theme and its relation to the data. During memo drafting, multiple themes emerged and were later solidified into three areas: 1) the distrust and resentment of prison administration; 2) the ways in which policy reforms were actively undermined, and 3) the perception of restrictive housing policy reform as not only undeserved benefits to prisoners, but also threats to staff safety.

Memo writing continued throughout the focused coding process, with themes evolving as the data revealed nuance. Through this process, the complex and often contradictory

perceptions of penal reform held by custody staff emerged. In this chapter,[35] I focus on how correctional officers experience the work climate in restrictive housing units and demonstrate how those experiences impact their perceptions of policy reform along three areas identified through this coding process.

Findings

Solitary confinement units are commonly believed to house the most dangerous prisoners, or the "worst of the worst," earning the units, and the staff who work within them, distinctive reputations. Respondents commonly referred to the need for exceptional mental strength to work in restrictive housing – "you have to have a certain mindset to work here." While there exists an antagonistic "us versus them" work climate in prison generally, this organizational climate was amplified within the IMU. This amplified climate provides the lens through which correctional officers viewed restrictive housing reforms. In the following section, I first discuss how the highly antagonistic "us versus them" climate of the IMU plays out between correctional officers and prisoners, non-custody staff, administration, and the Department generally. In this context, I find that correctional officers perceive reforms as running counter to their unique job role; that is, correctional officers perceive reforms as attempts to change what the purpose of their job is, and how they are able to perform their job duties.

In the next section of findings, I organize around three levels of critique from staff regarding reforms. First, correctional officers often expressed resentment and disdain towards prisoners in the IMU – the "worst of the worst" – receiving additional benefits or services, as IMU prisoners were perceived as the least deserving of the undeserving, while staff, on the other hand, are deserving (though they are treated as dispensable cogs). Second, correctional officers

[35] Chapter 3 also utilizes this data and is focused on the memo examining the ways in which staff undermined policy reforms.

perceived prisoners' getting anything additional in segregation as taking away from staff. Grounded in the concept of less eligibility, correctional officers extended this critique to claim direct harm, in terms of resources being allocated away from staff (i.e., training or additional staff). Third, correctional officers consistently perceived the reforms in solitary confinement units as direct threats to their own safety and livelihood; giving prisoners in segregation anything additional (i.e., programming, commissary) actively endangers staff. For example, correctional officers described how prisoners in the IMU leveraged various policy reforms as opportunities for weaponization against staff and tools of manipulation.

Finally, these critiques are situated against a backdrop of economic precarity. Staff described reforms as prioritizing prisoners' needs above their own, rather than implementing policy changes that contributed to a safer environment for everyone. Staff never acknowledge any reform can benefit both prisoners and staff, despite the reforms being meant to benefit both. In sum, these critiques imply intentionality of reformers, or at the least negligence, and renders reform impossible, not because staff are actively resisting, but because they cannot imagine a safe reform.

IMU Mindset – Exaggerated "Us v Them"

The antagonistic organizational climate of "us versus them" emerged in nearly every interview and underpinned many of the respondents' arguments against segregation reforms. This mindset played out in various ways, including how correctional officers related to prisoners, non-custody staff, administrators, and the Department of Corrections at large. Comparing themselves against these bodies, correctional officers described their resistance to reforms, as attempts to change their unique job role and operations. More specifically, respondents expressed their belief that their job role was to punish ("hold accountable") and control, not rehabilitate

prisoners. In sum, rehabilitative reforms were perceived as antithetical to *how* correctional officers do their job (immediate control) and *what* their job is (to maintain safety and security).

Not our job

In the context of a highly antagonistic work climate, correctional officers perceived reforms as oppositional to *how* they do their jobs. When discussing their thoughts about recent reforms, respondents would often describe them as contrary to their fundamental job role – enforcer and punisher. Correctional officers' primary objective is to maintain safety and security within the institution, controlling prisoners' behavior and responding to threats, often through physical force. Not surprisingly, correctional officers in this study primarily identified their job role as existing in a mutually antagonistic relationship with prisoners, who, in their eyes, universally have nefarious intentions, "Our job is to try to hold them accountable for their actions, and their job's to try to manipulate you." – (*Sara)*[36] Respondents often used the vague term "hold them accountable" when describing their purpose while surveilling and interacting with prisoners at work. Of course, maintaining accountability for prisoner behavior could include a broad spectrum of responses, including incentives or therapeutic interventions. However, further discussion would often reveal more specific, punitive mechanisms for enforcing "accountability." For example, one respondent described, what they believed were, correctional officers' true preferences for how to "hold them accountable":

> The COs want to see consequences for inmate behavior, and sometimes we want to thump the inmates. We really do. I really enjoyed cell extractions. I've got to be honest. It reminded me of football in the Marines a little bit. You know, I didn't shoot anybody, but I mean, like, it was - there's a lot of violence, and there's a certain level of adrenaline you get when you do that stuff.- *Johnny*

[36] Interviewees were assigned a random ID to protect anonymity and confidentiality. Pseudonyms are used in text.

As this respondent candidly admits, in their role as a correctional officer they preferred, and actually somewhat enjoyed, using physical force in interactions with prisoners. This aligns with their antagonistic mindset, as prisoners are perceived as a threatening enemy to be subdued or conquered as quickly as possible, as well as their understanding of their objective, to maintain safety and security as completely as possible. As correctional officers' organizational position limits their scope to only the unit they work in, they don't have a holistic view of the system overall. And, as the use of physical force is well within their discretionary toolbox, it follows, then, that it may be the preferred mechanism of accountability, as it is immediate and assured, rather than alternative responses with delayed consequences. This antagonistic mindset, though, can run counter to achieving sustainable safety and security, as well as the formal rehabilitative and public safety goals of the institution. As Johnny, the previous respondent goes on to express, this combative, antagonistic mindset can actually undermine safety goals and cause harm:

> The downside is, is it actually good for everyone to do that stuff, you know what I mean? No. The answer is no.

As this respondent articulates, even though engaging in "that stuff" – adrenaline filled violence – might be preferred by correctional officers, ultimately it is more harmful and not "good for everyone." Continuing, Johnny described the difference, and often conflict, between what correctional officers' *can* do and what they *should* do, in their efforts to maintain safety and security:

> Like, if we don't have to do it, we shouldn't be doing any of that stuff. COs are saying in that situation they are following the literal, verbatim rules. But are they following, like, the 8th amendment? … It's, like, are they actually following what the most ethical way to respond to this is? And that's the part they don't really talk about here at work a lot, but, like, 8th amendment, you know, no denial of the human rights stuff. … And what it is, I almost guarantee it's, like, a CO - it'll be a guy following the literal, exact wording of the rules with a certain inmate, and it's, like, what is the

> achieved outcome? Is this guy going to stop behaving in that way, or is it going to control the situation the best way, you know what I mean?

This respondent draws a distinction between operating strictly according to institutional rules in a situation – what COs have discretion to do, and considering broader ethical standards, such as the 8th amendment - what COs should do. For example, in a situation where a prisoner is refusing to comply with a directive, COs may be allowed to use force to respond, but is that the most ethical and beneficial response to use? Under the 8th amendment, invoked by this respondent, does that violent response constitute cruel and unusual punishment? The respondent reframes this dilemma and suggests COs should consider the "achieved outcome" when responding to a prisoner; is the goal control in the moment, or eventual behavioral change? Will that response increase safety? As Johnny drives home, they sometimes felt tension between strictly adhering to policy, and keeping the larger systemic goals, or "mission" in perspective:

> The mission has to come first, in my mind, as a jar head. But on the other hand, you know, that exact, literal interpretation of the rules, you know, sometimes that's not beneficial, because it's not going to work out the way you want. It'll be - you'll literally cause more harm than good in that way, you know what I mean? Like, I don't feel like we're a treatment facility at all, even though, maybe, mental health's job is to do that. But we really do have to at least be ethical as we can, you know? I don't want to lose my humanity doing this job.

Ultimately, this respondent concludes that operating under strict job role definitions to control a short-term situation using force can result in increased harm overall; the opposite of the desired outcome as it undermines both immediate safety and security, as well as broader rehabilitative goals. Further, they imply that correctional officers should try and utilize the most ethical response whenever possible, instead of capitalizing on their discretion to act more harshly.

Because of this underlying antagonistic climate wherein custody staff are primarily rule enforcers and use control to maintain safety and security, COs also perceived policy reforms

aimed at rehabilitative goals as falling outside the scope of their job, or running counter to *what* their job purpose is. When discussing their job roles as custody staff, respondents often categorized their work distinctly by contrasting it against that of non-custody staff (medical, mental health, programming, etc.), For example, when asked about their perception of current programming being offered, one respondent stated:

> I really don't know the, you know, programming things in there because **the line between custody and non-custody and who deals with that is actually pretty thick**, so, I mean, usually we come here and we have to do our job, which is, you know, the yard showers and all that and, you know, guys say they program, and we don't have time to figure out what they're programming. I mean, **that's not our job description.**
>
> *- Christopher*

This respondent classifies programming as the responsibility of non-custody staff, as they are the ones "who deal with that." This was not limited to non-custody staff who facilitate programming, but also included keeping track of which prisoners were participating in various programs. Though custody staff is responsible for monitoring all movement, including to and from programming, this respondent prioritizes tasks such as "yards (and) showers" and perceives programming as "not our job description." This delineation of responsibilities between themselves and non-custody staff reflects how COs perceive themselves primarily as agents of control, rather than rehabilitation. As another CO, Gavin, described, "Well, [non-custody staff] see the inmates more as people they're working with, (rather) than as the keeper and the kept, as we call it, you know?" As such, because of their existing antagonistic relationship with prisoners, custody staff perceived reforms aimed at improving conditions for prisoners in the same antagonistic manner. Thereby, correctional officers absolved themselves of responsibility in facilitating such policy reforms.

<u>Pro-Staff or Pro-Inmate</u>

Resentment and Disdain in the IMU

In the IMU, because of the high custody level and perception of dangerousness, the divide between "pro-inmate" and "pro-staff" is even more fortified. The IMU setting requires multiple daily interactions between custody staff and prisoners, as prisoners cannot leave their cells without shackles and escort, and they rely on custody staff to bring food, clothing, and any other necessary items. At the same time, correctional officers maintain a constant state of hypervigilance as they regard prisoners in the IMU as the most dangerous. This combination of correctional officer disdain for IMU prisoners and frequent interpersonal interactions, creates a heightened "us versus them" IMU climate. Where correctional officers generally criticized rehabilitative reforms for providing unearned benefits to prisoners, in the IMU correctional officers were especially resentful of reforms in part because of the kind of prisoner believed to be in restrictive housing:

> It's just these guys, in my opinion, they're in here for more than likely being in trouble or being a problem, so why bring - why give them privileges other than what they're allowed, like their yards and stuff like that? - *David*

Correctional officers, like the previous respondent, believed prisoners in the IMU to be especially undeserving of privileges and services provided by recent reforms, compared to even other prisoners. Echoed by another respondent:

> But I think that segregation is a good thing. I think that sometimes they need it. But as far as putting inmates on a pedestal with the programs and, "I have level four, and I get a TV," and there's medium custody guys that barely get to listen to the radio. – *Valentin*

For this respondent, segregation is a necessary, beneficial tool in corrections, to house especially "bad" prisoners. The respondent reveals their resentment towards improved conditions for prisoners in segregation by equating it to "putting inmates on a pedestal." Further, they draw a comparison between prisoners at various custody levels, arguing that prisoners in segregation

may unfairly have better conditions than a lower-level prisoner, " '[they] get a TV,' and there's medium custody guys that barely get to listen to a radio." And while correctional officers were resistant to any additional "pro-inmate" reforms generally, including those for medium custody prisoners, reforms aimed at prisoners in the IMU were perceived as particularly undeserved. Though all prisoners are convicted criminals serving a punishment, prisoners in the IMU were viewed as extra troublesome or dangerous, and therefore even less deserving of additional consideration and benefits.

As in previous interviews, respondents judged the worthwhileness of reforms in direct relation to themselves, not only on a reform's anticipated impact on prisoners. In the IMU, however, this sentiment was exaggerated, and respondents based their opinions about reforms, at least partially, on their perception of how much prisoners respected correctional officers:

> I don't - programming is - it is what it is, really. If it works for one guy out of the eight, then cool, but it didn't work for the seven other ones, and those are the ones we have to worry about. So a lot of these - my opinion is a lot of these guys that are in here for a while, they just feel entitled to stuff. They have to live here, but we work here. It shouldn't be what the offender says goes, it should be what the COs directives were.
>
> - *Patrick*

In this excerpt, the respondent criticizes recent programming reforms for two separate reasons. First, they argue that programming only positively impacts a minority of participating prisoners, and the majority that "it didn't work for" are still left in the IMU to be worried about. However, the respondent then shifts from criticizing programming based on its ineffectiveness, to instead on how receiving additional benefits and services, like programming, impacts prisoners' behavior, "a lot of these guys that are in here for a while, they just feel entitled to stuff." While correctional officers in restrictive housing would regularly acknowledge their duty to provide prisoners with "what they have coming" in terms of property, food, and services, the perception that prisoners were entitled to, or had the right to expect or demand, anything, violated the

antagonistic IMU climate. This criticism was not based on the substance of a reform, but rather on the perception that "pro-inmate" reforms endowed prisoners with power and importance, which is a direct threat to correctional officers and is not considered "pro-staff." This is highlighted in the previous excerpt, when the respondent explains, "[prisoners] have to live here, but we work here. It shouldn't be what the offender says goes, it should be what the COs directives were." For this respondent, reforms resulted in tension between what "the offender says" and CO directives, which diminishes correctional officers' authority and discretion. The respondent goes on to explain this struggle further:

> But, yeah, that's kind of the feel with a lot of these guys are in programming because they're not - you get a couple that are appreciative and will treat the officers with respect, and then you get the ones that just feel like they're entitled. And then once they hear 'no,' you would think that they own DOC and they're part of Headquarters because they'll sit there and try to grieve you. Then all of a sudden, instead of [the grievance] being thrown out for something stupid, you're getting questioned on it. - *Patrick*

This respondent judges the worthiness of programming against the perceived level of respect and gratitude displayed by prisoners towards correctional officers. For this respondent, respectful and appreciative prisoners are distinct from those who act "entitled;" the former are subservient, and the latter challenge the prison hierarchy by believing themselves to be inherently deserving. In this example, the respondent implies that latter prisoners are behaving in a hoity-toity manner, or above their station, by challenging the discretion of correctional officers when they have been denied something, "you would think that they own DOC and they're part of Headquarters because they'll sit there and try to grieve you." Even though the grievance system is the primary, and often only, mechanism for prisoners to advocate for themselves or report staff misconduct institutionally, this respondent was frustrated by the audacity of prisoners who utilized it. Moreover, the respondent complained about the grievance process, in which they expected the Department to universally dismiss prisoners' complaints and back up officers. By even being

questioned, the respondent implied Department betrayal, or leaning "pro-inmate" rather than "pro-staff."

When asked what reforms they would like to see in the IMU, correctional officers centered themselves and suggested changes aimed at increasing staff safety primarily, rather than conditions of confinement. In line with the "pro-inmate" versus "pro-staff" work climate, these suggestions were discussed as benefitting staff without regard for prisoners:

> We have a lot of great ideas that would help improve the IMU, as officers, but it's all security standpoint. So, none of it is offenders' programming, so none of it benefits the offenders. It really just benefits us, which is kind of selfish, but I also want to go home every day. And I want my partners to go home every day. And I want them to see their kids, and I want them to hang out. I don't want them worried about getting poop thrown on them or piss thrown on them and all that stuff. - *Valentin*

As this respondent reiterates, improvements from a security standpoint and reforms targeting prisoners are perceived as mutually exclusive. For correctional officers, policies are "pro-inmate" or "pro-staff," never both. Because of the high perceived level of dangerousness and vulnerability to assault in the IMU, correctional officers, understandably, prioritize their immediate safety above all else, "it really just benefits us, which is kind of selfish, but I also want to go home every day." Though reforms aimed at improving conditions in the IMU or addressing underlying causes of violent behavior are meant to improve safety overall in the long-term, this is not recognized by staff.

Correctional officers were even more critical of reforms aimed at providing prisoners in the IMU – the "worst of the worst" – with additional benefits or services, compared to prisoners in lower custody units. As IMU prisoners were perceived as the least deserving among the already undeserving, correctional officers often expressed resentment towards recent reforms and disdain towards prisoners. Respondents also criticized reforms based on their perceived impact on prisoners' behavior towards correctional officers; reforms empowered prisoners. In the next

section, I examine how correctional officers were suspicious of reforms in the IMU, questioning their efficacious and the motivating factors behind their implementation.

Feeling Dispensable

In the context of an antagonistic "pro-inmate" or "pro-staff" work climate, correctional officers also described feeling undervalued, or dispensable, to the Department, as they perceived recent reforms to be sympathetic to prisoners, and therefore, by definition, unconcerned with or conflicting with staff interests. Respondents expressed feelings of being dispensable to the system, arguing that administrative leadership did not value the safety of staff:

> Really disheartening. Just goes to show that it's not really about safety and security… I'm a number. He's a number. We're just a number. Plug them in. Get a shift. Let's go home."
> -*Robert*

This respondent's description likens correctional officers to identical cogs in a machine, interchangeable and of little unique value. Further, they expressed doubt regarding the intended impact of reforms, claiming "its not really about safety and security" and insinuating ulterior motives.

Respondents also expressed these negative sentiments when discussing how recent "pro-inmate" reforms increased their workload and threatened their feelings of safety. In the following excerpt, a respondent pointed to the combination of reductions in institutional resources and increased programming for prisoners as evidence of administrative leadership's disregard for staff's safety and wellbeing:

> I think a lot of it has to do with the reduction of staff in here. That was a big stumbling point and, because extra staff, you know, spreads the work out a little bit and makes things a lot easier, especially when you're dealing with the unexpected in emergent situations. Then, you know, the changing of the schedules and, you know, the other big thing with the removal of staff is the addition of programs; you know? So it seems like the classic managerial approach of do more with less, and that's, you know, never well received by the people that have to do the more with less."-*Keith*

While previous respondents criticized the implementation of programming (and other reforms) because of their perceived benefit to prisoners, this respondent is critical of programming because of the resulting increased workload. Because correctional officers are responsible for monitoring movement, or escorting prisoners individually in higher custody units, increased programming for prisoners results in additional labor for staff. While this additional work might generate some resentment among custody staff on its own, this respondent contextualizes their complaint against programming by bringing up recent staffing cuts and scheduling changes, "the other big thing with the removal of staff is the addition of programs, you know?" For this respondent, the issue is the combination of additional "pro-inmate" labor, and the reduction of "pro-staff" resources. Taken together in the already antagonistic climate, this provides support for and reinforces custody staff's perception that administrative leadership do not prioritize staff and are unconcerned about their safety and wellbeing, "it seems like the classic managerial approach of do more with less."

In some interviews with correctional officers, administrative leaders were characterized as actively prioritizing prisoners' wellbeing over correctional officers' needs and safety, rather than just being indifferent or unconcerned. In the following excerpt, Valentin describes their belief that as someone's hierarchical position in the Department moves higher up from line staff, they adopt a more "pro-inmate" orientation:

> So, the CUSs, once you start getting higher up, they start to lean towards the inmates instead of their staff, which, I mean, I can understand it. I'll never fully be okay with it, but I understand why they need to listen to the inmates and the staff. But mostly the inmates, because that's their job. At Headquarters, all Headquarters cares about are the inmates. They don't care about us. They give us a paycheck. We're just here to keep people locked up. All they care about is their recidivism rate and their violent crime in prison. That's all they care about. They don't give a shit about anything else, which is fine. It don't bother me at all. They still pay me. But it bothers a lot of people. It bugs people. – *Valentin*

The CUS, or Custody Unit Superintendent, oversees an entire housing unit at a particular facility, while higher-level administrative leadership work out of "Headquarters," centrally located in Olympia, WA. In WDOC, the CUS is removed from day-to-day operations on any one specific tier but is still connected to a specific facility and unit. Compared to leadership working at Headquarters, who is based far from any facility and must spread their in-person time across the entire system, the CUS is only somewhat removed from line staff, but is proximally near and frequently visible. The respondent uses these two leadership positions to illustrate their belief that one's "pro-inmate" or "pro-staff" orientation shifts as they climb the organizational ladder. In the CUS position "they need to listen to the inmates and the staff. But mostly inmates, because that's their job" By the time someone reaches Headquarters, their orientation has shifted completely and "all Headquarters care about are the inmates. They don't care about us." The respondent continues their disparaging characterization of Headquarters and makes the accusation that "all they care about is their recidivism rate and their violent crime in prison. That's all they care about. They don't give a shit about anything else…" And while they end by claiming to be unbothered personally, their bitterness towards Headquarters is palpable.

Correctional officers in this study described working in a strong, antagonistic "us versus them" climate, in which everything is interpreted through a strictly "pro-inmate" or "pro-staff" lens. As such, reforms targeting prisoners were perceived as counter to correctional officers'

jobs, granting unearned benefits on undeserving prisoners at the expense of staff, and a sign of the overall prioritization of prisoners and dispensability of staff. In the next section, staff extend their critique of reforms as not only undeserved privileges for prisoners, but that they siphon resources away from staff.

Reforms siphon resources away from staff

The antagonistic "us versus them" work climate also extended to high-level administration, and the entire WDOC system. Organizational factors, such as staffing concerns, pay cuts, workload, and negative perceptions of leadership, were often brought up by respondents as highly stressful factors contributing to an overall antagonistic climate, in which they expressed feeling their jobs were undervalued and dispensable to the Department. It is within this context that respondents discussed the Department's recent efforts to enact various policy reforms, characterizing them as either "pro-inmate" or "pro-staff," rather than potentially beneficial to both populations. Respondents not only perceived these reforms to be aimed at solely benefitting prisoners, but considered them in terms of how they shifted the priorities of prison, and, by extension, the correctional officers working within it. One respondent employed a fitting metaphor to describe this perceived tension:

> The prison is a **pendulum that swings back and forth, and it's kind of like it will go pro-staff or pro-inmate**, and when I say pro-inmate, it's they get handed everything. And the pro-staff for us is, like, we're actually operating as a prison where [prisoners] are not getting handed all this. – *Christopher*

Here, the implication is that "pro-inmate" reforms are providing benefits and services too easily, where prisoners "get handed everything." In contrast, in a "pro-staff" prison, or one "actually operating as a prison," prisoners do not passively receive unearned benefits – "getting handed all this." Though not explicitly stated, this characterization implies that a "pro-staff" prison centers

punishment, where prisoners only receive what they earn, while a "pro-inmate" prison does not prioritize punishment, but rather rewards prisoners by providing unearned benefits freely.

Correctional officers also characterized reforms as "pro-inmate" or "pro-staff" based on their own cost/benefit determination. Drawing heavily upon economic arguments and language, custody staff situated policy reforms within a larger zero-sum framework, in which the system not only awarded valuable (unearned) benefits to prisoners but did so at the cost of staff. For example, during casual conversations over multiple facility visits, correctional officers often discussed programming as overly "taxing," "wasting" already-scarce resources, and/or "costing" staff safety and security.[37] Further, this economic framing extended to correctional officers' understandings of deservedness, accountability, and their collective identity within the larger prison context. Improved conditions, like additional property allowances, and access to services in maximum custody units, such as increased mental health services, were described as "unearned" benefits that prisoners did not have to "pay" for and, therefore, didn't deserve. In the following excerpt, one correctional officer criticized the "free" medical care provided to prisoners after acts of self-harm, such as stitches, by contrasting it against the higher cost of their own medical benefits, as an example of prisoners unfairly receiving more than someone else more deserving - themselves:

> It's just - the whole system, I mean, the whole system I don't agree with. I don't agree with that any time these guys hurt themselves or whatever that, I mean - there's guys in here that will bang their head up against the wall and split themselves open. Guess what? They get 12 stitches. They don't have to pay for a single thing. I do. I cut myself and I have to go get stitches. I have to pay, like, 20 percent of it still. – *Patrick*

Though responsible for ensuring safety, including keeping prisoners safe from themselves if necessary, this respondent criticized the Department for providing necessary medical care to

[37] Observation notes on file with author

prisoners following acts of self-harm. Importantly, their disapproval is rooted in an economic understanding of deservedness. The respondent holds the self-harming prisoner responsible for their injury (with no mention of mental health status), and connects that to responsibility for payment; because the injury was self-inflicted ("split themselves open"), the respondent implies that the prisoner does not deserve free aftercare. The respondent goes on to compare this situation to their own lives, arguing that prisoners don't deserve free medical care, when they have to pay for theirs, "They don't have to pay for a single thing. I do. I cut myself and I have to go get stitches. I have to pay, like, 20 percent of it still." Put simply, prisoners don't deserve free medical care because correctional officers don't receive free medical care. While based in false information, since prisoners do in fact pay for medical care and an injured correctional officer would receive necessary medical care at an emergency room without upfront payment, this statement reveals how correctional officers perceive reforms that improve conditions and services for prisoners as unearned economic benefits they don't deserve, especially compared to correctional officers. Patrick continues to expand upon this economic framing, arguing prisoners should be "held accountable to their punishment" by being taxed by the Department:

> It's not so much about holding these guys really account - accountable and hold them, you know, to their punishment. It's more - it's more, like, 'let's rehabilitate them, let's get them ready to be released,' and that part is kind of scary. You're setting them up for failure, my opinion. They don't have to pay taxes. These guys will be ripping up their clothes and stuff like that, and nothing is being - they don't have to pay for it and stuff like that. I have my buy my clothes. Why isn't there some sort of tax? If they get money put on their books, why is there not some sort of tax taken out that goes back to the state that actually goes to schools or goes to, you know, to help clean up communities.
>
> *– Patrick*

Like their previous argument made about free emergency medical care, Patrick's belief that prisoners are not taxed is incorrect. In Washington state, taxes and legal financial obligations are

deducted directly from the wages, gratuities, or benefits prisoners receive.[38] In fact, while incarcerated, prisoners contribute payment to the crime victims' compensation account, legal financial obligations owed to any Washington state superior court, any civil judgement for assault in any Washington state superior court, child support, and to the Department to contribute to the cost of incarceration. To the respondent's point, these payments are also deducted from any money on a prisoner's books, above the indigency level ($10 maximum). Regardless of this truth, this respondent operates under the belief that prisoners are not economically burdened, and therefore are not "being held to their punishment," but rather are being "rehabilitated." However, the respondent is also doubtful of this effort by the Department, "'let's rehabilitate them, let's get them ready to be released,' and that part is kind of scary. You're setting them up for failure in, in my opinion. They don't have to pay taxes." For this respondent, there is a connection between economic responsibility and successfully operating in society outside the prison, and because they believe prisoners are not "taxed" (perhaps as correctional officers are), they point to that factor as contributing to unsuccessful rehabilitation (and ultimately reentry). Further, the respondent again draws an explicit economic comparison between themselves and prisoners, in order to illustrate how undeserving prisoners are of the free benefits they're being given, "These guys will be ripping up their clothes and stuff like that, and nothing is being - they don't have to pay for it and stuff like that. I have to buy my clothes." Framed entirely in economic terms, this respondent is not critical of prisoners destroying clothing because it is wasteful or potentially harmful, but rather because *they don't have to pay for it, but correctional officers do*. Juxtaposing their own economic contexts against that of prisoners' as evidence to support the

[38] RCWs > Title 72 > Chapter 72.09 > Section 72.09.111

argument that prisoners receive too many "handouts" reflects how correctional officers perceive prisoners' deservedness in economic terms and interpret reforms through a zero-sum mentality.

In addition to prisoners' economic benefits and burdens, correctional officers also discussed the allocation of institutional resources through the same zero-sum lens, arguing institutional resources used to implement recent reforms would be better spent on staff. Funding and resources are finite within the Department's annual budget, so resources allocated to "pro-inmate" reforms were perceived as a loss for staff, as they were no longer available for use, "the funds that are being spent with, you know, with these guys and getting them better programming, it should be also going to bettering knowledge for staff. (*Patrick)"* This respondent argues that programming funds allocated for prisoners should be spent on staff instead, again implying that staff are more deserving of economic benefits than prisoners. This perception of superior staff deservedness emerged repeatedly, in the context of correctional officers discussing recent prison reforms and how they unfairly benefitted prisoners over staff. As another respondent articulated, when asked if there was anything good about recently implemented programming:

> I mean, I guess the programming is good to a certain extent. It keeps these guys busy so they're not sitting thinking of stupid shit to do. But, at what point does the, I guess, betterment of an inmate or his happiness, you know, outweigh the same thing for your staff. And it seems like it leans more on the inmate side on almost everything. And that gets - talk about getting your stress level up. That will definitely get your stress level up…I come here by choice. I realize I'm getting paid, but I'm here to do a job. They're here because they have to be. Try not to lean that way. - *Aaron*

Because WDOC's formal mission is "To improve public safety by positively changing lives" and vision is "Working together for safer communities"[39], correctional officers should expect the Department to try and implement initiatives aimed at providing prisoners with benefits and

[39] https://www.doc.wa.gov/about/agency/mission.htm#mission

services, so that they successfully stay out of prison once released. Though the respondent acknowledges programming may be "good to a certain extent," they imply its value comes from preventing prisoners from "sitting and thinking of stupid shit to do," and not substance. While a valid critique, the respondent expresses a different reasoning altogether for disapproving of programming. For them, programming may contribute to the "betterment of an inmate or his happiness," but the respondent criticizes it because it may "outweigh the same thing for your staff." As in previous examples, this respondent perceives the programming as a "pro-inmate" reform, which is in direct opposition to "pro-staff." Moreover, anything that "leans more on the inmate side" is perceived as undeserved gains, at the cost of the more deserving staff. The correctional officers' antagonistic mindset emerges clearly at the end of this excerpt, where the respondent juxtaposes themselves against prisoners, "I come here by choice. I realize I'm getting paid, but I'm here to do a job. They're here because they have to be. Try not to lean that way." At the foundation of this respondent's argument against programming is the perception that prisoners are not deserving of anything but punishment. And they, as the, by comparison, virtuous safekeeper in prison voluntarily, are more deserving of any economic benefits or resources. The antagonistic "us versus them" climate in prison produces a mindset in which correctional staff view prisoners as the enemy. While this mindset may extend to prisoners as well, the power differential in prison advantages correctional staff. Therefore, understanding how they perceive prisoners, the Department, and their jobs overall, provides insight into how they might perceive reforms.

Reforms are All for Show

In addition to criticizing reforms based on deservedness, correctional officers were also suspicious of the purpose and efficacy of reforms in the IMU. Particularly when asked about

recently implemented anger-management or cognitive behavioral therapy congregate programming, correctional officers questioned how authentically prisoners engaged in such programs:

> I've had inmates tell me, "I'm just jumping through the hoops, man, to get out of IMU. I'm just doing what I got to do. I'm taking these classes to get out of IMU." I mean, that's human nature. You do what you got to do to get where you want to be. - *Garrett*

In this respondent's experience, prisoners in the IMU are not earnestly engaged in programming, but instead are "just doing what [they] got to do" in order to be released back to a lower custody unit because completion is mandatory. While this respondent understands why a prisoner would "jump through the hoops" to be released, it calls into question the efficacy of the programming. If prisoners are not authentically engaged and are only participating as a means to an end, how effective can the programming be on changing behavior? Can that kind of program completion be characterized as successful? The previous respondent continues:

> I don't think it's real successful. I think that the numbers are fudged. I think the numbers are skewed. I've seen guys come in that go through it. They go out to another unit, and they come right back… And I'm not saying it's all 100% not successful, but I don't think it's what they say it is on the numbers. I think the numbers are skewed. - *Garrett*

Along with doubting the utility of the programming prisoners participate in while in the IMU, this respondent also expressed reservations regarding how programming data was tracked and presented. In their view, programming was unsuccessful because of its lack of effectiveness on changing prisoner behavior, as evidenced by prisoners' passive participation and their swift return to the IMU. Because of their anecdotal experiences, this respondent believed programming was unsuccessful. However, they also believed that the Department had an interest in presenting the programming as successful, so much so that they were suspicious of programming data, "I think that the numbers are fudged. I think the numbers are skewed." Respondents argued that administrators were incentivized to make sure new programming and

reforms were successful, even if that meant getting creative with how data was presented. For example, one respondent, Christopher, pointed to the recently installed "blue room" as an example of leadership selectively using data to present the reform as a successful initiative:

> Christopher: Right, that's why I said, like, the blue room, somebody came up with it, just hoping to get a pat on the back and it fails. So now they're trying to make it seem like it's still working because it goes on numbers of how many people are going in there and how it's being utilized. So now it's changed to kites so that they can sit there and say, like, "oh, yeah, we're throwing, like, 40 people a year in there, you know, or a month."
>
> Interviewer: So they can count the signups, but you know when you're - when you go and actually ask them, they're not actually going in it at all.

In this example, Christopher had explained that the recently implemented "blue room" (a nature immersion room meant to be used for mental health interventions, cooling off periods, and as additional out of cell time) had not been used very much by prisoners, to the dismay of leadership. From their perspective, an administrative leader "came up with it, just hoping to get a pat on the back." However, the blue room's cold reception and failure did not look good. So, in an effort to make the initiative still seem worthwhile, data on the blue room's usage shifted to counting sign-ups, rather than actual room usage. Respondents referred to this as "making it work on paper" in order to benefit administrative leadership, even when the reform itself wasn't benefitting prisoners, "That's my theory, that it all works on paper, so when it seems like it's not working, they just change the name to make it work. (*Gavin*)" Another respondent argued that the transition program out of segregation, or the ITP, was another example of reforms only working on paper:

> Instead of just looking at it from a numbers standpoint, because **right now it seems like they're just looking to keep the numbers up in the ITP program.** Which is, they do their little check of who they want. Well, if those guys don't want to go, then they go to their second level of who they want. So, those guys say no. **Well, then they got to get somebody in there, and they promote someone a lot of faster than what they should.**

> **And you know, it's just a numbers thing, you know? It's like anything else in this state… if you have the numbers, and they're all passing, well looks good on paper.**
>
> - *Richard*

In this example, the correctional officer argues that it is most important for the ITP transition program to remain at full capacity and "keep the numbers up," in order to be seen as a successful, valuable program. However, according to the respondent, this priority sometimes comes at a cost when prisoners who aren't ready to leave restrictive housing are sped through the process to fill an empty spot, "then they got to get somebody in there, and they promote someone a lot faster than what they should." Because the program is at full enrollment, even if the prisoners involved do not successfully complete it, this respondent argues that it still "looks good on paper."

In addition to misrepresenting data about reforms at times, correctional officers claimed that other kinds of data were also miscounted, including violent incidents. As one respondent explained:

> Those are certain situations that you deal with where **administration will sweep things under the rug to look like less prison violence**. I mean, you can have a fight in this tier right here on camera, and if we mess up our paperwork, even though it's on camera, they'll throw it out. The fight never happened. These guys get off scot-clean because we messed up the paperwork." – *Alexander*

In this example, the respondent describes a scenario where a violent incident goes unrecorded because of a technicality. In their view, administrative leadership is incentivized to keep prison violent rates low, and will "sweep things under the rug" when possible, by finding loopholes or technical errors. Whether or not true, this example reveals how correctional officers believe that reforms can be implemented for show, and that administrators' may be more concerned with "making things look good on paper" than how they operate day-to-day.

When asked what motivation leadership might have to implement and sustain reforms that weren't successful, respondents expressed their belief that these "pro-inmate" kinds of reforms bolstered the public image of Washington State DOC:

> Well, I think it's partly to look good just so that people don't look down on Washington State and their department, you know, DOC as a whole…The big push now is everybody wants to kind of get away from using all this kind of stuff (restrictive housing). 'Oh, well, it's not good. Not good for these guys.'- *Aaron*

According to this respondent, implementing progressive reforms oriented towards changing restrictive housing were important to making sure Washington State DOC was regarded positively publicly. As the national discourse surrounding restrictive housing had shifted over the last decades and the damaging effects of segregation have been widely documented, there has been some pressure on corrections systems to reduce their usage of restrictive housing. The respondent points to this pressure as a motivating factor for WDOC to at least appear successful in its various segregation reforms, since "the big push now is everybody wants to kind of get away from using all this kind of stuff (restrictive housing)" because it's "not good" for prisoners. Continuing, Aaron argues again that the reforms in WDOC are not as successful as they are portrayed:

> It looks a lot better. Like, Oh, we're so good. But we're really not. We're not better than anybody else. It's just how you want to twist and manipulate it, so that people who have no clue how prisons are run think it looks good." – *Aaron*

This respondent reiterates that restrictive housing reforms are not as successful as they seem, and instead they believe that data is used selectively in order to "make things look good on paper." Further, this correctional officer asserted that Washington State corrections was not operating "better than anyone else" when it came to restrictive housing, but just "twist and manipulate it, so that people who have no clue how prisons run think it looks good."

In the final section of findings, I demonstrate how staff critiqued reforms even further, by characterizing them as an actual threat to safety. Put simply, giving anything to prisoners actively hurts staff. This implies intentionality by reformers, or at least negligence, and renders reform impossible, not because staff are actively resisting, but because they cannot imagine a safe reform.

Reforms Perceived as Dangerous

In the prison and IMU organizational context, where reforms were characterized as either "pro-inmate" or "pro-staff," correctional officers perceived "pro-inmate" reforms as not only unfairly benefitting prisoners but presenting real danger to correctional officers. Correctional officers described experiences where prisoners weaponized reforms against staff or used them as tools of manipulation. In addition, correctional officers described experiences in which they felt reforms changed working conditions enough to pose a legitimate safety risk to staff.

Weapons Against Staff and Tools of Manipulation

The antagonistic "Us versus Them" climate in which correctional officers' perceive prisoners as the enemy, carried over across all kinds of activities, from church to programming:

> But anyways, they'll go to church, you know, all that coffee and cookies. And the chaplain's bringing coffee and cookies. You get these guys that - just going to church and hanging out, and I've done church. I've done it as an officer before. You know, three quarters aren't even praying. They're just doing shenanigans. And guzzling coffee. And hustling and whatever else, you know? And the chaplain is none the wiser. Just playing the guitar. And you're just like, jeez man, what - it's - you know, and I equate that - I think that carries over into the programming. To the education. **They do what needs to be done to get whatever they said they were going to get.** And not all of them. Okay, but I say the majority. And again, I don't hate. But I'm also a realist, and you know, look - they're opportunists." – *Blair*

Correctional officers perceive prisoners as "opportunists" looking to do whatever necessary in order to meet their demands. In the IMU, this characterization also included using policy and reforms as weapons against staff if necessary.

As increased programming, services, time out of cell, or property necessitates increased interpersonal interactions between prisoners and custody staff, as IMU prisoners cannot leave their cell without a double escort and must have everything they need brought to their cell, this creates increased opportunities for confrontations between prisoners and staff in which staff fear retribution from prisoners. Further, because correctional officers perceived reforms as making some prisoners feel "entitled," staff described fearing how prisoners would weaponize reforms against them in the workplace:

> Honestly, it's with working in here specifically**, lots of the time we're more nervous about getting in trouble for refusing guys**. If you ask them (about) yard and shower and they don't answer and you ask them multiple times and raising your voice to hopefully get their reaction, then turn around and you refuse them, and **then all of a sudden they're bitching and moaning about it**, and then all of a sudden now they're getting it. It's just one of those things where it gets discouraging, but it's - I can only do my job. - *Patrick*

Here, this respondent is explaining how a major source of stress in their jobs comes from "getting trouble for refusing guys," rather than more dangerous or violent situations. They go on to describe how prisoners "bitch and moan" about officer conduct, which can result in the officer being reprimanded. While this particular situation is based on a routine interaction, it displays how correctional officers can perceive even inconsequential complaints from prisoners as retributive acts.

In another interview, a respondent described a more serious example of prisoners weaponizing policy against correctional officers, in retribution:

> We deal with the worst of the worst of our facility and the state of Washington in IMU. We have very, very manipulative people, inmates, **that use tools that are provided for them to actually help them, they're used against us.** PREA, big one. It's not right. I don't think anybody needs to be raped. I agree. Okay. Nobody needs to be raped. It's horrible. It's disgusting. I agree with the parts that help the inmates when there's inmate-on-inmate - yeah, I understand all that. **But when, just because we told them no, the inmate, they get upset, they throw a PREA out there, so they're utilizing a tool that's given to them to help them against us.** - *Quentin*

In this example, the respondent describes they believe prisoners weaponize the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) against correctional officers to harm them professionally, in retribution for denying them access to something. Because this is such a serious allegation and causes major inconvenience to staff if a PREA allegation is made against them, this respondent argues that the threat of such weaponization allows prisoners to manipulate situations. As Quentin goes on to describe, they believe the "nature program" (or blue room) will also be used as an opportunity for manipulation:

> And I think that's exactly what this nature program thing is going to be. "Oh, I'm sad today," or **whatever the magic words are that they're going to use to get out of their house, and we got to drop everything we're doing so that they can go to this thing**.
>
> - *Quentin*

According to this respondent, the new blue room initiative in the IMU would provide prisoners with leverage over staff by providing them a mechanism to exert control over staff's movement schedule. This respondent clearly believed prisoners would not genuinely use or benefit from the new blue room, but rather that it would primarily serve as a manipulation tool, "we got to drop everything we're doing so that they can go to this thing." In another interview, this sentiment is echoed by another respondent when they are asked about the nature program/blue room:

> It's a joke. It's an absolute joke. They have what they call IBMPs, individual behavior management plans. Yeah, and it's a joke because half these people are manipulating this. Here's what I'm saying. Every day they have yard and shower or yard or no movement days. And what happens is, these people are so manipulative that they want to come out. They're declaring medical emergencies when they're not medical emergencies. They're declaring mental health emergencies when they don't like what they hear about something when they don't have mental health emergencies. They just know we got to stop everything and cater to this guy now. So, if they become behaviorally problematic enough, they'll create an IBMP for them to be like, okay, well, this is how we're going to deal with this individual person because everything else has failed. - *Alexander*

This respondent connects the nature program/blue room to another reform in the IMU, known as the Individual Behavior Management Plan (IBMP), which is developed at the discretion of

mental health employees, with input from unit classification and custody staff.[40] According to policy, IBMPs are developed specific to each individual and may contain unconventional approaches to encourage changes in problematic behavior. Additionally, they are meant to unify staff on the agreed upon appropriate response when responding to an individual's behavior. In this previous example, the respondent highlights this policy, along with the blue room, as one that is regularly manipulated by prisoners in the IMU, "it's a joke because half these people are manipulating this." The respondent goes on to explain that prisoners on IBMPs know how escalate their behavior to achieve their intended goal of getting more time out of their cell, and the blue room provides another opportunity for them to do so. According to this respondent, prisoners learn how their behavior triggers certain policy responses, and use this information to manipulate staff, "they just know we got to stop everything and cater to this guy now."

Correctional officers also described how inconsistent enforcement of new policies and reforms presented opportunities for prisoners to manipulate and exploit custody staff. In one interview, a correctional officer described how a prisoner engaging in smearing learned and exploited the different ways custody staff responded across various shifts:

> Okay. So, we have an inmate who's smeared feces all over and refuse to come out of his cell, all this kind of stuff. And we're dealing with it one way. Then you have another unit that reads that IBMP, or another shift that reads it and interprets it kind of a different way, so they do something slightly different. The inmates catch on to that kind of stuff. Like, they catch on to things very quickly. I mean for as dumb as they are, they're smart in certain ways. **And really, it makes us look bad because the inmates know after doing that a few days, what sergeants and what shifts they can get extra things from and manipulate because it's not all done the exact same way**." - *Aaron*

[40] WDOC Maximum Custody Placement/Transfer/Release Policy 320.250

Despite having an IBMP, which is meant to unify staff and standardize the response to behavior, this respondent claims that staff can still end up interpreting the IBMP differently. This results in variations in response that provide an opportunity for manipulation by prisoners.

In some cases, correctional officers described policies meant to be applicable to only a small amount of people with extenuating circumstances, such as those with extreme mental illness, being exploited by prisoners in order to manipulate the system. The feces smearing protocol was one example of a policy designed for extreme, rare cases, being exploited by prisoners to manipulate the system for more time out of cell in segregation:

> Because they have protocols lined up to do this, which for the normal offender would be fine, but not for guys who do it on a daily basis. It's not built for that**. It's built for the Joe Schmo that might do it, you know, once in a year, for example. It's not meant for the guys who do it every single day. It is a manipulation point, and they figured that out.** Hey, on a Tuesday and Thursday we don't have yard and showers. Well, I want to take a shower, so I'm going to smear feces on the wall so I can go get my shower. That's how that works. And we have to do it." - *Andrew*

In this case, WDOC had implemented a policy outlining the Department's standardized response to prisoner's smearing feces on their cell walls, including providing a shower and cleaning supplies to the prisoner. While this policy was meant to ensure a minimum level of care and hygiene was met when responding to these typically rare instances, in practice it was used by some prisoners in the IMU as a tool to manipulate when they were able to get out of their cell.

Safety Risk

In addition to being used as tools of manipulation or weaponized against staff, correctional officers also reported that segregation reforms presented a legitimate safety risk to staff. For example, correctional officers in the study criticized changes in how infractions were processed in the IMU, claiming that less infractions and sanctions in the IMU made it harder to hold prisoners accountable for their behavior and undermined safety. According to correctional

officers, infractions get thrown out and correctional officers can't penalize people, thereby undermining their authority:

> From when we first started, it was more of the IMU was Seg to where it was rowdy in here. We had people kicking, covering-up, uses of force all the time. But that's typical in that setting, because you have people acting out. They're doing it for a certain behavior. They're trying to get rewards out of it. Now you try to correct an inmate's actions - I've seen a lot of my infractions get thrown out, not even processed…**To where we're not holding the people responsible. And that becomes a safety risk for us. Because the inmates don't show that same respect. –** *Natalie*

For this respondent, the underlying issue with reducing infractions in the IMU is that it undermines their authority over prisoners and allows them to believe that they can act out without immediate consequence. This is perceived by correctional officers as a sign of disrespect and, ultimately, a safety risk. Natalie goes on to provide an example of how this plays out:

> I've had this inmate in here for several years, on and off, and we've butted heads before. Last night I caught him fishing; I told him 'Hey, throw your line out on the tier.' He goes 'I'm not going to give you my comb and my line'. I said 'Well, okay. We can go about it a different way if you would like. **But since you been back, I've shown you nothing but respect. And you can't show me any back?' He goes 'No.'**
>
> Okay. And I tried twice. I came back with the next tier check and go 'You want to hand out your line yet?' And he goes 'No.' 'Okay. Well, when you get an infraction; when you get a program modification, it's going to be on you.' 'Whatever.' **There is no respect because there is no - what would be the right word? No discipline.** Because I've seen, since we have this class room, and the programming through that, I've seen inmates to where - before, you could take a guy who earned his Level Four - he got a TV, he got his radio and he's listening to it, and you tell him 'Hey, man, can you turn that down? It's a little loud. Because I can hear it three doors away.' And he says 'Alight; yeah.' Not a problem, because they were afraid they would lose their TV and start back over. Now? 'Hey man, can you turn it down?' 'Ah, yeah-yeah-yeah-yeah.' Or 'F-U'. I write an infraction. But 'I want this program to work. I want this education room to work. So we'll just make this disappear.' I've seen that." - *Natalie*

In this example, Natalie describes catching an IMU prisoner using a fishing line on the tier and attempting to confiscate it. When the prisoner refuses to comply, the officer takes it as a sign of disrespect and a challenge to their authority. They go on to attribute this "lack of discipline"

among current prisoners to the introduction of programming, claiming that prisoners would be more likely to comply with correctional officers' directives previously because they would have immediately lost their level and the associated privileges, "not a problem, because they were afraid they would lose their TV and start back over." Now, because leadership is invested in the success of the programming, this respondent believes infractions are overlooked, to avoid demoting prisoners and kicking them out of programming. And since prisoners are aware of this, they are emboldened to challenge correctional officers' authority, which ultimately threatens staff's perception of safety.

In another example, a respondent clearly explained that they do not utilize the level system because they do not believe it accurately captures the amount of respect (or disrespect) displayed by prisoners towards staff. Again, as in the previous example, because there is no consequence for disrespecting officers, the respondent believes it is a safety risk to staff:

> See that level board right there? When that was being followed - and this is bad to say, because I haven't touched that in three or four years? And the reason why is because some of the counselors or whoever was determining the level - you would have a guy fishing, signing, calling you every name in the book, or whatever - okay, fine, freedom of speech and all that kind of great stuff. **But the thing is that there's got to be respect; there's got to be a boundary.** There has to be a line there. And when the counselors were 'It's alright', and going ahead and approving him for his next level, even though you said 'This inmate was disruptive; he threatened me - he threatened to kill me and my family, and you're still going to give him a level?' What's the point of me filling that out, then? What's the point of that? - *Cedric*

In this case, the respondent perceived a threat to their safety because of the undermining of their authority, as well as the lack of consequence for the disrespect from prisoners. In this instance, the respondent described how a prisoner's disrespect, or threatening language, was overlooked when the prisoner's level was being considered for promotion. Because this behavior was not

considered during the level process, the correctional officer perceived the level process as superficial and unconcerned with the safety of officers.

Ultimately, respondents argued that policies and reforms in the IMU aimed at prioritizing prisoners' rehabilitation often resulted in unintentionally compromising the safety of correctional officers. Correctional officers perceived reforms as running counter to their interests, often created by people other than custody staff who were unaware of the realities correctional officers faced:

> By people who have never worked a day or stepped a - they step foot inside this place, but I'd like to see them suit up like a C.O. and be treated like a C.O., like we are when we're on the tiers all day and doing what we have to do, absolutely. I think they'd have a greater appreciation for what goes on in here. **And do we have to take a little of the vigilante justice once in a while and tell a guy to go fuck himself? Unfortunately, after two weeks of him telling me he's going to kill me and threatening me and threatening this guy's family and his fuckin' kids and shit, yeah. I'm going to tell him, you want something? Go fuck yourself. You know what I mean? I'll be damned if I drop this cuff port with how fuckin' aggressive you've been. Ain't going to happen, dude.** And then the guy next to him, can I get you something? Okay, man, no problem. He's perfectly chill. He's never been an issue. So, it spins him up even more, but it just goes to show him at that one certain level that this guy's doing it, man. He's cool. He's compliant. He's not an issue. I'm getting him stuff. You? You ain't getting shit."
>
> *-Alexander*

As this respondent explains, correctional officers can sometimes feel threatened by policies implemented to reform the conditions and practices in the IMU. For this respondent, "vigilante justice" is sometimes necessary to employ when responding to prisoners' threatening behavior, "I'll be damned if I drop this cuff port with how fuckin' aggressive you've been." This reveals how correctional officers perceive and sometimes respond to safety risks on their own, when policy does not allow them to "hold prisoners accountable" in a formal manner.

Conclusion

Taken together, findings from this chapter indicate that restrictive housing units, like the IMUs in WDOC, have their own culture. In these spaces, hypervigilance is extreme and the antagonism between correctional officers and everyone else is exaggerated. As such, it is important to acknowledge how correctional officers working in these spaces may differ from other custody staff working in lower custody units, particularly when considering the implications on policy reform. In an environment where staff perceive everything as a threat, policy sustainability is at risk.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

Overview of Findings

In this dissertation, I examine policy reform in solitary confinement units, in order to address the role of custody staff in enacting change. This dissertation examines how solitary confinement reform operates on the ground from the perspective of those who are responsible for enacting policy changes. This allows us to understand the processes by which correctional officers in solitary confinement units understand and respond to policy changes aimed at reforming segregation. Findings from this study suggest that 1) while maximum custody solitary confinement units are stressful work environments, they are also desirable to correctional officers; 2) the interpersonal relationship between supervisory personnel and correctional officers' plays an important role in shaping correctional officers' perceptions of policy reform and may be leveraged as a mechanism to support policy reform at the introduction phase; and 3) the heightened adversarial work climate of the IMU shapes the lens through which correctional officers viewed reforms and these perceptions filtered beyond, contributing to correctional officers' perceptions of reforms as inherent safety risks. These findings lay the groundwork to better understand how policy reform plays out in correctional spaces, via policy introduction, implementation, and sustainability.

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, correctional officers' stress is multidimensional and experienced in a variety of ways. Overall stress levels were high across my sample of custody staff in maximum custody units, stemming from three main areas: feelings of hypervigilance, managing prisoners with serious mental illness, and organizational issues. As previous studies have found, these different stressors were related to respondents' punitiveness; higher levels of stress corresponded to increased punitiveness among respondents.

However, custody staff's experiences working in segregation units were more complicated. Despite experiencing high levels of stress working in maximum custody units, custody staff were generally satisfied with their jobs and described positive aspects of working in the restrictive units, such as clear job expectations, strong community among correctional officers, and support from immediate supervisors. In fact, custody staff told me time and again that they purposely bid into their units, preferring to work in maximum custody over lower custody units. These positive components did not mitigate stress entirely (as respondents still reported high stress levels), but they are important factors in understanding the complete picture of what components may impact correctional staff's orientation towards reform in segregation units. Support for policy reforms among correctional officers could be better cultivated by leveraging positive aspects of their jobs and considering the various kinds of stressors experienced.

In Chapter 3, I drill down on the relationship between administrative leadership and custody staff, one of the major stressors described by custody staff, to demonstrate how this dynamic can contribute to staff's orientation and response to policy reforms. While administrators, or supervisory personnel, may influence correctional officers in various ways, findings revealed that they were particularly impactful at the policy introduction stage, which then influenced subsequent policy implementation. Based on three components, I characterize the policy introduction, or the initial communication of a new policy to staff, as either an Authoritarian or Coach/Mentor approach. While custody staff may still resist changes to operations, policies communicated using an Authoritarian approach were handicapped from the outset. Gaining support from staff regarding a new policy may be even harder using this approach, as the resentment to the interaction itself becomes another barrier to garnering support.

Findings showed that this initial process influenced how correctional officers implemented policy, as staff utilized various strategies to undermine unpopular reforms in hopes of their failure and eventual repeal. These findings provide a more nuanced understanding of how stress from administration, a broad source, can play out on the ground and impact operations.

In Chapter 4, I broaden my scope and examine the working climate in maximum custody units, in order to understand how sustainability of reforms may be impacted long term. While respondents identified the staff culture as a positive aspect of working in maximum custody units, findings revealed the work climate of maximum custody units centered was not supportive of reform and centered on punitiveness. I demonstrate that maximum custody units have an amplified antagonistic work climate, which provides the lens through which correctional officers view segregation reforms. In this context, findings showed that correctional officers perceived reforms as counter to their primary job role of ensuring safety and security. Further, correctional officers viewed policy reforms as exclusively "pro-staff" or "pro-inmate" based on the perceived beneficiary. Correctional staff were resentful of any policy reforms aimed at segregation units, as they were perceived as undeserved benefits to prisoners. Additionally, correctional officers perceived any "pro-inmate" reforms as siphoning resources away from staff, in a zero-sum manner. Lastly, correctional officers consistently perceived the reforms in solitary confinement units as direct threats to their own safety and livelihood; giving prisoners anything additional endangers staff. Staff do not recognize that policy reforms may benefit both prisoners. In sum, these critiques imply intentionality or negligence on the part of reformers and highlight a significant barrier to reform sustainability, as staff cannot imagine a safe reform and therefore will work to ensure safety and security by undermining rehabilitative reforms until failure.

Implications

The findings presented in this dissertation and summarized above inform the ongoing discussion in prison reform literature regarding the role of correctional officers. My findings suggest that correctional officers working in maximum custody solitary confinement units have experiences distinct from those officers working in lower custody units. Because of the highly restrictive structure of the units and the population housed there, correctional officers in maximum custody solitary confinement units experience unique stressors, such as physical workload and extreme hypervigilance. In addition, the structure of the unit provides positive aspects of their job, such as closely knit coworkers and relative safety from physical attack from a prisoner. These findings suggest that the relationship between stress-inducing characteristics in prisons and overall organizational climate needs to be examined at a more micro-level, rather than the system overall. While prisons are closed systems generally, maximum custody solitary confinement units are closed systems unto themselves, with specialized restrictions and structures. This means that any work to understand the role of correctional officers should consider the heterogeneity of their experiences, which includes the kind of unit they work in.

The findings from this study have implication for the ongoing study of solitary confinement and its harms. While much research has focused on the impact of solitary confinement on prisoners (for good reason), there has been increased demand for studies on the impact on correctional staff working in solitary confinement units. This study contributes to addressing that gap by examining the dimensions of stress correctional officers experience in these units, while also demonstrating that staff perceive positive aspects of working in solitary confinement units. These perceived benefits to staff are important to interrogate further, in order to understand how to reconcile some staff's preferences for solitary confinement units with the reality of their damaging effects on prisoners. For example, the structure of solitary confinement

units create inhumane isolating conditions for prisoners, but provide the opportunity for strong social cohesion to develop amongst correctional officers. And while solitary confinement units may also have negative impacts on correctional officers' health and well-being, examining the entire scope of possible impacts is important in fully understanding the impact of solitary confinement on different populations.

Policy Implications

The findings presented in this dissertation have direct policy implications for correctional systems engaging in solitary confinement reform. In this study, I found that correctional officers experience positive aspects of working in maximum custody solitary confinement units, and, despite high stress levels, some preferred working there rather than any other lower custody unit. Further, staff perceived reforms in solitary confinement as undeserved benefits to prisoners and threats to their own safety. In the context of these underlying factors, correctional officers are working against their own interests by enacting rehabilitative reforms and have an interest in seeing them fail, even if only subconsciously. Custody staff may not actively resist reforms, but reform sustainability will always be threatened without addressing the underlying preferences and beliefs of staff. This means that systems intending to reduce their solitary confinement usage should strategize how to clearly communicate to staff the benefits they will receive from reform. In other words, solitary confinement reform has to be perceived as "pro-staff" and not just "pro-inmate."

Additionally, the findings presented in this dissertation have direct policy implications for correctional systems engaging in policy reform, even outside of the segregation reform arena. Prison reform is largely aimed at the incarcerated population, but enacting any change relies largely on the attitude and behavior of front-line custody staff. By examining the various points

of engagement in the policy reform process, this work provides a foundation for better understanding how different mechanisms either support or impede policy reform. At the individual level, findings suggest correctional officers experience a variety of stressors from multiple sources. Systems looking to decrease correctional officer stress should consider techniques to mitigate stress in a variety of ways, from increased mental and physical health services to increased administrator transparency and opportunities for staff input. In WDOC, policies aimed at reducing the use of segregation originated from the top and were communicated downwards, in typical hierarchical fashion. Though a para-militaristic structure, correctional staff at the bottom of the organization expressed a desire for inclusion in determining how policy changes were enacted. Examining the communication between custody staff and supervisors, findings from this study indicate that mid-level supervisors can leverage their interpersonal relationships with correctional staff to bolster the legitimacy of policy reform, or undermine reform completely.

Directions for Future Research

Findings from this study provide valuable additions to literatures on prison reform and organizational change. The surveys and in-depth, qualitative interviews that I conducted with staff working in segregation units for this dissertation provided a rich source of data for understanding the perceptions and experiences of correctional officers. While rich in nuance, my data is limited in its generalizability due to its sample size and method of collection. Both samples of survey and interview respondents were predominantly male and white. While this may be representative of the majority of custody staff in WDOC, future research that is more inclusive of correctional officers of other genders and racial/ethnic backgrounds is necessary to improve upon this limitation. One possible avenue for future research is replicating the survey in

another system and distributing the survey to all staff (rather than strategically sampling). I have built on this effort in a subsequent study, in which I surveyed correctional officers working in solitary confinement units across six prisons in the Louisiana state prison system. This population of custody staff is primarily African-American and a substantial proportion is female. Data from this study will provide information to help understand the different kinds of stressors correctional officers of different backgrounds/identities experience while working in the same kinds of environments. Further, the decreased gender homophily in this population will be explored in relation to previously reported positive aspects of working in solitary confinement, such as job satisfaction and supportive officer community.

Another future direction of this work is to utilize these findings as the foundation for correctional systems to transform their policy reform process in applied settings. After completing another year of data collection in WDOC, I began working with them to apply some of these insights. For the last two years, I have worked directly with WDOC on their continued efforts to reduce their use of restrictive housing across their system. I have stressed the importance of messaging to safety to increase buy-in, worked with leadership on intentional, strategic communication of policy changes, and solicited input and feedback from staff regularly. Over the last five years collectively, WDOC has transformed their approach to policy reform, beyond restrictive housing, and has begun to center their custody staff as integral components for success. Findings from this work were recently highlighted at a day long training summit I assisted in planning for WDOC. While events similar to this only included high level administrators five years ago, today staff from all levels of the organization participated, asked questions, and were provided information regarding new policies.

A third direction for future research is the examination of policy reform in lower custody level institutions, such as youth detention centers, or community corrections facilities. These institutions require a supervision component and staff are authorities over a compelled population, but the perception of danger is less than in solitary confinement units. However, the adversarial mindset might still permeate these institutions and impact staff's perceptions of rehabilitative policy reforms. An exploration such as this would enrich existing knowledge by exploring these concepts in a quasi-penal setting, which impacts millions of people beyond prison walls.

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STATE OF WASHINGTON DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS	APPLICABILITY **PRISON** OFFENDER/SPANISH MANUALS		
	REVISION DATE 3/6/20	PAGE NUMBER 1 of 14	NUMBER **DOC 320.255**
POLICY	TITLE **RESTRICTIVE HOUSING**		

REVIEW/REVISION HISTORY:

Effective:	*617100*
Revised:	
Revised:	12/27/05
Revised:	2/3/06 AB 06-001
Revised:	
Revised:	11/28/06
Revised:	12/28/06 AB 06-021
Revised:	
Revised:	4/13/07 AB 07-011
Revised:	
Revised:	5/22/08
Revised:	*719109*
Revised:	7/30/09 AB 09-026
	6/20/12
	2/1/15
	10/26/16
	3/6/20

SUMMARY OF REVISION/REVIEW:

Major changes to include updating terminology throughout and adding no contact visit procedures and Restrictive Housing Level System. Read carefully!

APPROVED:

Signature on file

2/10/20

STEPHEN SINCLAIR, Secretary
Department of Corrections

Date Signed

REFERENCES:

DOC 100.100 is hereby incorporated into this policy; WAC 137-28; WAC 137-32; DOC 110.100 Prison Management Expectations; DOC 300.380 Classification and Custody Facility Plan Review DOC 320.200 Administrative Segregation; DOC 320.250 Maximum Custody Placement!Transfer/Release; DOC 320.260 Secured Housing Units; DOC 440.020 Transport of Offender Property; DOC 440.080 Hygiene and Grooming for Offenders; DOC 450.300 Visits for Incarcerated Individuals; DOC 560.200 Religious Programs; DOC 630.500 Mental Health Services; DOC 650.020 Pharmaceutical Management; DOC 670.000 Communicable Disease. Infection Prevention. and Immunization Program

POLICY:

I. Restrictive Housing is housing for incarcerated individuals whose continued presence in general population would pose a serious threat to employees/contract staff, themselves, other individuals, or to the security of a correctional facility. Restrictive Housing includes Administrative Segregation (Ad Seg), pre-hearing confinement, disciplinary segregation, Maximum (MAX) custody, and close observation. Restrictive Housing will operate in compliance with Department-established policies and guidelines.

A. Security Level 2 Secured Housing Units in stand-alone minimum security facilities will operate per DOC 320.260 Secured Housing Units.

B. This policy does not cover Close Observation Areas (COAs) unless the individual was placed in one from Restrictive Housing.

II. The Department will provide specific cognitive-behavioral interventions and other programming/idleness-reducing activities in its Intensive Management Units (IMUs) and Intensive Treatment Units (ITUs), based on an individual's risk and needs.

DIRECTIVE:

I. General Requirements

A. Whenever possible, individuals will be taken to Health Services for an assessment and review before initial placement in Restrictive Housing unless there is a risk to employee/contract staff safety.

1. Assessments will be documented on DOC 13-432 Nursing Assessment of Patient Placed in Restrictive Housing.

B. Individuals will receive classification reviews conducted out-of-cell DOC 300.380 Classification and Custody Facility Plan Review.

C. Individuals may earn levels while in Restrictive Housing through their behavior per Restrictive Housing Level System Grid (Attachment 2). The grid identifies privileges and authorized items for each Restrictive Housing level.

II. General Conditions of Confinement (COC)

A. When an individual is transferred to Restrictive Housing, a mental health assessment will be conducted within one business day using DOC 13-349 Intersystem/Restrictive Housing Mental Health Screening or DOC 13-427 Mental Status Examination.

1. If the facility does not have mental health services, a medical employee/ contract staff will complete the form.

B. Individuals assigned to Restrictive Housing will be provided the following COCs, unless safety or security considerations dictate otherwise. If any of these conditions are refused or not provided, it will be documented on DOC 05-091 Daily Segregation Report. COCs will contain the following:

1. Adequately lighted and ventilated environment, unless mechanical or other problems prevent such conditions on a temporary basis.

2. Reasonable room temperature for the season, unless mechanical or other problems prevent such conditions on a temporary basis.

3. Meals of similar quality and quantity as provided to the general population. Methods of preparation and/or delivery may be modified for security reasons.

4. Access to personal hygiene items per DOC 440.080 Hygiene and Grooming for Offenders, as appropriate based on security and safety needs.

5. Opportunity to shower at least 10 minutes and shave at least 3 times per

week.

6. Access to telephone, mail and approved correspondence supplies, reading material(s), and legal representation and material(s).

   a. Unless authorized by the Superintendent/designee, individuals in disciplinary segregation will be allowed limited telephone privileges, except for calls related specifically to accessing legal representation.

7. Receive a minimum of one hour of exercise per day, 5 days per week, outside of their cell.

8. Limited program access due to risk level.

9. Access to health care services, including medical, dental, and mental health services.

10. Access to emergency medications (e.g., nitroglycerin tablets, inhaler, Epi-pen).

11. Access to the Unit Sergeant, Correctional Unit Supervisor (CUS)/ Correctional Mental Health Unit Supervisor (CMHUS), and case manager.

12. Controlled access to prescribed and/or Over The Counter medications per DOC 650.020 Pharmaceutical Management.

13. Exchange of clothing (e.g., t-shirts, underwear, socks), coveralls, and towels at least 3 times per week.

14. Weekly exchange of linens.

15. Barbering/hair care services as available in general population.

    a. Braids must be removed to allow hair to be searched when directed by an employee and approved by the CUS or Lieutenant.

16. Access to the following:

    a. Religious guidance,
    b. Education,
    c. Self-help programs,
    d. Library and Law Library,

e. Grievance Program, and
f. Policy and operational memorandum manuals accessible to the general population.

17. No contact visits per Restrictive Housing Level System Grid (Attachment 2) and as follows:

a. The initial review must occur per DOC 320.200 Administrative Segregation before individuals on Ad Seg status can have visits.

b. Visit hours and maximum number of visitors are identified in the Unit Handbook and will be posted on the facility's website and in PublicAccess.

c. Visits will be conducted in a no contact visit room.

d. Visitors must be on the individual's approved visitor list per DOC 450.300 Visits for Incarcerated Individuals.

e. Special visits will be conducted per DOC 450.300 Visits for Incarcerated Individuals.

18. Modifications to COCs or Security Enhancement Plans.

C. Approved American with Disabilities Act (ADA) accommodations will be allowed unless a security/safety concern exists. If a concern has been identified, the item(s) may be temporarily withheld until a determination is made by the CUS, Captain, and ADA Coordinator.

III. Conditions of Confinement (COC) Modifications

A. COC modifications may be implemented for one or more of the following reasons:

1. The activity or item is currently a risk to employees/contract staff, the individual's safety, or security and/or orderly operation of the Restrictive Housing unit.

2. The continued use of the activity or item will result in a high probability of endangerment to self, others, security and orderly operation, and/or state property.

B. The CUS/CMHUS or Shift Lieutenant in charge at the time of the imposed COC modifications will document and justify the modifications on DOC 21-632

Restrictive/Secured Housing Unit Conditions of Confinement Modification Approval, which the Superintendent/designee will review and approve within one business day. Any COC modifications will be recorded in the unit log.

1. For !MU/segregation units, the designee must be at the Associate Superintendent level.

2. Restrictions that take place after hours will be approved through the facility Duty Officer and reviewed by the appropriate manager the next business day.

C. COC modifications can be increased or decreased without changing the individual's level/step.

1. The IMU/ITU CUS/CMHUS will review each individual assigned to COC modification status daily. As soon as the individual's behavior no longer indicates a threat, the Correctional Program Manager (CPM)/Correctional Mental Health Program Manager (CMHPM), Captain, or higher authority may release the individual from COC modification status.

D. COC modifications lasting more than 7 days require Mission Housing Administrator (MHA) approval. COC modifications lasting more than 14 days require Assistant Secretary for Prisons/designee approval. Input from health services employees/contract staff should be considered in making a decision to extend a COC modification.

E. When an individual is placed on pen and/or paper restriction, the Unit Sergeant will address any immediate communication needs (e.g., assistance with grievance, medical, emergency legal needs) when conducting the daily cell check.

F. Alternative meal service COC modifications may not exceed a maximum of 7 days and must have the written approval of the Superintendent and Health Authority. Alternative meal service is limited to individuals who have used food or food service equipment in a manner that is hazardous to self, employees/ contract staff, or other individuals. Alternative meal service must be based on health or safety considerations only and must meet basic nutritional standards.

G. The Superintendent/designee will receive daily updates on all individuals assigned to COC modification status.

H. Active COC modifications on individuals who transfer will be forwarded to the receiving facility's IMU/ITU at the time the individual is transferred.

IV. Property

A. The following property will be authorized in a Restrictive Housing unit based on space availability and MAX custody level/step assignment. Unless otherwise noted, individuals cannot retain property from general population while in Restrictive Housing. Exception requests must be submitted to the Superintendent in writing. All property will remain in the appropriate storage container when not in use as follows:

1. One 1O" x 12" x 18" box of legal documents/papers from the individual's general population property.

2. One 1O" x 1O" x 1O" box or small sack to store all other authorized property:

   a. Prescription eyeglasses from the individual's general population property.

   b. Dentures from the individual's general population property.

   c. Telephone/address book from the individual's general population property.

      1) Address books that are hardbound or contain staples are not allowed in Restrictive Housing. When an address book is not allowed due to security concerns, the individual will be provided an opportunity to copy the contents onto an allowable document.

   d. One wedding band from the individual's general population property without diamonds, stones, or a raised surface that poses a security concern.

   e. Approved educational and/or self-help material.

   f. Paperback books, photographs, and publications.

   g. As authorized per DOC 560.200 Religious Programs:

      1) One small religious medallion, 2" in size without sharp edges, worn on a piece of string or thread.

      2) Religious material, if requested by the individual and with proper approval from custody and religious programs employees/contract staff/volunteers.

3) One medicine bag, 2.5" x 2.5" in size with no feathers, provided it is registered, approved, and worn on a piece of string only.

4) One prayer rug.

5) Unlined kufi/yarmulke/skull cap.

B. The following additional property will be authorized in an !MU/ITU/Segregation unit based on space availability and program management level assignment:

1. A plastic medic alert bracelet or other medical equipment, as approved by health services employees/contract staff and authorized by the CUS/ CMHUS.

2. Medication, as directed by health services employees/contract staff per DOC 650.020 Pharmaceutical Management.

C. All other property will be maintained in storage and will be reissued to the individual when released from !MU/ITU/Segregation.

1. When transferred from !MU/ITU/Segregation to another facility, the individual's property will be transferred per DOC 440.020 Transport of Offender Property.

D. Individuals may not request an inventory of their property, but will be provided with a current property matrix upon request.

V. Security Enhancement Plans (SEPs)

A. SEPs will be developed for individuals whose behavior warrants additional precautions to enhance employee/contract staff safety. Plans will focus on out-of-cell movement within the unit and assigned cell location. SEPs are not COC modifications.

1. The CUS/CMHUS will complete and submit DOC 21-638 Security Enhancement Plan to the Superintendent or designated Associate Superintendent, who will review the plan within one business day.

a. The designated Associate Superintendent will notify the Superintendent of any approved plans.

b. SEPs developed after hours will be approved through the facility Duty Officer and reviewed by the Superintendent or designated Associate Superintendent the next business day.

2. Approved SEPs will be recorded in the unit log and a copy will be forwarded to the MHA.

3. SEPs do not automatically disqualify an individual from level promotion or participation in congregate programming.

4. Modifications to visit procedures may be made using an SEP.

B. Once approved and implemented, the plan can only be discontinued with Superintendent approval.

1. Discontinued SEPs will be scanned into the electronic imaging system.

C. The Superintendent will review active SEPs at least every 30 days.

1. Continuation of an SEP for more than 42 days must be approved by the MHA. If the MHA approves, the MHA must review the plan every 30 days and approve any modifications to the plan.

D. When an individual with an active SEP transfers to another facility, the plan will be forwarded along with the individual and remain in effect at the receiving facility.

E. When an individual engages in any behavior associated with the following, mandatory security enhancements will be developed and imposed for a minimum of 14 days. After the 14 days, the Superintendent and facility management team will review the security enhancements.

1. A 602, 604, and/or 704 serious infraction (e.g., assault on an employee, weapon possession), or

a. Personal Protective Equipment (e.g., eye protection) will be identified as mandatory for use when interacting with individuals who have a history of assaulting an employee/contract staff/ volunteer with fluids.

2. Taking a cuff port hostage.

VI. Disruptive Hygiene Behavior

A. If an individual engages in disruptive hygiene behavior (i.e., the intentional smearing of any bodily fluid, including but not limited to feces and urine, on one's person or anywhere in a cell), the Disruptive Hygiene Behavior Response Protocol (Attachment 1) will be initiated.

VII. Health Services

A. Unless medical attention is needed more frequently, individuals in Restrictive Housing will receive a daily visit from a health care provider.

1. The presence of a health care provider will be announced.

2. The Health Care Authority will determine the frequency of physician visits to Restrictive Housing units.

3. Health services employees/contract staff will promptly identify individuals who are psychologically/physically deteriorating or showing signs of failing health and inform the Superintendent/designee.

   a. Facilities that are unable to manage an individual's healthcare needs will refer and transfer the individual to a facility designated by the Health Authority.

B. Mental health, medical, and dental employees/contract staff will schedule at least one in-person assessment by the 25th month for individuals assigned to a Restrictive Housing unit for longer than 2 consecutive years and once per year thereafter.

1. Medical and mental health assessments will be documented on DOC 13-435 Primary Encounter Report and dental assessments will be documented on DOC 13-047 Dental Treatment Record.

   a. A medical/mental health provider will also enter a Medical Encounter and/or a Mental Health Encounter in the Health Services section of the individual's electronic file.

2. If significant mental health deterioration is determined, recommendations will be made for alternative placement to better meet the mental health needs of an individual.

3. Refusal by individuals will be documented on DOC 13-048 Refusal of Medical, Dental, Mental Health, and/or Surgical Treatment. A copy of this form will be forwarded to the MHA for follow up.

C. Employees/contract staff observing behavior that may indicate a mental health issue exists should make an appropriate and timely referral using DOC 13-420 Request for Mental Health Assessment. The designated mental health provider will review the referral and take appropriate action.

1. If the need is emergent, the employee/contract staff will immediately notify the Shift Commander, who will assess the individual's condition and take appropriate action.

D. Transfers involving individuals with mental illness will be conducted per DOC 630.500 Mental Health Services.

E. Mental health services will be accessed per DOC 630.500 Mental Health Services. This includes self-referrals and employee referrals.

1. Mental health employees/contract staff will conduct rounds in the IMU/ITU at least once a week.

2. If an individual requests to be seen by Mental Health, the individual will be seen privately and in person within 48 hours.

F. Health services employees/contract staff will document all contacts in the individual's health record using DOC 13-435 Primary Encounter Report and on DOC 05-091 Daily Segregation Report and enter an encounter in the Health Services section of the individual's electronic file.

VIII. Programming Security Chair

A. Employees assigned to an !MU/ITU/Segregation, who may place an individual into a programming security chair will be trained on the proper use and restraint procedures for placing/removing individuals correctly and safely in/out of the chair.

1. Two employees will conduct procedures to place an individual in a programming security chair, in order, as follows:

a. The individual will be brought to the chair with hands cuffed in back.

b. The individual will at least be pat searched.

c. The individual will be placed in an approved, modified waist restraint with the longer chain on the side of the individual's writing hand.

1) Chain will be shortened with a padlock if the individual does not need to write.

2) Employees will ensure all restraints are double-locked, gauged correctly, and keyholes are facing the correct

direction.

d. The individual will kneel on the chair so regular leg restraints can be applied.

e. The Individual's wrists will be cuffed to the waist restraint.

f. The individual will be seated in the chair and the leg restraint chain will be dropped through the opening in the bar near the floor under the seat of the chair.

g. The chair will be closed and position secured using the pin-lock padlock.

h. Employees will visually inspect to ensure waist restraints are applied correctly, leg restraints are under the lower sliding tube, and pin-lock padlock is secured.

2. Individuals will be removed from the chair in reverse order of chair placement.

IX. Visits by Employees/Contract Staff

A. Employees assigned to the unit will conduct cell checks on an irregular schedule, no more than 30 minutes apart, to personally observe individuals in Restrictive Housing. Individuals who are violent or mentally disordered, or who demonstrate unusual or bizarre behavior, will receive more frequent observation. All cell checks will be documented in the unit log.

B. The CUS/CMHUS or designee will conduct daily cell checks.

1. The !MU/Segregation unit Correctional Sergeant will conduct one daily cell check each shift.

C. Classification employees will visit with each individual at least once a week, and in response to written requests.

D. On a rotating basis, a facility management team member will conduct a cell-by-cell walkthrough of each !MU/ITU/Segregation unit and make contact at each occupied cell weekly per DOC 110.100 Prison Management Expectations.

1. An Associate Superintendent will conduct the walkthrough bimonthly.
2. The Superintendent will conduct the walkthrough at least once a month.

X. Documentation

A. DOC 05-091 Daily Segregation Report or an electronic version will be maintained for each individual housed in !MU/ITU/Segregation. Electronic versions will be printed and maintained in the same manner as the paper version. The report will be updated during and after each shift and document:

1. Transactions and activities concerning the individual and any active COCs. Specific transactions include:

   a. Sick call and medication distribution,
   b. Shower schedule,

c. Exercise schedule,
d. Visits,
e. Attorney telephone calls,
f. Requests for legal resources,
g. Major incidents of any type,
h. Program activities (e.g., education, religious services), and
i. Contact by health services employees/contract staff.

2. The reasons for any decision to refuse property or an activity.

3. Medical observations and/or medications administered.

4. Walkthroughs and daily cell checks, including checks by the Unit Sergeant for individuals on pen/paper restriction.

5. Unusual occurrences and/or behavior.

B. The Unit Sergeant will review DOC 05-091 Daily Segregation Report or the electronic version each shift and note the review in the unit log.

XI. Direct Release from !MU/ITU/Segregation to the Community

A. !MU/ITU/Segregation unit employees will develop a community release notification for any individual releasing directly from MAX custody into the community, regardless of whether the individual has community supervision/ custody. The release notification template can be found under the Prisons report category in the Report Wizard section of the Offender Management Network Information (OMNI) system.

1. Release notifications will be forwarded to the MHA for final approval and distribution.

2. When possible, notification will be approved and distributed at least 30 days before the individual's release. Distribution will include the Assistant

Secretaries for Prisons, Reentry, and Community Corrections.

B. !MU/ITU/Segregation unit employees will make appropriate transportation arrangements, which may include transporting the individual to the individual's community destination.

1. Individuals releasing directly from MAX custody will not be placed on public transportation upon release.

C. Individuals releasing directly from Ad Seg, pre-hearing confinement, or disciplinary segregation will be reviewed on an individual basis by the facility CPM/CMHPM to determine if a notification should be developed or alternative transportation arrangements need to be made.

DEFINITIONS:

Words/terms appearing in this policy may be defined in the glossary section of the Policy Manual.

ATTACHMENTS:

Disruptive Hygiene Behavior Response Protocol (Attachment 1) Restrictive Housing Level System Grid (Attachment 2)

DOC FORMS:

DOC 05-091 Daily Segregation Report DOC 13-047 Dental Treatment Record

DOC 13-048 Refusal of Medical. Dental. Mental Health. and/or Surgical Treatment
DOC 13-349 Intersystem/Restrictive Housing Mental Health Screening

DOC 13-420 Request for Mental Health Assessment
DOC 13-427 Mental Status Examination

DOC 13-432 Nursing Assessment of Patient Placed in Restrictive Housing
DOC 13-435 Primary Encounter Report

DOC 21-632 Restrictive/Secured Housing Unit Conditions of Confinement Modification Approval

DOC 21-638 Security Enhancement Plan

STATE OF WASHINGTON DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS	APPLICABI LITY **PRISON** OFFENDER/SPANISH MANUALS		
	REVISION DATE 8/11/20	PAGE NUMBER 1 of 14	NUMBER **DOC 320.250**
POLICY	TITLE **MAXIMUM CUSTODY PLACEMENT/ TRANSFER/RELEASE**		

REVIEW/REVISION HISTORY:

Effective:	*617100*
Revised:	
Revised:	12/27/05
Revised:	11/21/06
Revised:	
Revised:	1/25/08
Reviewed:	12/23/08 AB 08-035
Revised:	
Revised:	*719109*
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Revised:	6/14/12
Revised:	5/19/14
	2/1/15
	10/26/16
	3/6/20
	8/11/20

SUMMARY OF REVISION/REVIEW:

Added I.D. that the Classification Corrections Specialist 4 will manage all transfers for individuals assigned to MAX custody

Added X.A.1.c. 5) & 6) programming and court order to the reasons for requesting transfer between IMUs

Added X.A.1.c. 6) a) that the Classification Corrections Specialist 4 will monitor the status of individuals transferred per a court order and document contact with the court in the electronic file

APPROVED:

Signature on file

7128120

STEPHEN SINCLAIR, Secretary
Department of Corrections

Date Signed

REFERENCES:

DOC 100.100 is hereby incorporated into this policy; RCW 10.95.170; DOC 300.380 Classification and Custody Facility Plan Review; DOC 320.180 Separatee and Facility Prohibition Management; DOC 320.200 Administrative Segregation; DOC 320.255 Restrictive Housing; DOC 320.400 Risk and Needs Assessment

POLICY:

I. The Department has established guidelines for demotion to, transfer between, and release from Maximum (MAX) custody for incarcerated individuals who:

A. Pose a significant risk to the safety and security of employees, contract staff, volunteers, or other individuals,
B. Have validated protection needs, or
C. Designated individuals with serious mental illness.

DIRECTIVE:

I. Responsibilities

A. Superintendents will designate an employee(s) responsible for coordinating MAX custody assignments, transfers, and releases.

B. The Director of Mental Health will develop criteria, as needed, for the placement of seriously mentally ill individuals on MAX custody and will serve on the Headquarters MAX Custody Committee.

C. The Command A Deputy Director or Mission Housing Administrator (MHA) will chair the Headquarters MAX Custody Committee, which will be multidisciplinary and include at least:

1. Classification and Case Management Administrator/designee,
2. Director of Mental Health/designee,
3. Chief of Investigative Operations/designee,
4. Cognitive Behavioral Change Administrator/designee, and
5. Corrections Specialist 4.

D. The Classification Corrections Specialist 4 will manage all transfers for individuals assigned to MAX custody based on decisions made by the MAX Custody Committee's decision of where the individual will be housed.

II. Maximum Custody Housing

A. Select Prisons will have designated Security Level 5 MAX custody beds.

1. Intensive Treatment Units (ITUs) have been established at the Monroe Correctional Complex (MCC) in the Special Offender Unit (SOU) and at the Washington Corrections Center for Women for seriously mentally ill individuals.

B. Individuals of any custody level may be referred for MAX custody.

1. Before requesting assignment to MAX custody, less restrictive alternatives will be considered.

2. Referrals to MAX custody may occur at any point in the Administrative Segregation (Ad Seg) process.

C. Individuals housed in an Intensive Management Unit (IMU) or an ITU are a significant risk to the security and safety of employees, contract staff, volunteers, and/or other individuals by means of, but not limited to:

1. Commission of violent serious infraction(s),
2. Chronic behavioral/infraction problems,
3. Acts that present a significant risk (e.g., escape, active security threat group participation), and/or
4. Validated protection needs.

III. Referral Process

A. The following procedures are required for referral to MAX custody:

1. The Ad Seg Hearing Officer will review all pertinent information, conduct a formal hearing, and make a recommendation to the Superintendent/ designee using the Custody Facility Plan (CFP) in the individual's electronic file.

a. The individual's custody level should be reviewed at this time.
b. For ITU placement:

1) Documentation of a seriously mentally ill individual's status by a mental health professional is required.

2) A mental health professional should confirm the individual's current mental health status.

2. Recommendations will be submitted through the Correctional Program Manager/Correctional Mental Health Program Manager (CPM/CMHPM).

3. The Superintendent/designee will review and approve/deny the recommendation.

4. If approved, the CFP will be sent to the Corrections Specialist 4 at Headquarters for Headquarters MAX Custody Committee review.

B. If an individual needs to be housed in an ITU, and no beds are available in facilities with an ITU, the individual will be housed in other restrictive housing with appropriate mental health staffing until a bed becomes available.

C. Individuals assigned to MAX custody with a PULHESDXTR "S" code of 3 or higher will be transferred to the IMU at MCC within 30 days of being assigned, unless the Headquarters MAX Custody Committee identifies specific programming for the individual in another IMU.

1. If beds are limited or legitimate reasons exist not to place an individual assigned to MAX custody in the IMU at MCC, the individual may be housed at the Washington State Penitentiary IMU as space allows.

IV. Headquarters MAX Custody Committee

A. The Corrections Specialist 4 will review the plan for Headquarters MAX Custody Committee consideration and:

1. Concur with the facility's recommendation, or
2. Develop a recommendation based upon information including:

a. The facility's recommended plan,
b. Active separation/prohibited placements,
c. Available facility beds, and
d. Available programming on MAX custody.

B. The Corrections Specialist 4 will present the facility's recommendation, with Corrections Specialist 4's own recommendation, to the Headquarters MAX

Custody Committee.

1. The Headquarters MAX Custody Committee chair will:

    a. Identify committee members and determine when a quorum has been established. The committee will meet weekly to review the plan(s) and placement options.

    b. Consider the committee's input and make the final decision.

1) If the chair denies MAX custody placement/transfer/release, the Corrections Specialist 4 will provide the Superintendent with direction regarding the individual's housing assignment.

c. Consider the individual's eligibility to progress through levels based on the reason(s) the individual was demoted to MAX custody.

1) The individual may be eligible for Level 2 only if assigned MAX custody for:

a) Assault on an employee/contract staff/volunteer,
b) Assault with a weapon,
c) Disturbance/assault involving multiple individuals, or
d) Has been identified as an influential member of a security threat group.

2) The individual may not be eligible for level promotion when refusing placement in general population (e.g., protection concerns that have not been validated).

C. Individuals who wish to appeal a Headquarters MAX Custody Committee decision must complete DOC 07-037 Classification Appeal and submit it to the Assistant Secretary for Prisons/designee.

V. Maximum Custody Procedures

A. The Correctional Unit Supervisor (CUS)/Ad Seg Hearing Officer will preside over Facility Risk Management Team (FRMT) reviews of individuals assigned to MAX custody.

1. MAX custody FRMT reviews for seriously mentally ill individuals will include a mental health professional.

B. Employees will identify the individual's risks and needs and program

expectations per DOC 320.400 Risk and Needs Assessment, and using the case plan, criminal conviction record, past CFPs, and other available information.

1. This process will be completed within the first 10 business days of arrival at the assigned facility and will include development of a Behavior and Programming Plan (BPP) in the individual's electronic file.

    a. The individual's input and response to the BPP will be reviewed and recorded. The results of the review will be documented in the Offender Comments section.

b. If the electronic file is not accessible, employees will use DOC 21-472 Behavior and Programming Plan (BPP) and enter the information into the individual's electronic file when available.

2. An Individual Behavior Management Plan (IBMP) may be developed at the discretion of mental health employees/contract staff, with input from unit classification and custody employees, using DOC 13-069 Individual Behavior Management Plan.

a. The individual will be invited to participate in the development of the plan(s). If the individual refuses to participate, the plan will be developed without the individual's input.

b. Employee/contract staff and the individual's safety will be a priority in the development of IBMPs.

c. IBMPs are developed specific to each individual and may contain unconventional approaches to encourage change.

1) The Superintendent/Facility Medical Director must review and approve an IMBP that contains language that appears to conflict with Department policies and/or procedures.

3. A Mental Health Treatment Plan (MHTP) may be developed at the discretion of mental health employees/contract staff.

C. If an individual on MAX custody exhibits dangerous negative behavior that is detrimental to the individual's own safety or the safety of others, a Security Enhancement Plan may be completed per DOC 320.255 Restrictive Housing.

D. Appropriate facility employees will:

1. Update the CFP.

2. Maintain case planning activities with individuals, as applicable, and update the individual's electronic file.

3. Update separatee/protective custody and prohibited facility information in the individual's electronic file per DOC 320.180 Separatee and Facility Prohibition Management.

4. Ensure Chronological Event (chrono) entries in the individual's electronic file are up-to-date addressing case plan activities, classification hearing

results, level assignment, or other pertinent information concerning the individual's status.

5. Review Behavior Observation Entries (BOEs) and discuss content with the individual during formal and informal reviews.

E. An ITU mental health employee/contract staff will provide mental health treatment and maintain appropriate documentation in the MHTP, IBMP, and progress notes.

VI. Maximum Custody Level/Step System

A. Individuals may earn levels, including privileges, through their behavior per DOC 320.255 Restrictive Housing.

1. Individuals assigned to an IMU will enter at Level 1 or the level earned during the Ad Seg process per DOC 320.200 Administrative Segregation.

B. An individual's compliance with the BPP or IBMP will determine the individual's management level/step assignment, with increased privileges used as positive reinforcement.

1. When eligible, individuals will seek level/step promotion in writing to the GUS/Correctional Mental Health Unit Supervisor (CMHUS). Employees/ contract staff may also initiate reviews for level/step promotion. The CUS/ designee will act on all requests within 5 business days of submission of the request.

2. Level promotions/demotions will be documented in the BPP by the individual's case manager.

C. Promotions and demotions to different program management levels/steps will not be automatic, and will be based on the following:

1. Infraction history,
2. Cell cleanliness,
3. Personal hygiene,
4. Compliance with the BPP or IBMP, including acceptable communication, cooperation, and interaction with employees/contract staff and other individuals,
5. Overall behavior and attitude,
6. BOE(s) in the individual's electronic file, and/or
7. For ITU, mental health stability as it relates to safety and security issues.

D. The Unit Sergeant may immediately demote an individual's level based on the individual's behavior. Permanent level demotion must be approved by the CUS/CMHUS within 2 business days.

E. If an individual's program level/step is demoted, or a promotion request is denied, the individual will receive the decision and the timeframe to reapply on DOC 21-621 Maximum Custody Intensive Management Unit (IMU) Level/Step Demotion Review within 2 business days.

F. Demotions and denials may be appealed to the CPM/CMHPM or designee.

1. Appeal requests must be submitted in writing within 48 hours of receipt of the written decision.

2. The CPM/CMHPM will provide a final decision within 5 business days.

G. The case manager will update the level status in an individual's BPP and as a chrono in the electronic file to reflect a level promotion or demotion.

VII. Progressive Movement to Less Restrictive Custody

A. Progression through the levels/steps will be considered when determining promotion to a less restrictive custody level.

1. Individuals will be provided a unit handbook containing unit rules and expectations, and

2. The case manager will complete a BPP and provide a copy to the individual.

B. An individual's compliance with the BPP or IBMP will determine progressive movement out of IMU through the MAX Custody Level System.

1. After a minimum of 30 days on Level 1, an individual may be reviewed for promotion to level 2.

2. After a minimum of 30 days on Level 2, an individual may be reviewed for promotion to Level 3.

3. Identified individuals housed in a Transition Pod may be reviewed for promotion to Level 4 based on programming participation and employee/ contract staff observation.

4. Transferring MAX custody individuals will retain their assigned level from the previous facility.

a. Within 10 days of arrival at the assigned facility:

1) Individuals will be provided a unit handbook containing unit rules and expectations, and

2) The case manager will complete a BPP and provide a copy to the individual.

b. Individuals initially assigned to an ITU will enter at Step 2. If an individual has transferred to ITU directly from an IMU, the individual's current MAX custody level will be considered as follows:

1) IMU Level 1 is equal to Step 2
2) IMU Level 2 is equal to Step 3
3) IMU Level 3 is equal to Step 4 or 5 as determined by the CUS

5. Time that an individual spends outside the unit on court order will not count in the time calculation for a level promotion.

6. Step promotions for seriously mentally ill individuals will be managed through a multidisciplinary process involving the individual, mental health employees/contract staff, case manager, and custody employees.

VIII. Work Programs

A. Individuals assigned MAX custody:

1. Level 3/4 or are seriously mentally ill will be eligible to apply and/or be assigned to a unit work program, if available.

2. Will be under continuous supervision when performing their assigned tasks.

B. When an individual from another unit is brought into the unit to perform assigned tasks, the individual will be strip searched and under direct supervision of employees while in the unit.

C. Work program assignments will be documented in the individual's electronic file.

IX. Program/Treatment/Activity Opportunities

A. Each IMU/ITU will operate facility-specific programs, treatment, and activities that allow for out-of-cell time.

B. Out-of-cell opportunities will be identified that are consistent with reasonable safety and security practices, while providing interventions consistent with the BPP or IBMP and assigned level. Based on risks and needs, individuals assigned to MAX custody will be required to participate in at least one programming opportunity.

1. An assessment will be conducted to identify and match the individual's risks and needs with available programs.

2. Individuals must actively participate in or complete designated program(s) that are consistent with their BPP/IBMP/MHTP.

   a. Recommended programming/treatment will be documented in the individual's BPP/IBMP/MHTP.

3. Upon receiving a programming decision from the Headquarters MAX Custody Committee, the facility offering the programming/treatment will be notified of the decision.

   a. A list of individuals approved for specific programming will be maintained in Offender Management Network Information (OMNI). This list will include each individual's enrollment priority.

4. Once accepted, the individual's progress in the program (e.g., attendance, participation, evaluations, achievements), will be documented in the individual's electronic file.

5. Failure to participate in programming opportunities may be cause to deny level promotion and may impact promotion to a lower custody classification.

C. Facilities that house individuals assigned to MAX custody will provide programming/activities in a congregate classroom environment using authorized programming security chairs per DOC 320.255 Restrictive Housing.

X. Classification Reviews

A. Classification reviews will be conducted per DOC 320.200 Administrative Segregation and DOC 300.380 Classification and Custody Facility Plan Review. These reviews will be conducted out-of-cell, include the reason for placement, and should focus on the specific behavioral expectations for the individual.

1. Formal classification reviews will be held at intervals not to exceed 180 days.

a. A review and determination of the individual's adjustment and progress in meeting the specific criteria in the BPP/IBMP/MHTP will be completed and documented in the CFP.

1) Progress will be considered in developing a plan for less restrictive housing, but will not necessarily result in promotion.

2) When it has been determined that the individual has met expectations for custody promotion, the CFP will be submitted immediately.

b. FRMT reviews recommending placement, transfer, or promotion will address the following objective criteria:

1) Recent infractions and dates,
2) Number and severity of infractions, and nature of infractions resulting in previous restrictive housing assignment or disciplinary segregation,
3) Previous MAX custody assignments,
4) Level of cooperation with employees/contract staff,
5) Voluntary program participation, including names and completion dates,
6) General adjustment in Restrictive Housing,
7) Documented affiliation with subversive and security threat groups,
8) Presence and/or extent of threat the individual poses to self, the safety of the facility, and/or others,
9) Mental health issues, including compliance with medications and mutually agreed-upon treatment for individuals,
10) Case plan activities,
11) Separatee/prohibited placement issues prior to release,
12) Review of confidential information which contributed to the initial placement,
13) Release planning (e.g., Offender Reentry Community Safety, release plan),
14) The individual's comments, and

15) Current level and date assigned.

c. Reasons for requesting transfer between IMUs include, but will not be limited to:

1) History of individual's disruptive behavior,
2) Mental health issues,

3) Preparing the individual for transition,
4) Facility operational needs,
5) Programming assigned by the MAX Custody Committee, and,
6) Court order.

a) The Classification Corrections Specialist 4 will:

(1) Monitor the status of individuals transferred per a court order to ensure the individual remains at the holding location or is cleared to return to the facility assigned by the MAX Custody Committee, and

(2) Document contact with the court as a chrono in the individual's electronic file.

2. Informal classification reviews will be held at intervals not to exceed 60 days.

B. CFPs requesting demotion/transfer/promotion from MAX custody will be sent to the Corrections Specialist 4 for Headquarters MAX Custody Committee review.

1. Retention of individuals on MAX custody for 36 months or longer requires review and approval by the Assistant Secretary for Prisons.

C. The CFP screen in the individual's electronic file will be updated to reflect the decision of the Headquarters MAX Custody Committee.

1. A transfer order will be initiated, as appropriate, in the individual's electronic file using the applicable facility location.

D. If an individual is promoted from MAX custody and no bed is available in general population, the individual will retain the earned level privileges until a bed

becomes available. The individual will not be placed on Ad Seg status while awaiting a bed, unless specific behavior warrants the placement.

E. An individual promoted from MAX custody and transferred to another facility will not be placed on Ad Seg status pending assessment at the receiving facility unless specific behavior warrants the placement. The MHA will be notified if this occurs.

1. If transferring through the Washington Corrections Center IMU and scheduled to stay there for more than 7 days, the individual will retain the last MAX custody level achieved upon request.

XI. Headquarters Direct Release Committee

A. The Headquarters Direct Release Committee will monitor MAX custody individuals that have 6 months or less until their Earned Release Date (ERO). The committee will:

1. Consist of a multidisciplinary team with a minimum of the following members:

   a. MHA serving as the chair
   b. Headquarters Classification Corrections Specialist 4
   c. Director of Mental Health/designee
   d. Housing Program Administrator/designee
   e. Community Corrections Division Regional Administrator/designee
   f. Individual's case manager or CUS/CMHUS

2. Meet monthly to review/discuss an individual's release planning to include:

   a. General population release options
   b. Transition funds/vouchers
   c. Victim/witness concerns

3. Collaborate with facility employees to house individuals in the least restrictive environment possible before release to the community.

   a. If placement in general population is not feasible, the committee will ensure individuals have a clear transition plan in place with access to services that may be available.

DEFINITIONS:

The following words/terms are important to this policy and are defined in the glossary section of the Policy Manual: Mental Health Professional; Security Level 5. Other words/terms appearing in this policy may also be defined in the glossary.

ATTACHMENTS:

None

DOC FORMS:

DOC 07-037 Classification Appeal

DOC 13-069 Individual Behavior Management Plan
DOC 21-472 Behavior and Programming Plan (BPP)

DOC 21-621 Maximum Custody Intensive Management Unit (IMU) Level/Step Demotion Review

DISRUPTIVE HYGIENE BEHAVIOR RESPONSE PROTOCOL (1/2)

Disruptive Hygiene Behavior is the intentional smearing of any bodily fluid, including but not limited to feces and urine, on one's person or anywhere in a cell.

Section 1	
D	The individual is identified as engaging in the behavior. Information regarding the incident (e.g., name, DOC number, cell location, time protocol started) will be documented in the unit log and on DOC 05-091 Daily Segregation Report, and the Unit Sergeant will be notified.
D	Mental Health will be notified, but will not respond immediately. The individual's mental health records will be reviewed in an attempt to determine if the individual has active mental health issues driving the behavior or if the individual is seeking attention.
D	If the cell was smeared and no safety concerns exist (e.g., covered window, self-harm occurring, visible open wounds), the individual will be directed to clean the cell and appropriate cleaning supplies, including gloves, will be offered.
If the individual complies, or only smeared on the individual's person, go to SECTION 5	
D	If the individual refuses to clean the cell, the refusal will be documented in the unit log, and the Unit Sergeant will be notified.
D	The individual will be asked if there are any open wounds. If the individual states that there are, the individual will be directed to show employees the wound(s).
If an open wound(s) exists, go to SECTION 2	
D	A screen will be placed in front of the cell door and, if necessary, appropriate deodorizers will be applied around the door to cover any odor that may exit into the unit.
D	The individual will be notified that before receiving the next meal, the cell must be cleaned and the individual must take a shower.
If the individual complies, go to SECTION 5	
D	The individual will be checked for compliance during normal tier checks. During each check, the individual will be offered cleaning supplies. Conversations with the individual will be kept to a minimum. Comments regarding the behavior (e.g., smell) will not be made.
If the individual complies, go to SECTION 5	
D	If the individual has not cleaned the cell when the first meal following the behavior is served, the individual will not be provided a meal due to potential health hazards that may exist. The individual will be told why a meal was not received and will be directed to clean the cell. The individual will be notified if the individual does not clean the cell by the time the next meal is served, the individual will be removed from the cell.
If the individual complies, go to SECTION 5	
D	If the individual does not clean the cell by the second meal, the Shift Lieutenant and Mental Health will be contacted. Mental health employee/contract staff will determine whether they will try and dialogue with the individual.
D	The Shift Lieutenant will contact the Superintendent/designee or the facility Duty Officer after hours and receive authorization, if necessary, to remove the individual using an entry team.
D	The entry team will prepare and complete its initial brief on video. Once completed, a show of

	force will be made outside of the individual's cell.
D	The individual will be directed to submit to wrist restraints.
If the individual complies with restraints being applied, go to SECTION 4	
If the individual does not comply with restraints being applied, go to SECTION 2	

DISRUPTIVE HYGIENE BEHAVIOR RESPONSE PROTOCOL (2/2)

Section 2
D If the individual refuses directives, appropriate steps will be followed by the Team Leader, to include the use of Oleoresin Capsicum (QC).
D The individual will be removed from the cell and offered QC decontamination.
If the individual accepts OC decontamination, go to SECTION 3
If the individual does not accept OC decontamination and behavior is appropriate, go to SECTION 5
If the individual does not accept OC decontamination and behavior is inappropriate, go to SECTION 4

Section 3
D The individual will be QC decontaminated using unit protocol, to include clothes being removed/ cut off.
If the individual's behavior is appropriate, go to SECTION 5
If the individual's behavior is inappropriate, go to SECTION 4

Section 4
D Based on the individual's behavior, unit employees will determine if the individual should be placed in a holding cell or restraint chair.
Once the individual's behavior is appropriate, go to SECTION 5

Section 5
D The individual will be placed in a shower. The individual will be given a bar of soap and will have 10 minutes to shower. The individual can choose whether or not to take a shower.
D If the cell was smeared and the individual refused to clean it, employees or individual porters that are trained in blood/body fluid cleanup per DOC 670.000 Communicable Disease, Infection Prevention, and Immunization Program will clean the contaminated cell while the individual is in the shower and will dispose of items appropriately.
D The individual will be given clean clothing for any soiled clothing. Once dressed, the individual will be returned to the same cell, if possible.
D The individual will be given a sack lunch or appropriate meal. If a hot meal was served within an hour of the individual becoming compliant, the individual will be given a hot meal.

RESTRICTIVE HOUSING LEVEL SYSTEM GRID

Program Activities	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
Showers, 10 minutes - 3 times per week	X	X	X	X
Out-of-cell recreation - 5 times per week	X	X	X	X
Telephone access	X	X	X	X
Eligible for one radio		X		
Eligible for one radio or one television, not both			X	
Eligible for in-unit work assignment			X	
Up to $10 weekly commissary order for IMU-approved personal hygiene and correspondence related items only	X	X	X	X
Up to $10 weekly commissary order for IMU-approved food items only; total commissary order cannot exceed $15			X	
Up to $15 weekly commissary order for !MU-approved food items only; total commissary order cannot exceed $20				X
Receive 1st class mail	X	X	X	X
No contact visits	2 hours, once per week	3 hours, once per week	4 hours, once per week, or 2 hours, twice per week	4 hours, once per week, or 2 hours, twice per week
Receive publications	2	3	4	4
Books - Facility issue, softbound only; hardbound acceptable for educational purposes if softbound is unavailable	2	2	2	2
Books - Outside publisher, softbound only; hardbound acceptable for educational purposes if softbound is unavailable; books must be facility-issued from an approved higher learning institution	2	3	3	3
Personal photographs, 4" x 6"	10	10	10	10

Legal documents/papers and reference material, provided the individual has a validated pending court case - 25 lb. maximum weight of box	X	X	X	X

STATE OF WASHINGTON DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS	APPLICABILITY PRISON OFFENDER MANUAL		
	EFFECTIVE DATE 1/30/17	PAGE NUMBER 1 of 4	NUMBER DOC 540.150
POLICY	TITLE NATURE IMAGERY PROGRAM		

REVIEW/REVISION HISTORY:

Effective: 1/30/17

SUMMARY OF REVISION/REVIEW:

New policy. Read carefully!

APPROVED:

Signature on file

RICHARD "DICK" MORGAN, Secretary
Department of Corrections

12-27-16
Date Signed

REFERENCES:

DOC 100.100 is hereby incorporated into this policy; DOC 290.055 Sustainable Practices; DOC 300.010 Offender Behavior Observation; DOC 320.255 Restrictive Housing; DOC 310.300 Skill Building Unit

POLICY:

I. In consultation with the Mission Housing Administrator (MHA), facilities may establish a Nature Imagery Program (NIP) to assist offenders housed in a Skill Building Unit (SBU) or restrictive housing manage stress and enhance overall behavior and personal wellbeing. Through the NIP, eligible offenders will have the opportunity to immerse themselves in the sights and sounds of nature in a safe and secure, out-of-cell environment.

DIRECTIVE:

I. Responsibilities

A. Each facility with a NIP will designate a facility NIP Coordinator, who will:

1. Maintain a NIP schedule and post it in an area accessible to offenders in the unit.

2. Maintain and update a summary of the program, including a list of available videos posted in the NIP space.

3. Coordinate with Evergreen State College for provision of available nature videos through the Sustainability in Prisons Project per DOC 290.055 Sustainable Practices.

II. Nature Imagery Program Space

A. Spaces will be painted with Sherwin Williams #6464 Aloe or #6736 Jocular Green.

B. Projected images will be a minimum of 3' wide to provide the offender with an immersive experience.

III. Participation

A. Offenders may choose to participate in the NIP by making a written request to the NIP Coordinator. The written request must include the video the offender would like to view.

1. Offenders participating for the first time each month will take priority over those who have already participated that month.

2. Participation for offenders in restrictive housing will occur during the offender's scheduled recreational yard.

3. Offenders in restrictive housing participating for the first time will be placed in a programming chair with restraints and as determined thereafter by unit employees/contract staff, who will consider:

   a. The offender's current level,
   b. Recent infractions, and
   c. Recent interactions with employees and contract staff.

4. Offenders in restrictive housing will be provided with a flex pen and paper.

B. Offenders will be placed in the NIP space to view the video for up to 45 minutes in the Nature Imagery space unless s/he has been determined to be in crisis.

C. Offenders that act inappropriately while using the space will lose access for 30 days. The behavior will be documented:

1. On DOC 21-917 Incident Report and forwarded to the Correctional Unit Supervisor (CUS) for offenders housed in restrictive housing.

2. As a Behavior Observation Entry (BOE) in the offender's electronic file per DOC 300.010 Offender Behavior Observation for offenders housed in the SBU.

D. Use of the NIP space, refusal to participate when recommended, and type of restraints used will be documented as follows:

1. Employees will complete an entry on DOC 05-091 Daily Report of Segregated Offender and in the unit log book for offenders housed in

restrictive housing or determined to be in crisis.

2. A BOE will be completed in the offender's electronic file for offenders housed in the SBU.

3. A local process will be established to track the use of NIP spaces.

E. NIP spaces will be closed in the following circumstances:

1. During any emergent incident that impacts unit operations.
2. Damage to the equipment in the NIP space.

3. Disruptive behavior in the NIP space.

IV. Crisis Intervention

A. If an offender has been determined to be in crisis (e.g., depressed, upset, anxious) by mental health employees/contract staff, the NIP may be used to assist in the management of the crisis.

1. Offenders in crisis will be given priority over offenders on the routine NIP space schedule.

2. Mental health employees/contract staff will consult with custody employees to determine if restraints/programming chair should be used.

3. The amount of time the offender will be allowed to use the space will be determined on a case-by-case basis.

4. Appropriate placement of the offender after using the NIP will be determined by mental health employees/contract staff and custody employees.

V. Data and Research Information

A. Surveys will be provided to offenders and employees/contract staff involved in the NIP to voluntarily provide feedback.

B. The CUS will forward NIP space usage data, including crisis intervention, to the MHA monthly.

C. Space usage data and completed surveys will be provided to Evergreen State College as part of the Sustainability in Prisons Project per DOC 290.055 Sustainable Practices.

ATTACHMENTS

None

DOC FORMS

DOC 05-091 Daily Report of Segregated Offender
DOC 21-917 Incident Report

APPENDIX B. IMU Prisoner Survey

This survey is part of a study of conditions of confinement in Washington State Intensive Management Units. We are interested in understanding your experiences in the IMU. Based on the information you provide, we hope to be able to make recommendations about improving conditions of confinement in the IMU and about reducing the use of segregation throughout Washington State, as well as in other states. ***Please do not write your name on this survey****, and we will not reveal any identifying information about you in our research or to the Washington Department of Corrections.*

I. About Your Time in IMU (Intensive Management Unit)

First we would like to learn about where you are housed and how long you have been in this unit. For each question below, please write your response in the space provided or fill in the circle that matches to your answer.

1. Where are you currently housed? (Specify the prison unit, please)

   _____

2. How long have you been in prison?

   - ○ Less than one year
   - ○ Between 1 to 2 years
   - ○ Between 2 to 4 years
   - ○ Between 4 to 7 years
   - ○ Between 7 to 10 years
   - ○ 10 or more years

3. How long have you been housed here in this IMU (Intensive Management Unit)?

   _____

4. Why you were placed in the IMU?
   - ○ Extreme protection needs
   - ○ Violent or disruptive behavior
   - ○ Residential treatment for mental illness
   - ○ Pending transfer or in transit
   - ○ Considered an escape risk
   - ○ Under investigation for infraction
   - ○ Poses threat to self, staff, other offenders, or property

5. In your own words, can you tell us more about why you were place in this housing unit?

_____

_____

_____

_____

   a. Did you have an intake assessment before being placed in the IMU?

      O Yes O No

   b. If yes: What was it like? Who did you talk to?

_____

_____

_____

6. Have you had any status reviews about your placement here? O Yes O No

   a. If yes: When? About how long ago?

      _____

   b. Have you had more than one review? How many?

      _____

7. Is this your first placement in this IMU? O Yes O No

   a. If no: How many times have you been in this IMU? _____

8. Have you been housed in other IMUs? O Yes O No

   a. If yes: Where? _____

   b. When? (Month/Year) _____

   c. For how long? _____

   d. Why? _____

      _____

9. While you have been housed in the IMU, have you seen changes in any of the following conditions:

	YES	NO
a) Health care for prisoners	O	O
b) Housing conditions	O	O
c) Food quality	O	O
d) Correctional officers' attitudes towards prisoners	O	O
e) Access to counselors or other mental health care	O	O
f) Length of time prisoners spend in IMU	O	O
g) Number of other prisoners in IMU	O	O
h) Amount of violence in IMU	O	O

10. Are there any other changes you have seen in the IMU housing unit you would like to tell us about?

_____

_____

_____

11. Have you ever tried to challenge your placement here? O Yes O No

a. If yes: Why? _____

_____

_____

II. Basic Conditions of Confinement

Now we would like to learn more about your day-to-day activities and experiences in IMU.

12. On a daily basis in IMU, do you:

	YES	NO
a) Talk to other prisoners	O	O
b) See staff	O	O
c) See visitors	O	O
d) Leave your cell	O	O
e) See medical staff	O	O
f) Shower/bathe	O	O
g) Read or write	O	O

	YES	NO
h) Sleep	O	O
i) Get searched or pat down	O	O
j) Have cell searched	O	O
k) Wait for prisoner counts	O	O
l) Eat three meals	O	O
m) Pray or read religious text	O	O
n) Watch television	O	O
o) Exercise	O	O
p) Receive medication	O	O
q) Send mail	O	O
r) Receive mail	O	O

13. Can you describe a day in the IMU: what you do from the time you wake up until you go to sleep?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. How often do you do each of the following:

	Daily	**Once a week**	**Once a month**	**Never**
a) Talk with other prisoners	O	O	O	O
b) See staff	O	O	O	O
c) Have visitors	O	O	O	O
d) Leave your cell	O	O	O	O
e) See medical staff	O	O	O	O
f) Shower/bathe	O	O	O	O
g) Read/write	O	O	O	O
h) Sleep	O	O	O	O
i) Get searched or pat down	O	O	O	O
j) Have cell searched	O	O	O	O
k) Wait for prisoner counts	O	O	O	O
l) Eat three meals	O	O	O	O
m) Pray or read religious text	O	O	O	O
n) Watch television	O	O	O	O
o) Exercise	O	O	O	O
p) Receive medication	O	O	O	O
q) Send mail	O	O	O	O
r) Receive mail	O	O	O	O

15. Compared to **general population housing**, how would you rate the conditions in IMU?
    - O Much better in IMU
    - O Slightly better in IMU
    - O No difference in IMU
    - O Slightly worse in IMU
    - O Much worse in IMU

16. Other people have described changes in themselves, after spending time in prison or in maximum security. In the time you have been here, have you experienced any changes in yourself?

    O Yes O No

    If yes, please describe them:

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

17. When do you expect to be released from IMU? _____

18. What do you have to do in order to be released from IMU?

    _____

    _____

    _____

III. Health and Well-being

In this section of the survey, we would like to ask you about your health and well-being. This information will be used to describe prisoners in IMU *as a group*. Your individual responses will not be shared with anyone.

19. To begin, how would you rate your overall health?
    - O Poor
    - O Fair
    - O Good
    - O Very Good
    - O Excellent

20. Have you had any health problems in prison, where you needed professional care? O Yes O No

21. Have you ever been told by a medical professional that you have one or more of the following conditions (check all that apply):

a) Diabetes	O YES	O NO
b) Congestive Heart Failure	O YES	O NO
c) Heart Disease (heart attack or angina)	O YES	O NO
d) History of a stroke	O YES	O NO
e) COPD (chronic bronchitis or emphysema)	O YES	O NO
f) Dementia of Mild Cognitive Impairment	O YES	O NO
g) Hearing Impairment	O YES	O NO
h) Arthritis	O YES	O NO

22. Have you fallen in the last 3 months, and gotten hurt? O Yes O No

    a. If yes, how many times? _____

23. Do you use a walker, cane or wheelchair? O Yes O No

24. Do you have trouble with any of the following daily activities:

a) Feeding yourself	O YES	O NO
b) Dressing yourself	O YES	O NO
c) Bathing yourself	O YES	O NO
d) Getting from your bed to a chair, or from a chair to standing	O YES	O NO
e) Using the toilet in your cell	O YES	O NO

25. How often do you see a doctor? _____

    a. Nurse? _____

    b. Therapist/Mental Health professional? _____

    c. Dentist? _____

    d. Other medical professional? _____

26. Do you take any medications? O Yes O No

27. Have you ever tried to harm yourself in the IMU? O Yes O No

28. Have you ever felt unsafe in the IMU? O Yes O No

29. Do you feel more or less safe in the IMU than in the general prison population?

- O More safe in IMU
- O No difference in safety
- O Less safe in IMU

30. Do you have any other medical conditions you would like to tell us about?

_____

_____

_____

IV. Background Information

Finally, we would like to ask you a few questions about yourself that will help us to interpret the results. We will use this information only to group you with others who are like you to see whether your views are similar.

31. What is your gender?

- O Male
- O Female
- O Other: _____

32. What is your marital status?

- O Married
- O Has a significant other
- O Single (Never married)
- O Divorced
- O Separated
- O Widowed

33. How old are you? _____

34. Do you have any children? O Yes O No

a. If yes, how many? _____

35. What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- O 8th grade or less
- O 9th to 11th grade
- O 12th grade (High schooldiploma/GED)
- O Some college, but no degree
- O Associate's degree
- O Bachelor's degree
- O Master's degree
- O Professional or doctorate degree

36. What race or ethnicity do you consider yourself? (Please choose all that apply)

- O Black/African-American
- O White/Caucasian
- O Hispanic or Latino/a
- O Asian/Pacific-Islander
- O Native American
- O Middle Eastern
- O Other: _____

Please feel free to add additional details about things we asked about, or to make suggestions about other things we should have asked about. You can also continue on to the back of the page if needed.

APPENDIX C. IMU Staff Survey

This survey is part of a study of conditions of confinement in Washington State Intensive Management Units. We are interested in understanding your experiences in the IMU. Based on the information you provide, we hope to be able to make recommendations about improving conditions of confinement in the IMU and about reducing the use of segregation throughout Washington State, as well as in other states. ***Please do not write your name on this survey****, and we will not reveal any identifying information about you in our research or to the Washington Department of Corrections.*

I. Basic Work Questions

First we would like to learn about where you work and how long you have worked in this job. For each question below, please write your response in the space provided or fill in the circle that corresponds to your answer.

1. What is the name of the prison where you work?

_____

2. What is your official title and rank?

_____

3. How long have you worked at this facility? _____ years _____ months

4. Have you worked in any other prisons before working here? ○ Yes ○ No

   If yes, where: _____

5. How many years in total have you worked in corrections? _____

6. What post are you currently assigned to in the facility? _____

7. How long have you been assigned to this post? _____

8. What shift do you currently work (check all that apply)?

   ○ 1st ○ 2nd ○ 3rd

9. Did you receive any specific training when assigned this post? ○ Yes ○ No

If yes, what: _____

II. Correctional Officers' and Prison Staff Daily Work Tasks

Now we would like to learn more about the work that you perform day-to-day.

10. How frequently do you perform these activities in your current work assignment? Would you say that you "**never**" perform the task, **"rarely**" perform the task (less than once a week), "**sometimes**" perform the task (1-3 times a week), "**regularly**" perform the task (4-6 times a week), or that you perform the task "**daily**" (7 or more times a week)?

a) Escort offenders to and from locations	O	O	O	O	O
b) Investigate incidents or individuals	O	O	O	O	O
c) Distribute mail	O	O	O	O	O
d) Observe/watch offenders	O	O	O	O	O
e)Issue supplies to offenders	O	O	O	O	O
f) Talk to offenders about their problems	O	O	O	O	O
g) Paperwork	O	O	O	O	O
h) Refer offenders for services	O	O	O	O	O
i) Advocate for offenders	O	O	O	O	O
j) Break up fights	O	O	O	O	O
k) Distribute food, medication and other goods	O	O	O	O	O
l) Write disciplinary reports	O	O	O	O	O
m) Schedule appointments for offenders	O	O	O	O	O
n) Serve on committees	O	O	O	O	O
o) Testify at hearings	O	O	O	O	O
p) Frisk offenders/conduct pat searches	O	O	O	O	O
q) Search cells for contraband	O	O	O	O	O
r) Collect urinalysis tests	O	O	O	O	O
s) Counsel offenders	O	O	O	O	O
t) Check identification (offenders and visitors)	O	O	O	O	O
u) Lock and unlock cells	O	O	O	O	O
v) Patrol cellblocks, tiers, yard and other locations	O	O	O	O	O
w) Help offenders solve their problems	O	O	O	O	O
x) Gather information about offender activities	O	O	O	O	O
y) Transport offenders to and from prison	O	O	O	O	O
z) Physically restrain offenders	O	O	O	O	O
aa) Monitor offenders' mail and telephone calls	O	O	O	O	O
bb) Write administrative reports	O	O	O	O	O
cc) Relay information from offenders	O	O	O	O	O
dd) Inspect cells	O	O	O	O	O
ee) Forcibly remove offenders from their cells	O	O	O	O	O

ff) Document your own actions and decisions	O	O	O	O	O
gg) Intervene in arguments between offenders	O	O	O	O	O
hh) Take offender counts	O	O	O	O	O
ii) Listen to offenders	O	O	O	O	O
jj) Issue and check passes	O	O	O	O	O
kk) Take inventory of goods (e.g. food, materials)	O	O	O	O	O
ll) Inform offenders about policies and procedures	O	O	O	O	O
mm) Assign offenders tasks or duties	O	O	O	O	O
nn) Document the actions of offenders	O	O	O	O	O
oo) Relay information to offenders	O	O	O	O	O

11. Thinking about the time you spend watching or supervising offenders, how important would you say each of the following tasks are in terms of what you hope to accomplish or detect? Please use the scale below to tell us how much importance you place on each of the following during those times that you spend watching or supervising offenders. Please fill in the circle that corresponds with your answer.

	Very Important	Important	A Little Important	Not Important
a) Gather information about offenders and their activities	O	O	O	O
b) Gain a better understanding of offenders and their problems	O	O	O	O
c) Watch for rule violations	O	O	O	O
d) Watch for signs of possible physical or mental health problems	O	O	O	O
e) Watch for situations that may result in a fight/conflict	O	O	O	O
f) Watch for offender posing a threat to themselves/suicide risk	O	O	O	O

III. Work Experiences and Views on IMU

Now we would like to ask you some questions about your experiences at work and feelings about your current job.

12. Overall, how satisfied would you say you are with your job?

- Not Satisfied At All
- Mostly Unsatisfied
- Mostly Satisfied
- Very Satisfied

13. Knowing what you know now, if you had to decide all over again whether to take the job you now have, what would you decide?

O Decide not to take the same job

O Have second thoughts about taking the same job

O Decide yes, to take the same job

14. If a good friend of yours told you they were interested in working in a job like yours at this facility, what would you tell them?

O Advise my friend against taking the job

O Have doubts about recommending the job

O Recommend that my friend take the job

15. In general, how much say or influence do you feel you have on what goes on in your unit?

O A lot of influence

O Some influence

O Little or no influence

16. Does your immediate supervisor ask your opinion when a problem comes up that involves work?

O Always asks my opinion O Rarely asks my opinion O Sometimes asks my opinion O Never asks my opinion

17. Does the administration at your facility ask your opinion when a problem comes up that involves your work?

O Always asks my opinion O Sometimes asks my opinion O Rarely asks my opinion O Never asks my opinion

Please rate how strongly you agree with each of the following statements by filling out the circle for the corresponding response.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
18. My fellow officers often encourage each other to do the job in a way that we can really be proud of.	O	O	O	O
19. I know exactly what is expected of me.	O	O	O	O
20. The people I work with often have the importance of their jobs stressed to them by their immediate supervisors.	O	O	O	O

21.I have to do things at my job, that I believe should be done differently.	O	O	O	O
22.I receive assignments without the manpower to complete them.	O	O	O	O
23.In this job, I go from one crisis to the next.	O	O	O	O
24.My fellow officers often blame each other when things go wrong.	O	O	O	O

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
25. Staff shortages at my facility are a problem.	O	O	O	O
26. In this job, you always have to keep it in mind that trouble could happen at any time.	O	O	O	O
27. I am proud to tell others that I am part of this department.	O	O	O	O
28. My immediate supervisor encourages staff thinking of better ways of getting the work done.	O	O	O	O
29. There are clear, planned goals and expectations for my job.	O	O	O	O
30. Often, I find it difficult to agree with this department's policies on important matters relating to the offenders.	O	O	O	O
31. I work in a dangerous job.	O	O	O	O
32. At this facility, it seems like there is always some sort of crisis to deal with.	O	O	O	O
33. I feel very loyal to this unit.	O	O	O	O
34. When I write a ticket on an offender I know that it will be handled fairly though the administrative process.	O	O	O	O
35. I feel certain about how much authority I have.	O	O	O	O
36. The administration often encourages us to do the job in a way that we can really be proud of.	O	O	O	O
37. I work on unnecessary things.	O	O	O	O
38. Often, I find it difficult to agree with this department's policies on important matters relating to its employees.	O	O	O	O

More specifically, we would like to ask you some questions about your experiences and feelings working in IMU. There are no right or wrong answers; we just want to know your opinion.

39. Do you think most offenders housed in IMU need to be here for personal or institutional safety reasons? O Yes O No

40. Do you think most offenders housed in IMU deserve to be here because of something they did?
O Yes O No

41. What percentage of the offenders – from 0% to 100% – in the IMU would you estimate are seriously mentally ill? _____ %

---

42. In IMU, have you witnessed an offender expressing any of the following behavioral indicators:

	YES	NO
a) Smearing cells with excrement	O	O
b) Refusing to wash or bathe	O	O
c) Speaking or acting in a disorganized fashion	O	O
d) Clinging to bizarre, grandiose, or delusional beliefs	O	O
e) Hallucinating	O	O
f) Repeatedly threatening suicide	O	O
g) Harming themselves	O	O
h) Shunning all human interaction	O	O
i) Shouting and screaming for no evident reason	O	O

j) Other: _____ o o

43. Do you feel you have the training necessary to handle seriously mentally ill offenders in the IMU?
O Yes O No

44. Do you feel that mentally ill offenders receive adequate treatment in IMU?
O Yes O No

45. Has the IMU changed over your time working here? O Yes O No

46. Have these changes have improved your work conditions? O Yes O No

47. Have you seen positive changes in seriously mentally ill or disturbed offenders as a result of treatment programs? O Yes O No

48. Have you seen positive changes as a result of treatment programs among offenders who are in solitary for typical reasons: rackets, threats of violence, security threat group activities, etc.?

O Yes O No

People who work in prisons sometimes report that they worry about being hurt by the offenders they supervise. We would like to learn about your feelings on this issue.

49. Do you ever feel unsafe working in IMU? O Yes O No

50. We are interested in understanding how worried or anxious people who actually works in prisons are about being a victim of different kinds of events while at work. For each of the following events, please rate your current level of concern on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means that you are not concerned at all about it in IMU and 5 means you are very concerned about it in IMU.

	NOT CONCERNED 1	2	3	VERY CONCERNED 4 5
a) Having feces, urine, or other substances thrown on you	O	O	O	O O
b) Being spit on	O	O	O	O O
c) Being attacked with a weapon	O	O	O	O O
d) Being hit or punched	O	O	O	O O
e) Being raped or sexually assaulted	O	O	O	O O
f) Being pushed or shoved	O	O	O	O O
g) Being taken hostage	O	O	O	O O
h) Being bitten	O	O	O	O O
i) Being murdered while at work	O	O	O	O O
j) Having an object thrown at you	O	O	O	O O
k) Getting injured while having to overpower a disruptive offender	O	O	O	O O
l) Getting injured intervening in a fight between offenders	O	O	O	O O
m) Contracting a transmittable disease like AIDS, hepatitis,				

or tuberculosis	o	o	o	oo

Next we would like to ask you <u>how likely</u> you think it is that you will be hurt by an offender on the job.

51. While on the job, what do you think are your chances (from 0% to 100%) of being physically attacked by an offender in the next month?

_____ %

52. While on the job, what do you think are your chances (from 0% to 100%)

of being exposed to a transmittable disease like AIDS, hepatitis, or tuberculosis?

_____ %

53. What percentage of the offenders (from 0% to 100%) that you have contact with on your job would physically harm you if given the chance to do so?

_____ %

54. During the last month, what percentage of the time (from 0% to 100%) when you were actually working did you feel unsafe?

_____ %

55. Next, we would like to ask you about some specific things you may have experienced while working in the IMU. Thinking back over the last six months, please tell us about how many times the following things happened to you while at work in the IMU. Then, please tell us whether these things <u>have ever happened to you</u>, by filling in the circle to the right of each item.

	Has Event Ever Happened? YES NO	**If Yes, How Many Times in the Last Six Months:**
1. Had feces, urine, or other substances thrown on you	O O	_____
2. Being spit on by an offender	O O	_____
3. Attacked with a weapon by an offender	O O	_____
4. Hit or punched by an offender	O O	_____
5. Raped or sexually assaulted by an offender	O O	_____
6. Pushed or shoved by an offender	O O	_____
7. Taken hostage	O O	_____
8. Bitten by an offender	O O	_____
9. Had an object thrown at you by an offender	O O	_____
10. Injured while having to overpower a disruptive offender	O O	_____
11. Injured while intervening in a fight between offenders	O O	_____

IV. Health and Well-being

In this section of the survey, we would like to ask you about your health and well-being. This information will be used to describe correctional officers' feelings *as a group*. Your individual responses will not be shared with anyone.

56. To begin, how would you rate your overall health?

- O Poor
- O Fair
- O Good
- O Very Good
- O Excellent

57. During the past year, would you say that you experienced a lot of stress, a moderate amount of stress, relatively little stress, or almost no stress at all?

- O A lot of stress
- O A moderate amount of stress
- O Relatively little stress
- O Almost no stress at all

58. In the past year, how much effect has stress had on your health – a lot, some, hardly any, or none?

- O A lot
- O Some
- O Hardly any
- O None

59. During the last month, how often did you exercise or "work out" (e.g. lift weights, run, cycle, etc.)?

- O Daily, or almost everyday
- O Multiple times a week

- O Once a week or less
- O None

Please rate how strongly you agree with each of the following statements by filling out the circle for the corresponding response.

60. The Washington Department of Corrections provides adequate services to meet correctional officers' physical health needs.

- O Strongly agree
- O Slightly agree
- O Agree
- O Disagree
- O Slightly disagree
- O Strongly disagree

61. The Washington Department of Corrections provides adequate services to meet correctional officers' psychological or mental health needs.

- O Strongly agree
- O Slightly agree
- O Agree
- O Disagree
- O Slightly disagree
- O Strongly disagree

X. Background Information

Finally, we would like to ask you a few questions about yourself that will help us to interpret the results. We will use this information only to group you with others who are like you to see whether your views are similar.

62. What is your gender?

- O Male
- O Female
- O Other: _____

63. What is your marital status?

- O Married
- O Has a significant other
- O Single (Never Married)
- O Divorced
- O Separated
- O Widowed

64. How old are you? _____

65. What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- O 11th grade or less
- O High school diploma or GED
- O Some college, but no degree

- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- Professional or doctorate degree
- Associate's degree

66. What race or ethnicity do you consider yourself? (Please choose all that apply)

- Black/African-American
- Asian/Pacific-Islander
- White/Caucasian
- Native American
- Hispanic or Latino/a
- Middle Eastern
- Other: _____

67. Which of the following categories best represents the total income that you earned over the last 12 months?

- ○ Less than $5,000
- ○ $5,000 to $9,999
- ○ $10,000 to $19,999
- ○ $20,000 to $29,999
- ○ $30,000 to $39,999
- ○ $40,000 to $49,999
- ○ $50,000 to $59,999
- ○ $60,000 to $69,999
- ○ $70,000 to $79,999
- ○ $80,000 or more

68. Has someone close to you (friend or family member) ever been incarcerated?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

69. Has someone close to you (friend or family member) ever been arrested?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Please feel free to add additional details about things we asked about, or to make suggestions about other things we should have asked about. You can also continue on to the back of the page if needed.

APPENDIX D. Study of Segregation Units in

Washington State Prisons:
Interview Instrument for Prisoners

Department of Criminology, Law and Society

Developed by Reiter & Chesnut,
And in consultation with Lovell & Ventura.
Instrument incorporates validated questions from other instruments used by
Jenness, Sundt & Rudes.
University of California, Irvine

Interview Start Time: _____

A. INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS							
Please remember that I will never ask you about any future intentions to harm yourself or others during this interview. I will also never ask you about any criminal activity, or activity that is prohibited by the WADOC. If you volunteer that information, I may be forced to report it to the appropriate authorities. I'd like to begin by asking you a little bit about yourself and your current living situation here at this prison.							
1. What is a day like for you here? *Probe: What do you do when you wake up? Then what do you do?* 1a. Could you describe your cell to me?	Notes:						
2. [BPRS 13] In the IMU, how often do you get to shower and change your clothes? Are you able to take "bird baths" in your cell on non-shower days? Do you eat regular meals? ***Important to Note:*** *Hygiene/Appearance visual standard as well as context*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Notes:							
3. How long have you been in this IMU?	Notes:						
4. Why were you placed in this IMU? *Probe: If they say "don't know," ask follow up about reason told to them*	Notes:						
5. Do you remember if you had an intake assessment when you moved to this IMU? If yes, what was it like?	YES	NO	Notes:				
6.	YES	NO	Notes:				

Have you had any classification reviews about your placement in the IMU? *Probe: If yes, when was the last one? What was it like?*			

B. QUESTIONS ON CONDITIONS OF CONFINEMENT			
Now I'd like to ask you some questions about some of your experiences in solitary. I understand this might be difficult, so please tell me if you would rather not answer.			
7. Do you participate in any programming here in this unit? If yes, what? *Probe: What topics does your OCP cover?*	YES	NO	Notes:
7a. *[If no to above]* If no programming, why not? *Probe: If they can't identify any programming, ask about kinds of programs: classes outside of cell, A2A, in-cell coursework (OCP), etc*	Notes:		
8. Of the programming you just described, is there any that has been useful to you? *Probe: If yes, what has been the most useful and why?*	YES	NO	Notes:
9. Is there any programming that hasn't been useful? Why?	YES	NO	Notes:
10. Have you ever refused to participate in any programming in the IMU? *Probe: If yes, what programming? Why?*	YES	NO	Notes:
11. (*If yes to 10*) What happened after you refused programming?	Notes:		

(*If no to 10*) What would happen if you did refuse programming?			
12. What programming do you wish the IMU had? *Probe: Why? How would it help you?*	Notes:		
13. Have you been housed in other IMU's? *Probe: If yes, where and when? Why? How did it compare to this one?*	YES	NO	Notes:
14. Have you ever tried to challenge your placement in this IMU? Why or why not? *Probe: If yes, what'd you do? [Get story}*	YES	NO	Notes:
14a. *[If no to above]* If not, do you know how you (or any IMU prisoner) would challenge their IMU placement? What would they do?	Notes:		
15. When do you expect to be released from the IMU?	Notes:		
16. What do you have to complete in order to be released?	Notes:		
17. What do you think the transition out the IMU will be like?	Notes:		
17a. Have you heard about any specialized units, to help transition out of the IMU? *(If yes, follow up)* What is that unit like?	YES	NO	

C. QUESTIONS ON PROBLEMS IN IMU
Next, I'd like to ask you about any problems you might have had while housed in this IMU…

18. Have you ever filed a grievance while housed in the IMU? *Probe: If yes, what?*	YES	NO	Notes:
18a. *(If yes to above)* Did you receive a response to your grievance? What did it say? How long did it take?	YES	NO	Notes:
19. Have you ever sent a kite to administration while in the IMU? *Probe: If yes, for what?*	YES	NO	Notes:
19a. *(If yes to above)* Did you receive a response to your kite? What did it say? How long did it take?	YES	NO	Notes:
20. What is the hardest thing about being in the IMU? [*THINK: BPRS opening*]	Notes:		
21. What is the easiest?	Notes:		
22. How often do you talk with other prisoners?	Notes:		
23. Can you describe your relationship with other prisoners? *Probe: Are you close with anyone?*	Notes:		
24. Can you tell me about the (prison) politics here in this IMU? What about the rest of the prison?	Notes:		
25.	YES	NO	Notes:

Have you had any problems with other prisoners? *If yes, what kinds?*			
26. Do you receive visits here? *If yes, how often and from who?*	YES	NO	Notes:
27. Have you had any trouble with the visitor policy in the IMU? *If yes, what happened?* *Probe: Non-relative visitors, banned visitors?*	YES	NO	Notes:
28. Have you experienced any other problems here in this IMU? If so, what are they? What's bothersome? *Probe: What has been your biggest problem? And why?* [*THINK: BPRS opening*]	YES	NO	Notes:

D. QUESTIONS ON HEALTH			
Now that we have talked about the different challenges here in the IMU, I'd like to ask you some more questions about your health and medical care while here in in the IMU….			
29. Have you ever sent a medical kite? *Probe: If yes, for what?*	YES	NO	Notes
29a. *(If yes to above)* Did you receive a response to your kite? What did it say? How long did it take?	YES	NO	Notes:
30. How has your health been while you've been here in the IMU?	Notes:		

31. Have you noticed any changes in your health since you've been in the IMU? What kinds?	YES	NO	Notes:
32. How often do you get to visit a doctor? *Reminder: Not just pill line*	Notes:		
33. How about a visit from a nurse? *Reminder: Not just pill line*	Notes:		
34. And how often do you get treatment from a dentist?	Notes:		
35. Lastly, how often do you talk to a mental health counselor? *Reminder: Not just pill line or just seeing them walk to another cell*	Notes:		
36. Do you take any medications? If yes, for what? *Reminder: Please remember you can decline to answer any question*	YES	NO	Notes:
37. Does it cost you money/Are you charged to see a doctor or dentist? How much does it cost?	YES	NO	Notes:
37a. *[If yes to above]*	YES	NO	Notes:

Has this ever discouraged you from requesting medical or dental care you needed? *Probe: If yes, what did you need? What did you do instead?*							
38. [BPRS 1] Have you been concerned about your physical health <u>in the last two weeks?</u> ***Important to note**: Interferes with daily activity; talked to others about health, specific body parts changing*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Notes:							

Now that we've talked a little about your physical health, I'd like to talk with you more about how you're coping in the IMU. These questions help us to understand the effects of the IMU on people's health and well-being.							
39. How do you feel most of the time in the IMU?	Notes:						
40. How do you cope with those feelings?	Notes:						
41. [BPRS 2] Thinking about just the <u>last two weeks</u>, have you felt worried or nervous?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Important to Note: *Physical effects, frequency, interference with daily activity*							
Notes:							
42. [BPRS 3] Thinking about just the last two weeks, how has your mood been? Have you felt depressed? ***Important to Note:*** *Able to switch attention; Loss of interest in enjoyable things, duration, interference with daily activity*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Notes:							

43. In the past, have you ever thought about harming yourself while in the IMU? *Disclaimer: This is not **INTENT** to harm, and does not need to be disclosed to any WADOC authority*	Notes:
44. In the past, have you ever harmed yourself (or tried to) while in the IMU? *Disclaimer: This is not **INTENT** to harm, and does not need to be disclosed to any WADOC authority*	Notes:
45. *(If yes)* Have you ever been punished for harming/trying to harm yourself? *(If no)* Do you think you would be punished if you did?	Notes:

46. [BPRS 4]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Thinking about just the last two weeks, have you felt like life wasn't worth living, at any point? ***Important to Note:*** *Thoughts about suicide, up to actual suicide attempt*							
Notes:							
47. [BPRS 5] Thinking about just the last two weeks, have you been thinking about past problems or things you are ashamed of? ***Important to Note:*** *Frequency, Disclosure, Able to switch attention*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Notes:							
48. [BPRS 6] Thinking about just the last two weeks, have you felt irritable or angry? How did you show it? ***Important to Note:*** *Started fights or arguments with staff, prisoners, or others; Hit anyone; Started confrontation*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Notes:							
49. [BPRS 7] Thinking about just the last two weeks, have you felt really good at all? Was there any reason? How long did it last? ***Important to Note:*** *Euphoria versus good mood*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Notes:							

We're almost finished with this section. Lastly, we have some questions asking about things that other people have talked about experiencing in IMU's.							
50. [BPRS 8] So, is there anything special about you? Do you have special abilities or powers? ***Important to Note:*** *Told others, acted on beliefs, frequency*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Notes:							
51. [BPRS 10] Have you ever heard any sounds or people talking to you or about you when there has been nobody around? Do you ever have visions or see things others don't see? What about smell odors others don't smell? ***Important to Note:*** *Interferes with daily activity, frequency, explanation*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Notes:							
52. [BPRS 11] Can anyone read your mind? Are thoughts put into your head that are not your own? Have you been receiving any special messages?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Important to Note: *Frequency, explanation, told others, Degree of conviction*							
Notes:							
53. [BPRS 12] Have you done anything that seemed unusual or disturbing to others? ***Important to Note:*** *Degree of attention*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Notes:							

E. QUESTIONS ON PERCEPTIONS OF STAFF				
Next, I'd like to ask you some questions about the staff who work here in the IMU…				
54. In general, how do you feel about the correctional officers? *Follow-up: Why?*	Positive	Negative	No Opinion	Notes:
55. Do you trust the correctional officers in this unit? Why or why not?	YES	NO	Notes:	
56. Do you believe the CO's in this unit…				
a. …deliver all your mail to you?	YES	NO	Notes:	
b. …try their best to make sure you get shower/yard?	YES	NO	Notes:	

	c. ... make sure you get all your meds correctly?	YES	NO	Notes:		
	d. …would turn in a grievance form you sent?	YES	NO	Notes:		
	e. …would protect you from other prisoners?	YES	NO	Notes:		
	f. …would help you in a medical emergency?	YES	NO	Notes:		
57. While living in this IMU, would you say the correctional officers are watching <u>you</u>..? *PROBE: Are they observing what you're doing…?*		All of the Time	Most of the Time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
Now let's talk a little more about the other staff that work in the IMU….						
58. What about the mental health staff? How do you feel about them? *Follow-up: Why?*		Positive	Negative	No Opinion	Notes:	
58a. Do you trust the mental health staff in this unit? Why or why not?		YES	NO	Notes:		
59. And what do you think about the medical staff? *Follow-up: Why?*		Positive	Negative	No Opinion	Notes:	
59a. Do you trust the doctors/nurses in this unit? Why or why not?		YES	NO	Notes:		
60. What about programming staff? *Follow-up: Why?*		Positive	Negative	No Opinion	Notes:	

60a. Do you trust the programming staff in this unit? Why or why not?	YES	NO	Notes:	
61. What about the warden and other administrators who run the prisons? *Follow-up: Why?*	Positive	Negative	No Opinion	Notes:
61a. Do you trust the warden and other administrators at this prison? Why or why not?	YES	NO	Notes:	
62. Has any prison staff member ever helped you while you were in the IMU? *Probe: c/o, admin, programming staff, medical staff. If so, how?*	YES	NO	Notes:	
63. Have you had problems with any prison staff while housed in this IMU? *Probe: If yes, what?*	YES	NO	Notes:	
64. Have you ever been disrespected by any prison staff in this IMU? *Probe: If yes, how?*	YES	NO	Notes:	
65. Have you ever received an infraction for something you didn't do? Have you ever been infracted unfairly?	YES	NO	Notes:	
66. Have you ever been verbally harassed by any prison staff in this IMU? *Probe: If yes, how? Threats, names, racial slurs?*	YES	NO	Notes:	

67. Have staff ever used force against you? *If yes, probe for story*	YES		NO	Notes:			
68. [BPRS 9] Thinking about just the <u>last two weeks</u>, have you felt like anyone was going out of their way to give you a hard time, or trying to hurt you? ***Important to Note:*** *Frequency, degree of preoccupation*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Notes:							

F. QUESTIONS ON PERSONAL SAFETY IN IMU					
Now I want to ask you about safety in this prison…					
69. In general, how safe do <u>you</u> feel in this IMU?	Very Safe	Safe	Unsafe	Very Unsafe	
70. *Follow-up*: What things make you feel safe/unsafe?	Notes:				
71. Do you feel safe from…					
a. … verbal harassment from other prisoners?	YES	NO	Notes:		
b. … physical threats/assaults from other prisoners?	YES	NO	Notes:		
c. … verbal harassment from CO's?	YES	NO	Notes:		
d. … physical threats/assaults from CO's?	YES	NO	Notes:		

	e. … yourself?	YES	NO	Note:		
72. Can you tell me about the time when you felt your safety was at greatest risk in the IMU? *Probe: What made them feel at risk?*		Notes:				
73. Do you feel more safe in the IMU, or in the General Population? Why?		IMU	GEN POP	Notes:		
74. How often do you worry about your physical safety?		All of the Time	Most of the Time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
75. Related to your safety, what do you worry about most here in this IMU? [*THINK: BPRS opening*]		Notes:				
76. In your opinion, what could be done to improve the safety of prisoners in this IMU?		Notes:				

G. QUESTIONS ON SEGREGATION REFORMS	
We're almost finished. In the last few years, there has been a lot of attention on prison segregation units across the country. As a result, many prisons have made policy changes, or reforms, in their segregation units. I'd like to ask you some questions about what you know about reforms that are supposed to be going on here in Washington…	
77. Are you aware of any current IMU reforms? *Probe: If yes, what reforms do you know about?*	Notes:

77a. **[IF NO - REFER BACK TO PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED IMU PROGRAM FOR CONCRETE EXAMPLE]**			
78. What is the purpose of these reforms?	Notes:		
79. Are these reforms making things better for you? *Probe: Why or why not?*	YES	NO	Notes:
80. Have there been surprising impacts from these reforms? *If so, what kinds of things?*	YES	NO	Notes:

H. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION					
Finally, I'd like to ask some general questions about yourself …					
81. How old are you?	Notes:				
82. What gender are you? *Remind it will be a written record*	MALE	FEMALE	Other:		
83. What race are you? **[Don't need to read responses]**	Black	White	Hispanic/ Latino	Asian	Other:
84. What is the highest grade you completed in school? **[Don't need to read responses]**	[____Grade]	[High School Graduate]	[GED]		
	[Some College]	[College Graduate]	[Any Post-Graduate]		
85. Are you married?	YES	NO	Notes:		
86.	YES	NO	How many?		

Do you have any children? **[If yes]** How many?			
87. How long have you been in prison?	Notes:		
88. Are you currently or have you ever been a member of a prison gang? *Reminder - you can choose not to answer any question*	NEVER	PREVIOUSLY	CURRENT
89. What about politics – where do you fall politically?	Liberal/Democrat	Independent	Conservative/ Republican	None
90. Are you religious?	Notes:		
In this last bit, I have some different kinds of questions for you. These are just questions to get a feel for the general knowledge of prisoners housed in segregation…			
91. [BPRS 14a] What's the date today?	Notes:		
92. [BPRS 14b] Who is the current president?	Notes:		
93. [SANS 22] Can you count backwards from 100 by 7?	[100] [93] [86] [79] [72] [65] [58] [51]		
(If less than 6th grade) Can you count backwards from 100 by 3?	[100] [97] [94] [91] [88] [85] [82] [79] [76]		
94. Can you spell the word **BRING** backwards?	Notes:		

I. CONCLUSION

Thank you so much for speaking with me today. I have two final questions for you to wrap-up our interview…	
95. If there was one thing that you'd want people to understand about life here in the IMU, what would it be?	Notes:
96. Is there anything I should have asked about your experiences, that you'd like to add?	Notes:

Interview End Time: _____

VISIBLY TURN OFF RECORDER

ADDITIONAL CONSENTS	
Thank you again for agreeing to be interviewed today. Remember, everything you shared with me today be kept confidential and made anonymous, so it will NOT be connected to your identity at all. Before we there are a few other kinds of information that would be very helpful for us to collect from you, that I ne your permission for, *separate from the interview. I'll go through each of them now with you….*	
	VERBAL PERMISSION TO FOLLOW-UP IN ONE YEAR (Interviewee name will be kept on a separate list, by UCI, to find & contact in one year)
	SIGNED FORM GRANTING PERMISSION TO ACCESS DOC HEALTH RECORDS (Form will be stored with UCI)
	SIGNED FORM GRANTING PERMISSION TO ACCESS DOC SUBSTANCE ABUSE RECORDS (Form will be stored with UCI)

NOTES:

Brief Psychiatric Rating Scale (Version 4.0)

IMU Facility _____ Period of Assessment __Two Weeks_____

NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Assessed	Not Present	Very Mild	Mild	Moderate	Moderately Severe	Severe	Extremely Severe

Rate items 1-14 on the basis of patient's self-report during interview. Note items 7, 12, and 13 are also rated on observed behavior during the interview. Mark "NA" for symptoms not assessed.

PROVIDE EXAMPLES:

1.	Somatic Concern		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	Anxiety	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3.	Depression		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Suicidality		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Guilt		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	Hostility		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Elevated Mood	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8.	Grandiosity		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	Suspiciousness	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10.	Hallucinations		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Unusual Thought Content		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	Bizarre Behavior		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	Self-neglect		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	Disorientation		NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Rate items 15-24 on the basis of observed behavior or speech of the patient during the interview.

15.	Conceptual Disorganization	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	Blunted Affect	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- Unchanging Facial Expression 0 1 2 3 4 5

The patient's face appears wooden, changes less than expected as emotional content of discourse changes.

- Decreased Spontaneous Movements 0 1 2 3 4 5

The patient shows few or no spontaneous movements, does not shift position, move extremities, etc.

- Paucity of Expressive Gestures 0 1 2 3 4 5

The patient does not use hand gestures, body position, etc., as an aid to expressing his ideas.

- Poor Eye Contact 0 1 2 3 4 5

The patient avoids eye contact or "stares through" interviewer even when speaking.

- Affective Nonresponsivity 0 1 2 3 4 5

The patient fails to smile or laugh when prompted.

- Lack of Vocal Inflections 0 1 2 3 4 5

The patient fails to show normal vocal emphasis patterns, is often monotonic.

- Global Rating of Affective Flattening (BPRS 16) 0 1 2 3 4 5

This rating should focus on overall severity of symptoms, especially unresponsiveness, eye contact, facial expression, and vocal inflections.

17. Emotional Withdrawal NA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. Motor Retardation NA 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- Poverty of Speech 0 1 2 3 4 5

The patient's replies to questions are restricted in the

amount tend to be brief, concrete, and unelaborated.

- Blocking 0 1 2 3 4 5

The patient indicates, either spontaneously or with prompting, that his or her train of thought was interrupted.

- Increased Latency of Response 0 1 2 3 4 5

The patient takes a long time to reply to questions; prompting indicates the patient is aware of the question.

- Global Rating of Alogia 0 1 2 3 4 5

The core feature of alogia is poverty of speech

19.	Tension	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	Uncooperativeness	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	Excitement	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	Distractibility	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	Motor Hyperactivity	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	Mannerisms and Posturing	NA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Sources of information (check all applicable):

_____ Patient

_____ Parents/Relatives

_____ Mental health professionals

_____ Chart

_____ Other (e.g., police report)

Explain here if validity of assessment is questionable:

_____ Symptoms possibly substance-induced

_____ Under reported due to lack of rapport

_____ Patient uncooperative

_____ Difficult to assess due to formal thought disorder

_____ Other

Confidence in assessment

_____ 1 = not at all - 5 = very confident

Record information:

APPENDIX E. IMU STAFF INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Interview Start Time: _____

A. INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS			
Please remember that I will never ask you about your intentions to harm yourself or others during this interview. If you volunteer that information, I may be forced to report it to the appropriate authorities. I'd like to begin by asking you a little bit about your current job here at [INSERT PRISON FACILITY NAME].			
1. How long have you been working here at [prison]?	Notes:		
2. Have you worked in other prisons before working here? *Probe: If yes, where? How long?*	YES	NO	Notes:
3. How long have you worked for Washington Dept. of Corrections in total?	Notes:		
4. What is your current, official job title here at [prison]? *Probe: How long have you had that title?*	Notes:		
5. What duties does your job include, as [title]?	Notes:		
6. Can you describe what a day on the job here is like for you?	Notes		

B. IMU POLICY QUESTIONS
Thanks for telling me about your job here. Now I have a few questions about the IMU and how it runs, here at [prison].

7. How long have you worked in the IMU here at [prison]?	Notes:
8. Based on your experience, why are most of the inmates in this unit here?	Notes:
9. What programming is available to inmates in the IMU? *Probe: How often is it available? Is it available to everyone?*	Notes:
10. What do you think about the programming in the IMU? *Probe: Is it helpful to inmates? Is it burdensome on staff?*	Notes:
11. How does the Level system work in the IMU?	Notes:

12. How do inmates move up Levels? *Probe: Any other ways besides behavior? How about overrides?*	Notes:
13. How do inmates drop down Levels? *Probe: What kinds of behavior are serious enough to drop levels?*	Notes:
14. What do you think of the Level system?	Notes:

Probe: Does it work as a behavior tool? Is it clear?			
15. Do you use Individual Behavior Management Plans (IBMPs) in this IMU? *Probe: What kind of things do they say?*	YES	NO	Notes:
15a. *(If yes to above)* About how many inmates are currently on IBMPs?	Notes:		
15b. What do you think of the IBMPs? *Probe: How do these IBMPs affect your job?*	Notes:		
16. Does this IMU have a "nature imagery room" or "blue room"? If so, can you describe it? *Probe: How is the room used – on demand, scheduled, disciplinary?*	YES	NO	Notes:
16a. *(If yes to above)* What do you think of the "nature imagery/blue room"?	Notes:		
17. What does an inmate have to do, or complete, to be released from the IMU?	Notes:		
18. Have you ever disagreed with how an inmate was being treated in the IMU? Can you tell me about an example? *Probe: Why? E.g., disagreed with treatment, including: discipline,*	YES	NO	Notes:

rewards, programming, medical, etc.			
19. When/if you do disagree with treatment of an inmate, is there any way for you to give your input?	Notes:		
20. In your opinion/experience, what is the purpose of the IMU?	Notes:		
21. Have you seen any changes in the IMU over your time working here? *Probe: If yes, what? And what do you think of those changes, e.g. improved/worsened work, helped/hurt inmates?*	YES	NO	Notes:
22. Have you had any problems or disagreements with IMU policies? *Probe: If so, what kinds, e.g. un/official rules?*	YES	NO	Notes:
23. Are there any other types of problems in here? *Probe: Which of these other problems you mentioned has been your biggest problem? And why?*	YES	NO	Notes:

C. QUESTIONS ON INMATE SUPERVISION					
Now I'd like to ask you a little bit more about your experiences while supervising inmates…					
24.	All of the Time	Most of the Time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never

While working in this unit, how much of your shift do you spend watching inmates? *Probe: Observing activity?*					
25. Thinking about the time you spend supervising inmates, what's the most important thing you're looking for? *Probe: Most important task?*	Notes:				
26. In general, what kinds of situations require use of force in this unit?	Notes:				
27. Have you ever had to use force on an inmate? *Probe: Can you tell me about a recent/memorable example?*	YES	NO	Notes:		
28. Have you ever been assaulted or harassed by an inmate? *Probe: Can you tell me about the most recent or memorable incident?*	YES	NO	Notes:		
29. Have you ever had to place an inmate in a restraint chair or restraint bed? *Follow-up:* On average, how long will an inmate be restrained?	YES	NO	Notes:		
30. About how often would you say the restraint chair and/or bed is used in the unit?	Notes:				
31.	Notes:				

In general, how do you feel about the inmates in this IMU?			
32. Do you think most of the inmates in the IMU need to be here? *Probe: Why or why not?*	YES	NO	Notes:
33. Do you think most of the inmates in the IMU deserve to be here? *Probe: Why or why not?*	YES	NO	Notes:

D. QUESTIONS ABOUT PERSONAL SAFETY IN PRISON					
Now I want to ask you about violence and safety in this unit…					
34. Do you think violence is just part of being in prison overall? *Probe: Why or why not?*	YES	NO	Notes:		
35. Do you think violence is just part of being in the IMU? *Probe: Why or why not?*	YES	NO	Notes:		
36. In general, how safe do you feel working in this unit?	Very Safe		Safe	Unsafe	Very Unsafe
37. Can you describe a time when you felt at risk in the IMU?	Notes:				
38. Are there certain places in the unit where you feel less safe? Where?	YES	NO	Where?		
39.	YES	NO	When?		

Are there certain <u>times</u> in the unit when you feel less safe? When?			
40. What kinds of practices or tactics do you use to stay safe while working?	Notes:		
41. What do you think could be done to improve safety of staff here?	Notes:		
Now I have some questions about how safe you feel when you aren't at work…			
42. How safe do you feel outside of prison?	Notes:		
43. Have you ever run into a former inmate outside of prison? *(if yes)* What did you do?	YES	NO	Notes:
44. What kinds of things do you do to stay safe outside of prison?	Notes:		
45. Do you own a personal firearm?	YES	NO	Notes:
46.. If yes, how often do you carry it on you in your private life?	Notes:		

E. QUESTIONS ABOUT PERSONAL HEALTH AND WELL-BEING	
Now I have some questions about your overall health and well-being, and how they might have been influenced since you have been working here…	
47. How would you describe your general physical health?	Notes:

48. Since working in the IMU, have you noticed any changes in your <u>physical</u> health? *Probe: If yes, what kinds of changes? Do you think your job is contributing to these changes?*	YES	NO	Notes:
49. Do you do anything to try and maintain/improve your <u>physical</u> health? What kinds of things?	YES	NO	Notes:
50. And how would you describe your overall mental wellbeing, working in this unit? *Probe: Stress level, safety*	Notes		
51. Since working in the IMU, have you noticed any changes in your <u>mental</u> wellbeing? *Probe: If yes, what kinds of changes? Do you think your job is contributing to these changes?*	YES	NO	Notes:
52. Do you do anything to try and maintain/improve your <u>mental</u> health? What kinds of things?	YES	NO	Notes:

53. Since working in the IMU, have you noticed any changes in your personal relationships? *Probe: If yes, what kinds of changes? Do you think your job is contributing to these changes?*	YES	NO	Notes:

F. QUESTIONS ABOUT RELATION WITH OTHER CO'S IN IMU						
Now I'd like to talk with you about how the CO's work together in this unit…						
54. How well do the CO's in this unit work together?	Notes:					
55. How well do you know the other CO's you work with?	Notes:					
56. What proportion of your friends work for WADOC?	None	One	Just a few	About half	Most or majority	All or almost all
57. How often do you socialize with other WADOC staff outside of work? *At least…*	Almost never	Once a year	A few times a year	Every few months	Every month	Every week
58. Can you tell me a little about your union? *Probe: How much does the union support you and the other CO's?*	Notes:					

G. QUESTIONS ON OTHER STAFF RELATIONS				
Now let's talk a little about the working relationship with the other people who work in the IMU, and the rest of the prison…				
59. In general, how do you feel about the mental health staff? *Follow-up: Why? What makes you feel that way about them most?*	Positive	Negative	No Opinion	Notes:
60. And what about the medical staff? How do you feel about them? *Follow-up: Why? What makes you feel that way about them most?*	Positive	Negative	No Opinion	Notes:
61. What about programming staff? *Follow-up: Why? What makes you feel that way about them most?*	Positive	Negative	No Opinion	Notes:
62. What is your opinion of the supervisors here? *Follow-up: Why? What makes you feel that way about them most?*	Positive	Negative	No Opinion	Notes:
63. Lastly, what do you think about administration from headquarters? *Follow-up: Why? What makes you feel that way about them most?*	Positive	Negative	No Opinion	Notes:
Now I'd like to ask you some more about supervisors here…				
64. What would improve the relationship between line staff and supervisors?	Notes:			

65. How responsive are supervisors to staff issues?	Notes:		
66. How often do you go to your supervisor with work-related issues?	Notes:		
67. How responsive are supervisors to inmate issues in the IMU?	Notes:		
68. Have you ever been disciplined or rewarded on the job? *Probe: If yes, can you describe that?*	YES	NO	Notes:
69. Have you ever been treated unfairly by a supervisor at work? *Probe: If yes, can you describe that?*	YES	NO	Notes:

H. QUESTIONS ON SEGREGATION REFORMS	
We're almost finished. Now I want to ask you some questions about what you know about reforms that are suppose going on here in this IMU…	
70. Are you aware of any current IMU reforms? *Probe: If yes, what reforms do you know about?*	Notes:
71. **[IF NO - REFER BACK TO PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED IMU PROGRAM FOR CONCRETE EXAMPLE]**	
72. What is the purpose of these reforms?	Notes:
73. Would you describe these reforms as effective or not? Why?	Notes:

74. Have there been surprising or unexpected consequences from these reforms?	Notes:

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION					
Finally, I'd like to ask you some general information about yourself….					
75. How old are you?	Notes:				
76. What gender are you?	MALE		FEMALE		Other:
77. What is the highest grade you completed in school? **[Don't need to read responses]**	[____Grade]	[High School Graduate]	[GED]		
	[Some College]	[College Graduate]	[Any Post-Graduate]		
78. Are you married?	YES	NO	Other:		
79. Do you have any children? How many?	YES	NO	How many?		
80. What is your race or ethnicity?	Black	White	Hispanic	Asian	Other:
81. What about politics – where do you fall politically?	Liberal / Democrat		Independent	Conservative/ Republican	None
82. Are you religious?	Notes:				
83. Has someone close to you ever been arrested?	YES	NO	Notes:		

84. Has someone close to you ever been incarcerated?	YES	NO	Notes:

J. CONCLUSION	
Thank you so much for speaking with me today. I have a few final questions for you, just to wrap up our interview…	
85. If you became the Secretary of Corrections tomorrow (If you had Steve Sinclair's job), what would be the first thing you would change?	Notes:
86. If there was one thing that you'd want people to understand about the work you do, what would it be?	Notes:
87. Is there anything I should have asked about your experiences, that you'd like to add?	Notes:

Interview End Time: _____

NOTES: