AN OCCASIONAL PAPER

IN PRISON

TRANSITIONAL THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITIES

1. OVERVIEW (introduction to the documents)

By Dennie Briggs

Research and Demonstration Projects Conducted by the California Department of Corrections. 1958-1965

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IN PRISON:

TRANSITIONAL THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITIES

PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS

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OVERVIEW

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT is part of a manuscript originally written in 1965, and updated in 1999/2000. It contains an account of a period of experimentation and innovation in the California penal system which began with the war-time election of Earl Warren as Governor of California in 1943, and effectively came to an end when Ronald Reagan became Governor in 1966.

The complete text is in three parts.

• Part One consists of a Foreword prepared for the original document by the late Richard A. McGee in 1965, when he was Administrator of the Youth and Adult Corrections Agency for the State of California; an updated Preface, looking back at the projects, followed by the Introduction to the original manuscript; and a Sequel. The latter contains my brief reflections of the current state of penal reform—or its absence—in the U.S. and the contribution that these pioneering efforts in California nearly 40 years ago might make to current thinking and practice.

• **Part Two** is a description of two Forestry Camp transitional therapeutic communities. From 1960 to 1961, Maxwell Jones, while Visiting Commonwealth Professor of Social Psychiatry at Stanford University, gave the prestigious Issac Ray Lectures at the annual meetings of the American Psychiatric Association—its first Lecturer, incidentally from another country. In Lecture Four, Dr. Jones reviewed the prevailing status of psychiatry with regards to criminal justice in Britain and the U.S. He cited the research then being con ducted into treatment modes for felons by the California Department of Corrections and detailed a prototype for the application of the therapeutic community approach in prisons. Richard McGee retained Maxwell Jones as a consultant examining the overall rehabilitation programs for the state's department, and assisting in estab lishing the approach he suggested, in a series of pilot projects. I was given the task of laying the groundwork, establishing the culture, training the staff, and consulting in these projects.

The early transitional therapeutic community projects began in 1960, in a state forestry service-affiliated fire-fighting and conservation camp in Southern California's San Bernadino Mountains. This was Conservation Camp Pilot Rock, and consisted of 100 youthful, first-adult offenders, with Correctional Officers, and Counselors, living and working together as an extension of the California Department of Natural Resources, Division of Forestry. After it was established, it was moved in 1961 to a site adjacent to the California Institution for Men (C.I.M.) at Chino, named Camp Don Lugo. In closer proximity to the home prison, Camp Don Lugo ran as a transitional therapeutic com-

• **Part Three** describes the creation of two transitional therapeutic communities within the grounds of the Chino prison itself. Where the Forestry Camps were relatively independent units, physically separated from the main prison at Chino, the Pine Hall Project initiated in 1959, was our attempt to construct a community for youthful offenders within the precincts of a much larger prison containing 2,000 inmates—an increasingly autonomous unit in a sense, but sharing work, leisure and other facilities with the prison at large.

The second of the prison-based projects, built on the Forestry Camp and Pine Hall models, was pioneered in 1961 both at San Quentin Prison in Northern California by Dr. Harry Wilmer, and, later in the year, at Chino. These projects, under the title of Programs for Increased Correctional Effectiveness (know as I.C.E.), mainly for the older more recalcitrant offender, were then extended to six other prisons, the total program being financed by diverting funds from the construction of an additional 1,200 unit prison. This program was concluded in 1966, when the political atmosphere within California itself in relation to crime rehabilitation changed abruptly.

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Note: I hope that these documents can become a source of exchanges for comments and discussions about the treatment and rehabilitation of prisoners within the therapeutic community concept. I have sub-titled them as program descriptions, for they are meant to interest those who are engaged in experimental projects or are considering initiating them either in correctional settings or alternative environments. At the beginning and end of this paper, I have placed red annotation note pads for your suggestions and comments.

FOREWORD

As society evolves, its institutions must change to meet new needs and to conform with advancing knowledge. The traditional prison has not been a notably successful institution except in carrying out is most elemental purpose—that of incapacitating the convicted offender for brief periods of time. In this day when asylums have become mental hospitals, and no disease or social condition is considered either too hopeless or too horrible to defy the onslaught of scientific examination, the prison—nay, the entire administration of criminal justice—must submit to review, research, imaginative innovation and experimentation.

The history of prison administration is notable chiefly for frequent breakdowns in control, scandals and recurring efforts at "reform." Prison administrators are understandably cautious and conservative men. They probably would not have survived if they had been otherwise. Research and innovation in this kind of climate is not easy—some would say not even possible.

Yet the demand that prisons "treat" and "rehabilitate" has put a new challenge before the prison administrator. The public which supports a correctional system will not much longer pour millions of public treasure into institutions which provide nothing but temporary separation from the larger society and only go through the superficial motions of educating, counseling and disciplining its wards without really facing the central problem of making a direct attack on the emotional motivations of deviant behavior.

External controls in the form of guard towers, guns, walls, fences, bars and uniformed custodians are all too familiar and simple in concept. But in the end this is all a temporary palliative unless long-term *internal* controls can be built into our subjects as they pass through and out of the system.

Any business, institution, or bureaucracy has a recognized right to protect its own prospects for survival. But the mark of a successful and progressive organization will be found in its willingness to submit to critical examination and re-examination, and a capacity to meet the challenges of changing times with constructive responses.

Much of what Dennie Briggs has written in these pages will stir criticism and disagreement both from administrators and clinicians. What is important at this stage is not his conclusions or his attitudes or his opinions, but, rather, that he and many others associated in different roles with this project have gone through a stimulating learning experience. None of them will be quite the same again. Out of such beginnings significant movements toward constructive change take root.

RICHARD A. McGEE
Administrator
Youth and Adult Corrections Agency
State of California

February 23, 1965

PREFACE

I FOR ONE, certainly have not been the same since. So much of my own life has changed as a result of these projects which I came into quite by accident. It became richer for having had this opportunity. I became less concerned with material things and more with the nature and quality of relationships.

I also became concerned with justice, having learned so much about *injustice* from hearing what the prisoners experienced: they made me aware of human rights on a broader scale. The prisoners invited an openness to controversy which helped me move beyond mere tolerance and acceptance to appreciating and honoring differences.

During the course of these projects, I felt great excitement as I saw the prisoners and the staff become intensely involved. They experimented with new ways to relate to one another and to work together as they took on greater responsibilities. I was as curious as the others to see what would happen in the daily community meetings and what would unfold throughout the rest of the day. I never ceased to be amazed at the inventiveness individuals showed, especially in times of crisis.

We were all risk-takers, some more so than others, some in different ways. As I developed trust in the inmates and the staff, I could consequently take greater chances that now, looking back, may seem rash. But they never backfired and at no time did I ever feel threatened personally: which is not to say that I didn't feel anxious many times as situations were played out and I wasn't sure how they might end. I guess I was just plain lucky on many occasions and had many, many guardian angels!

I constantly marveled at the high level of trust and faith that what would work well for the community would, in turn, serve its individuals. Within the environments that we created, people who previously were not able or willing to live harmoniously, came forth with great humanitarian acts along with a deep sense of community. "What have you put back into the project?" inmates would frequently ask of one who considered leaving.

After I left these projects, I felt strongly committed to return full circle to my original goal, which was teaching. While participating in the projects, I had become involved in teacher training on the side, but with a totally new perspective. I was no longer so concerned with content but instead with learning as a social process. I now better understood what learning from one's surroundings meant, and was eager to apply "social learning" to pedagogy.

I wanted to put into practice some of the things that I had learned from these prison experiences. I had listened to hundreds of accounts of what grevious things had happened to prisoners in their childhoods, and I saw the tremendous amount of creativity and energy that could be unleashed. Perhaps we could better prepare teachers both to help

children cope with adversity along with developing their inherent potentials. Always it began with perfecting relationships; relationships with ideas, with things, with people—with oneself and with others.

After the prison projects ended in 1965, I tried to interest publishers in a book, but the time was not propitious. So I put it away. Portions of these experiences have been incorporated into journal articles and chapters in books. I now feel compelled to recount the human side of these projects which I and others conducted some years ago in California's prisons. This paper is a remembrance of an exciting and fruitful five years. Out of respect for those involved, staff and inmates, I have changed some names and slightly altered a few incidents presented here. While memory might have distorted the veracity of those events, recordings and notes have enabled me to reconstruct portions of dialogue.

As I re-read those pages and reflected over the occurrences they described, I thought it might be useful to bring these experiences together once more. Perhaps we need to take a second look at imprisonment, even though we live in a time when the climate, especially in the U.S., is not particularly auspicious. The prison, it would seem, would be the last place where benevolence could happen.

Yet it is not the walls, the razor-wire topped fences, the tear gas, or the seclusion rooms that offer society protection and safety in the long run; rather, controls from within are needed. In these projects we saw that they can be built from the practice of respect and coequality between prisoners and staff as they work at relating to one another as human beings in their daily encounters—all those continuing relationships which are developed, valued and worked over and over again, and still once more. The growth that these men showed must not only make them more responsible as citizens but put them in a position to contribute to society.

While prisons will always be with us, there is nonetheless, a new generation still striving to bring democratic principles where equality has not yet penetrated. More specifically, I would like to reach those who want to champion idealism within the criminal justice system and who would like to do something to change present conditions. This document, while archival in format, is addressed to students in justice administration and the social sciences, as well as administrators and practitioners in the human services: to those who are seeking an avenue for their activism to promote change through self-development ventures.

I believe that the ideas and practices which Maxwell Jones developed over the years in several settings have shown their general applicability. His interest and involvement in promoting a more democratic social structure in classrooms perhaps could have an enormous impact on changing the behavior of generations to come thus transforming the devastating cycle of behavioral disorders into channels of creativity.

I invite your comments in care of the PETT Archive and Study Centre or directly at: DensGroup@aol.com

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INTRODUCTION

IT ALL BEGAN with one of those coincidental meetings that don't seem to mean very much at the time, but turn out to be propitious. The meeting that changed my life was quite ordinary in its circumstances; but looking back I now see that its synchronicity was astonishing.

IN 1958 I decided to leave the U.S. Navy after nine years' service. My next assignment would have placed me behind an administrative desk, and I'm not a bureaucrat at heart. I was thirty-one at the time, and although I'd had plenty of experience as a clinical psychologist, I was looking to hone my skills even more. I had spent the previous six years in the world of mental illness, with young sailors and marines on hospital wards. Now I was on my way to St. Elizabeth's in Washington, D.C.[1]

While waiting in San Francisco for my car to arrive from Japan where I'd last been stationed, I bumped into an old friend and colleague, Doug Grant, on a crowded street. Doug was attending a scientific meeting, and though we hadn't seen each other for the past two years, we'd managed to keep in touch. Over drinks, he told me about his new position as Chief of Research for the California Department of Corrections.

Doug and I had known each other for several years. Our first meeting was another meaningful coincidence. We were seated beside each other on a flight from California to Washington. I'd given a paper at a meeting; Doug was meeting with administrators on his project in a military prison. We found that we were both interested in groups but from different bases. I was working on projects to study group morale in preparation for launching atomic submarines, while Doug was conducting research on rehabilitation programs with naval and marine corps offenders, called "living-groups." He was looking for a control group of military personnel to work out a pencil and paper test to identify personality integration , or "I" levels in individuals.[2] We thought the submariners I was working with would be an ideal group. And so we began a collaborative project. From there I had worked with psychiatrist Harry Wilmer at two naval hospitals using Maxwell Jones' therapeutic community model.

Doug's enthusiasm for his work had always been contagious. Even if I didn't comprehend its full significance at the time, I got an inkling of its importance. His plans to initiate a series of action-research projects at the California Institution for Men (C.I.M.) located at the town of Chino, east of Los Angeles, and at other prisons, sounded fascinating. He was already recruiting staff to evaluate existing treatment projects and start new ones. Naturally, his new position gave him an ideal opportunity to initiate his concept of living-groups in the prison system. Therapeutic communities also interested him.

Why didn't I at least drop by Chino on my way to Washington, he suggested, look the prison over, and meet E.J. Oberhauser, its extraordinary superintendent?

Whatever my own priorities, they seemed to pale beside Doug's venture. And suddenly I realized that while he was describing his new job, he was also encouraging me to join him. I had never even thought of visiting a prison, let alone working in one!

I did meet Superintendent Oberhauser, called "Obie" by staff and prisoners alike, in his office. He was a tall,

tanned, and relaxed man, who immediately made you feel at ease. He propped his feet on his desk, and took a fly swatter in hand.

"We haven't had any new ideas around here for the past two years," he declared.

Which was one of the seductions of the job, that was not very well defined: "Research Technician." Frankly I wasn't too eager at this point, but I heard him out. Had I been more knowledgeable about criminology, I would have known that this prison, set up by Kenyon Scudder in 1940, had played a major part in the development of the "new penology." Obie had been one of the "fifty, bright, young men" Mr. Scudder had personally selected to open the cont-roversial prison without walls. Obie went to his book case and took out a copy of Kenyon Scudder's book, *Prisoners are People,* and suggested that I might like to read about the prison's origins.[3]

"We haven't had any new ideas around here for the past two years."

More recently, there had been a four-year Intensive Treatment (IT) project at Chino to test the effectiveness of individual social casework counseling with a random sample of inmates. The project, which Doug had inherited, was almost finished. In addition to casework, a few of the Counselors were conducting small psychotherapy group meetings. A similar project was under way at San Quentin. By comparing the results in the two very different prisons, the researchers also hoped to shed some light on the effects of the conditions of confinement. It was as this project was nearing its termination, that Doug was planning to replace it with a transitional community, living-group type of program.

The challenge was: could young men, who had committed serious crimes and been sent to prison, benefit from this quite different method of rehabilitation? But first, could even a "progressive" prison like this one adapt to the radical changes such a project would necessitate? And did this rather benevolent superintendent fully realize what he was letting himself in for? Would Obie give the kind of support the revolutionary experiment would need, despite the negative reactions that would inevitably come from his staff?

My best guess was that only experience would shed light on these questions. And I wasn't sure that I wanted to expend the energy that the preliminary work would obviously entail. Besides, I was on my way to St. Elizabeths—a hospital setting, which I already knew.

The prison milieu somewhat unsettled me and yet the prospects did quite excite me: it was an unfamiliar place of unknown hazards. Nor was I sure that my limited skills would stand me in good stead. In many ways I'd be starting all over again, a raw novice.

Of course I believed that Obie and Doug would look out for me, but it would be at an official distance—for the most part I'd be on my own, learning on the job, so to speak.

I checked in to a rather sleazy motel on the freeway to San Bernardino, and for the next couple of days I read Scudder's book, which documented the first decade of the prison. At night I tossed and turned in the desert heat, and mulled over the challenge that had suddenly dropped into my lap. I'd certainly liked what I'd seen, despite my reservations.

When I returned the book to Obie, he introduced me to a very fluent young prisoner, who was to show me around the prison. Then Obie himself took me to see

the prison's farm. Another sign that this man was different from the run-of-the-mill warden was his official car: a two-toned pastel-colored Chevrolet complete with the state seal on the door, in contrast to the conventional black wardens' sedans. We had a whirlwind tour, but Obie managed to spend some time with each of the foremen and talked with inmates.

I telephoned Doug in Sacramento and said that I'd take him up on his gamble. He wasn't in the least surprised. In fact, he had already anticipated my decision. "At least now you'll have no excuse not to get your PhD!" (I had nearly completed the requirements at the University of Southern California, when I went into the Navy.) I wired Dr. Elkes at St. Elizabeths informing him of my decision, and thanked him for his kind offer. And then I began to look for a house not far from the prison grounds.

That's how I got to prison.

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SEQUEL

THE EFFECTS OF these experiments can be viewed from a number of vantage points—what happened to the inmates, to the careers of the staff, and to the correctional agency? From whatever perspective, the social and political context in which they originated and flourished were decisive factors.

BRIEFLY, PRISON REFORM in California began with the election of Earl Warren, who, as governor in 1944, called an emergency session of that state's legislature and created the Department of Corrections.[4] At that time California's prison system was rated as among the worst in the nation. Mr. Warren appointed Richard A. McGee as his first director. Ten years later, when Governor Warren left to become the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, California had moved from the bottom to one of the best rated prison systems in the nation.

Much of the credit for this phenomenal movement can be attributed to Mr. McGee and the coterie he assembled to establish a new order. [5,6] That began with the appointment of Dr. Norman Fenton, a distinguished and innovative psychologist, at that time a professor at Stanford University. Prior to WW II, for example, he had introduced the practice of a mobile child guidance clinic to assist in assessing and treating mental problems facing school children.[7] Upon Dr. Fenton's appointment as Deputy Director of Corrections, he established Reception-Guidance Centers along with a classification system for inmates based on their characteristics, needs, and programs to assist in their rehabilitation. He introduced wide-scale group counseling by lay employees which eventually involved more than 50 percent of all prisoners. [8,9]

Director McGee's appointment of J. Douglas Grant as first Chief of Research in 1957, brought differential classification and treatment modes along with systematic evaluation of the department's endeavors. Mr. Grant, in an article entitled, "It's Time to Start Counting," wrote:

> Any correctional agency not using a prediction procedure to study the effectiveness of its decisions and operations is perpetrating a crime against the taxpayers. This is no longer a merely theoretical argument.[10]

Kenyon Scudder, in 1940, as the first superintendent of the California Institution for Men at Chino, laid the groundwork for humanizing a large prison. His successor, E.J. Oberhauser, carried on his efforts. One of a series of pilot projects utilizing social casework "(Intensive Treatment)" had been located there.

Having said all that, there was a flourishing movement, beginning in the mid 1950s, toward experimental rehabilitation projects in California.

In the larger context, the political atmosphere of the 1960s, with its emphasis on social justice and activism

spawned exploration of new solutions to inequities and problems. The maelstrom of the 1960s was characterized by experiments in social justice: there was willingness to take risks, even to be foolhardy at times; to break out and try new things. There were, as to be expected, successes as well as failures. Perhaps it is important today that we look again at some of these experiments not merely as historic relics but as prototypes or glimpses of what did—and could—happen. America after all, from its beginnings, has been characterized as an experimenting society.

Maxwell Jones' appointment as a visiting Professor at Stanford University in 1959, came at an opportune time, and his subsequent Isaac Ray Lectures for the American Psychiatric Association established a basic design for therapeutic community-type projects in prisons.[11]

THERE ARE MANY ways to look at what happened in these projects: (1) The two forestry camps, (2) The communities within the prison, and (3) The larger scale program of eight transitional communities, known as the Increased Correctional Effectiveness Program or I.C.E. Just to safely carry them out within a traditional correctional system seemed like enough of a feat. They offered a more kindly way to humanize portions of institutions for both staff and inmates. Near the project's end, we would have to wait another year for preliminary results on the effectiveness of these transitional community programs, for by that time 75 percent of the residents would have been on parole for one year.

Favorable parole performance was defined as either (1) having no arrests, or, (2) (a) having been arrested but released, (b) having no outstanding felony warrant, (c) having been assigned to a short-term narcotic treatment program, or (d) having had a misdemeanor-type of conviction which resulted in a fine, probation or jail sentence under 90 days.

Unfortunately, the two-year follow up studies were not completed, for by that time, the Research Division of the Department of Corrections had all but been eliminated due to changes in administration in California's State Government.

This one-year preliminary study, however, showed positive findings.[12]

In Summary:

• Those results found a statistically significant difference in terms of reducing recidivism, in favor of those who had participated in these communities as against their running mates who did not.

• There were no differences between the transitional communities, that is,

—the effectiveness of the forestry camps was no greater than the communities inside the prison. While one could argue in favor of the advantages of "outdoor living," the relative detachment of forestry camps from prisons, meaningful work, and so on, the emphasis appeared to be less important than the internal organization of the projects. In spite of all the frustrations and distractions of being located within the confines of the prison, apparently the culture that was formed there (Pine Hall Project and I.C.E.) was not only strong enough to grow and develop but had a positive effect on its members.

—The model developed for the I.C.E. unit was as effective for that population (older recidivists) as the others, which gave credence the importance of matching programs with types of residents.

• The median time for rehabilitation was about eight months. Those who remained longer in the projects did no better or worse after their release into the

community. A short, intensive exposure seemed to be advantageous.

- The most striking finding, however, was that the parole performance of the inmates who participated in the latter part of the programs (last two years) was significantly better than those who preceded them. Although the two-year follow-up was not possible, preliminary findings in the end nevertheless indicated that the trend established by those who had participated later in the project may well have held up, which suggests the strength of self-help, empowerment approaches.

EMPOWERMENT AS AN effect of peer relationships, of course, has been known for some time. Sociologists, among them Donald Cressy, have called our attention to the positive influences of inmates on one another as in his theory of differential association: "...changing behavior by changing the group..."[13]

Judith Benjamin and her colleagues at the National Committee on Employment of Youth reviewed these prison projects along with several others conducted at the time. In a U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare publication in 1966, they wrote that:

> A prevalent line of thinking holds that an individual inmate's rehabilitation can be accomplished more effectively if he is involved in the rehabilitation of other inmates, and that this can be institutionalized into an organized method of rehabilitation. ... An underlying assumption was that the offender, by virtue of his offender's status, will have avenues open to him for producing positive change in the behavior of other inmates that are closed to staff, whether professional or nonprofessional.[14]

The additional element accounting for increasing opportunities for participation by the inmates incidentally, but significantly, involved changing the roles of the staff, particularly the professionals. This is not to say that their skills were lacking, but too often that they were less appropriate for these particular kinds of inmates or the types of projects. Doug Grant looked back at the project and speculated on the effects of the professionals.

> The rationale of the program called for increasing participation by all levels of staff and inmates in the program's development and operation. ... Work supervision, custodial duties (the fire watch and some bed checks and counts), reporting, and researching were shared among inmates and staff. A critical moment in the program occurred when four of the six professional staff (M.S.W's) resigned from the program after refusing to play supervisory and work roles in the institution laundry, the work assignment of the project. With the resignation of the professionals a dramatic increase in participation by other community members became necessary. The roles and duties of the M.S.W.'s now had to be taken over by custodial officers and inmates. ... What we now know increases their importance. ...it appears that the post-institutional effects of the program improved with the resignation of the professionals. Again, to the extent clients have meaningful participation roles and are allowed to learn through doing and teaching, we tend to get program effectiveness.[15]

In another paper, Mr. Grant com-

mented on the role of the professional.

> Program developers not only need to develop their competence in institutional change—they also need to contribute to the development of these competencies in their clients and peers. There is no room for a new elite who would rearrange an agency (or the world) to make everyone more mentally healthy. Whether a new elite is preferable to the old elite is besides the point. A person's concern should be with assisting others to develop the competence to cope with the world on their own. [16]

OUTCOME EVALUATION, HOWEVER, includes asking further questions. What else happened to inmates, and what took place among the staff and to the hosting agency? While there is no systematic follow-up, a few of the inmates were known to have continued in program development kinds of activities; some staff, especially the Correctional officers, went on to promote what they'd learned from the projects; there were significant changes in the Correctional Department.

• Five former inmates, for example, while still on parole, went as a team to establish a similar project for youth within the prison system of the state of North Carolina. One member of that team later became director of a residential treatment program for delinquent youth for the state of Kentucky.[17]

• Some of the prisoners who participated in the transitional communities became involved in the New Careers Development Project (1964-1966). [18,19] Two of these subsequently received doctorate degrees, became university professors and went on to become bureau chiefs in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.[20] Another founded and still operates a nation-wide non-profit training organization promoting empowerment approaches in the schools. [20]

A New Careers program was begun in the U.K., in 1974, sponsored by NACRO, the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders, and carried out by the Bristol branch, funded by the Home Office. [21]

• Most of the correctional officers who participated in the projects and who remained in the Department of Corrections moved into new programs, especially in the treatment of narcotics addiction. A team of these officers went to Utah to pioneer a program for offenders operated by Litton Industries, a private agency, for that state. The fictional, but real, Sergeant Allen, (see part 3) not only did eventually "come around," with Correctional Officer Tony's assistance, but went on to became a Hearing Officer, a newly created post, for the Parole Board.

• The California Department of Corrections underwent significant changes that were closely aligned to those of these projects. For one thing, the Department was rapidly expanding and substantially changing its own administrative organization. Legislators, believing that California's Governor "Pat" Brown had had too many administrators reporting directly to him (more than 30, as I recall), created eight "super agencies" which combined various bureaucracies. Youth and Adult Corrections (which previously had been separate) became one, with Richard McGee as the Administrator. Walter Dunbar became Director of Corrections. Richard McGee took along several of his staff including Doug Grant as Chief of Research to form the new agency.

• New prisons were being built and

new programs as well as new forms of administration were introduced. When the North Facility at Soledad was in operation, daily community meetings took place in all the cell blocks. Correctional Officers attended the meetings along with the other staff. [22] The 500 inmates at C.I.M.'s satellite prison at Tehachapi had had daily meetings for some years, with all the inmates and staff of that institution participating.

• The forestry camp program was expanding and, in contrast to camps being a part of the various prisons, new Conservation Camp Centers were being built that would take the camps out of the various prison administrations and place them directly in the Centers. One of these Centers was to be built on grounds adjacent to C.I.M.

•The rehabilitation of narcotics addicts was a major issue politically. An experimental program was established at C.I.M., in an adjacent barracks, modeled on our work, with daily community meetings. Our staff and residents assisted in training their staff, and shared consultants.

• Nearby, the totally new institution (California Rehabilitation Center) was being activated in 1961, at a former naval hospital which the Department of Corrections had acquired. This institution was to be a compromise between mental health and corrections, devoted exclusively to rehabilitation of more than 2,000 addicts at one time. Civil legislation permitted that certain felons who were addicted could have criminal charges temporarily set aside before sentencing, and be committed for treatment under confinement. This Center from the outset was planned around decentralized "communities" of 60 men (one was for women), with all staff participating in the program backed up by half-way houses in the outside communities. The Legislation provided that former residents could return briefly to the Center for further rehabilitation. [23]

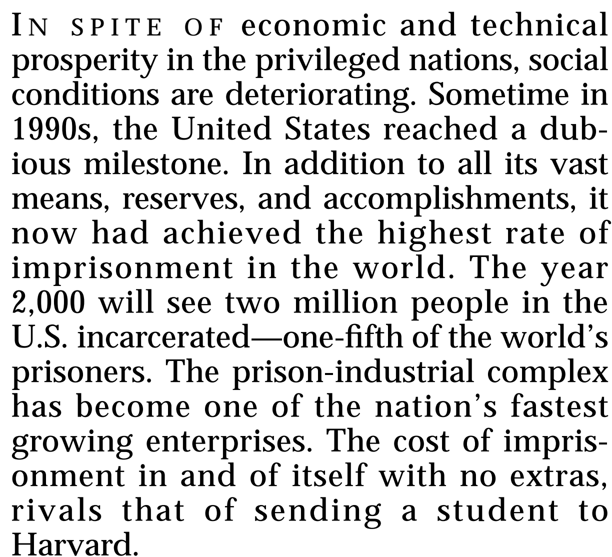
• A new civil service position, that of Correctional Program Supervisor, was created which combined the duties of custodian and counseling, thus attempting to heal the former schism. Another new position at a higher level, Correctional Program Administrator, did away with the traditional Custodial Captain and combined custodial and treatment functions under one administrator. The Camp Centers and the new Rehabilitation Center were to be staffed essentially with these new positions. [24]

THE I.C.E. PROGRAM was terminated in 1966 with the change of administration in California following the election of Ronald Reagan as governor. The project at San Quentin had closed in June of that year. Most of that staff had been promoted to jobs in other prisons or in central headquarters of the Department of Corrections. Those who remained at San Quentin were assigned to set up living-group programs in some of the cell blocks within the prison.

The new State of California administration reorganized the eight agencies into four, and placed the Youth and Adult Corrections Agency within the Department of Health and Welfare. Administrator McGee announced his retirement.

I left the Department of Corrections 1964 to become training director of the New Careers Development Project, which had been funded for two years by the National Institute of Mental Health. This project focused on training 18 prisoners (recruited from the transitional community projects) to become program

development assistants in the human services. From 1966 to 1968, when I joined Maxwell Jones at Dingleton Hospital in Scotland, I was a visiting associate professor at San Francisco State University. I remained in Europe for the next decade, so was unable to follow closely the course of events within California's prison service.



IN SPITE OF economic and technical prosperity in the privileged nations, social conditions are deteriorating. Sometime in 1990s, the United States reached a dubious milestone. In addition to all its vast means, reserves, and accomplishments, it now had achieved the highest rate of imprisonment in the world. The year 2,000 will see two million people in the U.S. incarcerated—one-fifth of the world's prisoners. The prison-industrial complex has become one of the nation's fastest growing enterprises. The cost of imprisonment in and of itself with no extras, rivals that of sending a student to Harvard.

The New Penology, which some have referred to as "actuarial justice," is no longer concerned with individuals, but rather focuses on control of masses of dangerous people.[1] And yet, the prison growth factor alone, mandates greater accountability as to the effectiveness of this solution to the crime problem—and calls for a continual search for alternatives. There are few rehabilitation programs today in America's prisons. The high rate of recidivism remains unchecked.

Regardless of platitudes, still we continue to espouse the practice of screening people out, rather than making opportunities so that they may contribute. Youth are seeking fundamental ways to participate in our culture, be it through gangs, terrorism, drug abuse, higher education, or fashion: the central issue remains empowerment for responsible participation in their own in society.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Part 1.

Introduction.

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17. Chapel Hill Youth Development and Research Unit (CHYDARU) was formed as an experimental project in the spring of 1964 by the North Carolina Prison Department in collaboration with the Training Center on Delinquency and Youth Crime, Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina. The idea of an alternative to prison was promulgated by two staff members of the Training Center who attended a three-day symposium on Maxwell Jones' therapeutic community concepts held jointly by the California Department of Corrections and the University of Southern California, in the autumn of 1963. CHYDARU was located on a 10-acre wooded area adjoining the university. There were two self-contained cottages, each accomodating 10 men, together with an administration office, and an activities building with classrooms, offices and a larger room for group meetings and recreational activities. Candidates were selected upon arrival at Central Prison in Raleigh, as being under age 21, without prior incarceration, average or above intelligence, elgible for minimum custody and volunteering for the project.

    "Staff consists of six parolees transferred from the State of California. Five of these men had extensive experience in therapeutic community living units while they were confined; they were selected for their demonstrated leadership in these programs. The sixth had some training in research through his assignment to an institution data processing unit and through employment on a University project after his parole. None of the six had prior professional training." J. Douglas. Grant, "A Stragegy for New Careers Development," in Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, *New Careers for the Poor: The Nonprofessional in Human Service* (New York: Free Press, 1965):211-213; Judith Benjamin, et al, op cit:38-40; "A Progress Report of the Training Center on Delinquency and Youth Crime." (Institute of Government, University of North Carolina 1964).Judith Benjamin writes: "...staff at the Training Center feel that, even with the checkered history, the program eventually managed to overcome the obstacles and achieve its objective—a true therapeutic community. They feel there is now a sense of common purpose among the inmates and a feeling of oneness with the project....

    "Now that the project has passed its trial stage, it is expected to be discontinued because of lack of funds and local support.." Benjamin, op cit:40. (note: Lee Pollard, who was the project's director, went on to become director of a residential program for youthful delinquents for the state of Kentucky.

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20. Wayne Hunnicut, C.E.O., National Training Associates, P.O. Box 1270 Sebastapol, California 95473, phone (707) 929 1884.

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